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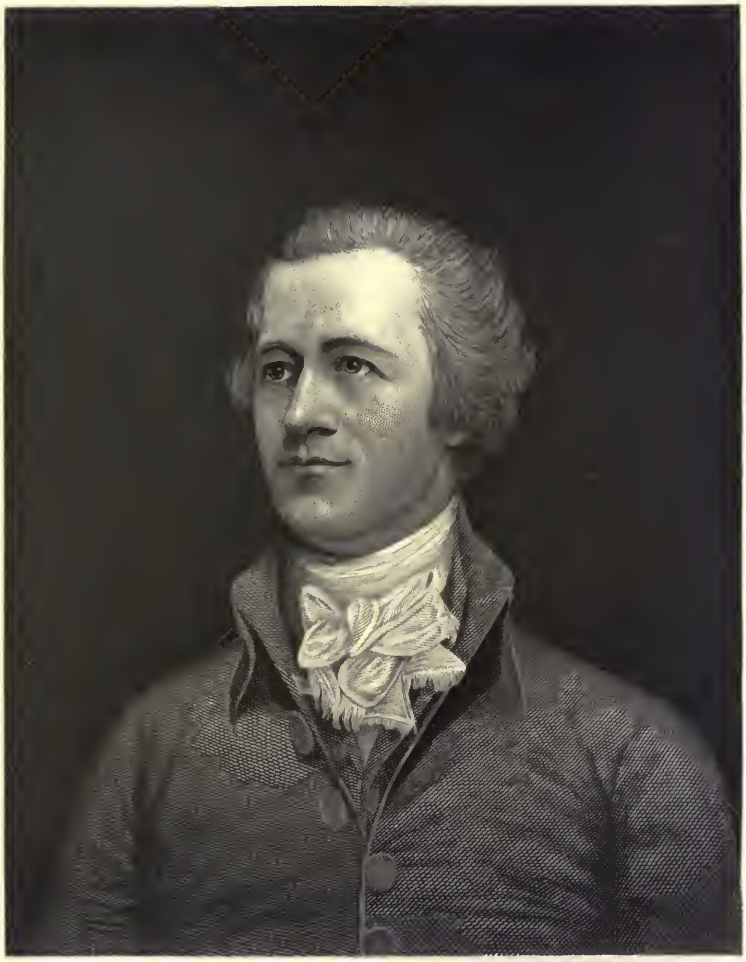

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THE

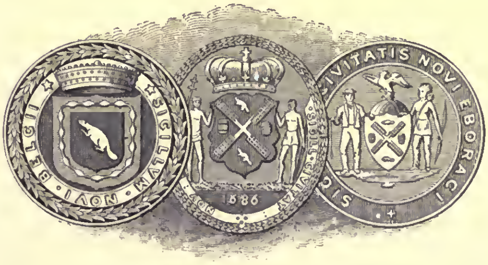
MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892

EDITED BY

JAMES GRANT WILSON

VOLUME III



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1893

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THIS THIRD VOLUME
OF THE HISTORY OF HIS NATIVE CITY IS DEDICATED
BY THE EDITOR TO THE ABLE GOVERNOR,
UNITED STATES SENATOR, AND SECRETARY OF STATE,
HAMILTON FISH

Manna-hata, the handsomest and most pleasant country that man can behold. HENRY HUDSON.

The Island of New-York is the most beautiful island that I have ever seen. HESSIAN OFFICER, in "Stone's Revolutionary Letters," 1891.

She is a Mart of Nations. . . . The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth. ISAIAH, xxiii.

History maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs, privileging him with the experience of age without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof. THOMAS FULLER.

This is a great fault in a chronicler, to turn parasite: an absolute history should be in fear of none; neither should he write anything more than truth, for friendship, or else for hate, but keep himself equal and constant in all his discourses. SIMON N. H. LINGUET.

Industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of the monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private recordes and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of bookes that concern not story, and the like, we doe save and recover somewhat from the deluge of Time. FRANCIS BACON.

They who make researches into Antiquity may be said to passe often through many dark lobbies and dusky places before they come to the *Aula lucis*, the great hall of light; they must repair to old Archives and peruse many molded and moth-eaten records, and so bring to light, as it were, out of darkness, to inform the present world what the former did, and make us see truth through our Ancestor's eyes. JAMES HOWELL.

I was surprised to find how few, if any, of my fellow-citizens were aware that New-York had ever been called New Amsterdam, or had heard of the names of its early Dutch governors, or cared a straw about their ancient Dutch progenitors. . . . A history to serve as a foundation, on which other historians may hereafter raise a noble superstructure, swelling in process of time, until Knickerbocker's New-York may be equally voluminous with Gibbon's Rome, or Hume and Smollett's England. WASHINGTON IRVING.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

New-York City under American Control—From the Confederation to the Constitution, 1783-1789.
Professor Henry Phelps Johnston, Ph. D. 1

Changes in the Population Before and After the Evacuation—Less English and Dutch since 1783—Domestic and Foreign Immigration—Reëstablishment of the City Government—Temporary Council in Control until February, 1784—First City Corporation Officers of the American Period—Their Character—Rights and Privileges of the Citizens as Freeholders and Freemen—Interior Life of the City—Industries, Societies, Amusements, Luxuries—Exterior Appearance of the Town—Streets, Public Buildings, Coffee-Houses, Means of Protection—Local Politics, or the Treatment of Tories by the Whigs—Hamilton's Position—John Jay and the Governorship—National Politics, or the Constitutional Period—Attitude of the City on the Question of Enlarging Federal Powers—Action of the Merchants—Hamilton and the Conventions—The "Federalist"—The City Delegates at the State Convention, Poughkeepsie—Their Speeches, Influence, and Final Victory for the New National Constitution—Rejoicings and the Federal Procession in the City—Dutch Medals on the American Revolution.

CHAPTER II

New-York as the Federal Capital, and during Washington's First Term, 1789-1793 . . . . *Moncure D. Conway.* 45

The City in a Poor Condition at Washington's Inauguration—The City Hall Converted into a Federal Hall—Members of Congress Disparage their Accommodations—Washington Arrives in New-York Amid Enthusiastic Greetings—The Inauguration and Attending Ceremonies—Mrs. Washington's Estimate of Life in New-York—The President and his Social Obligations—Caricatures and Party Spirit—Cincinnati and Tammany, and Other Societies—Newspapers—Washington's Mode of Opening Congress—The President's Residence and the Mansion on the Site of Fort George—The Slavery Question—The Site of a Federal Capital Determined—Indian Chiefs visit New-York—Congress and Government Remove to Philadelphia—The "American Museum"—The Bank of New-York Incorporated—A Columbia College Commencement—Tontine Association and Coffee-House—The Third Centenary of the Discovery of America Celebrated in 1792—Jay Counted Out at the Election for Governor—Virtuous Ordinances by the City Council—The Walter Franklin Family.

CHAPTER III

SOCIETY IN NEW-YORK IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC. *The Editor.* 87

A "Dinner and Supper List for 1787 and '88"—Character of New-York Society in those Years—The Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Congress—Mrs. John Jay—The French Court and the French Capital—The Representatives of the New-York Bar—Hamilton and Burr in Society—Mrs. Hamilton—Chancellor Livingston—Prominent Clergymen of Various Denominations—Bishop David Provoost—Some Members of the Medical Profession—Old Knickerbocker Families—Revolutionary Officers and Members of Congress—The Leading Ladies of the Day—President of Congress—The *Corps Diplomatique*—Foreign Travelers: Brissot de Warville—The President of the United States: His Title and Influence upon Social Circles—His Receptions called "Levees"—The "Three Hundred"—Dress Worn by Ladies and Gentlemen—A Memorable Ball at the French Minister's—A Last Glimpse at the Society of that Day.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1793-1800. *The Rev. Daniel Van Pelt, A. M.* 113

Changes in Material Conditions Within a Single Lifetime—The Eighteenth Century in the American Colonies—Mayor Richard Varick and Municipal Affairs During the Closing Period—The City's Budget in 1800—The French Revolution and its Sympathizers Here—New-York Ceases to be the Capital of the State—The City Turns the Scales in the Presidential Election of 1800—Death of Washington, and Funeral Ceremonies in New-York—The Appearance of the City at this Time as Described by Foreign Observers—The Yellow Fever Visitations of 1791, 1795, and 1798—Experiment in Steam Navigation on the Collect—Associations for Literary, Benevolent, and other Purposes—New-York Society and Popular Amusements—Races on the Bowery—Behavior at the Theater—Commercial Advantages and Prosperity—No "Down-town" a Hundred Years Ago—"London in Miniature"—List of Houses and Lots valued at £2000 and over in 1799.

CHAPTER V

THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1801-1807. *The Editor.* 153

A Glance Backward—Great Cities of the World at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century—The Presidential Election Excitement Early in 1801—The Tie Between Jefferson and Burr—The Duel Between Hamilton and Burr—Consequences to Burr—The Founding of the Public-school System of New-York—Generous Support by the State Legislature and the Corporation—Churches Enlarged, Altered, and Newly Built—The Disappearance of Worship in the Dutch Language—St. Paul's and St. John's the only Relics of this Period—Mayors Edward Livingston, De Witt Clinton, and Marinus Willett—War with and Defeat of the "Barbary Powers"

—Items of Local Interest: College of Physicians and Surgeons, Newspapers, Huguenot Church, Insurance Companies—Market-places Visited by the Country People—Strange Street Cries of Venders—The Change in the Conditions of Society—Class Prestige Disappears—Weehawken Dueling-Ground.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNING OF STEAM NAVIGATION, 1807-1812. *Charles Burr Todd.* 184

Earliest Attempts at Steam Navigation—Robert Fulton: His Birth and Youthful Experiments—Goes to England to Study Art under Benjamin West—His Attention is Turned to Steam Navigation—His Book on Canals—Fulton Meets Joel Barlow in Paris—Fulton Returns to America—American Inventors who Preceded Fulton Failed in Practical Application—John Stevens and his Screw Propeller—Connection of Chancellor Livingston with Fulton—Experiments on the Seine at Paris—The Clermont Goes Up the Hudson to Albany and Back—Steam Ferry-boats—Parties in New-York and the Embargo—Threats of War, and Fortification of the City—The New-York Historical Society Celebrates the Two-hundredth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Hudson—City Hall in the Park Completed—New Churches Built—The Laying Out of Streets—State Election of 1811—Early Steps to Build the Erie Canal—Public School No. 2—New-York Orphan Asylum Founded—The Chartering of a Bank—"Salmagundi" and "Knickerbocker's New-York"—Cockloft Hall.

CHAPTER VII

NEW-YORK IN THE SECOND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1812-1815. *John Austin Stevens.* 219

England's Hope of Reconciliation with the Colonies—Political Situation and Progress of Negotiations with England—Growth of American Tonnage—Impressment of American Sailors by Great Britain—British Frigate Fires on American Ship, 1806—The Famous Orders in Council—Ruinous Effects of the Embargo Act of 1807—Ambition of Clay and Calhoun—Madison's Message to Congress—New-York Merchants' Memorial—Death of Governor George Clinton—War Declared Against Great Britain, 1812—Organization and Preparations of the Committee of Defense—Enthusiasm of Seafaring Men for the War—Naval Engagement of Captain David Porter—The Constitution Defeats the Guerrière—Decatur Captures the Macedonian—Great Britain's Mortification—The Wasp Defeats the Frolic—Military Organizations, Arsenals, and Forts—American Reverses in Canada—Battle of Queenstown—New-York Merchants' Grievances—Lake Defenses—Capture of Toronto and Fort George—Perry's Victory, 1813—British Successes on Land—The Chesapeake Defeated by the Shannon—Blockade of the Port—Reception of General Harrison—Canadian Campaign under Scott—Second Invasion of New-York State—Public Action for Improving Defenses of the City—Treaty of Ghent—Lawrence and Ludlow.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RETURN OF PEACE, AND THE COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL, 1815-1825 . . . . *William L. Stone.* 295

The Effect of the Announcement of Peace — Packet Lines Established — Severe Weather — Removal of General Richard Montgomery's Remains from Quebec to New-York — Ball to General Andrew Jackson — Burning of the Old Park Theater — New-York Bay Frozen Over in 1820 — Yellow Fever in the City — Visit of Lafayette to the United States, and His Reception in New-York — Erie Canal Celebration — History of the Enterprise — First Canal-boat, the Seneca Chief, leaves Buffalo — Description of the Celebration — Land and Naval Processions — Magnificent Appearance of the Fleet — The Greek Rebellion — Large Amounts of Money Subscribed in New-York for the Relief of the Greek Patriots — First Gas-pipes Laid.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF NEW-YORK'S COMMERCIAL GREATNESS, 1825-1837. *John Austin Stevens.* 334

The Tontine Coffee House and Chamber of Commerce — Increase of Trade owing to Opening of Erie Canal — Commerce of New-York — Larger Buildings Erected — Mayors Philip Hone, Walter Bowne, and Gideon Lee — First Appearance in the City of Asiatic Cholera, 1832 — The Election and Abolition Riots, 1834 — Procession and Ceremonies in Memory of Lafayette — Stone-cutters' and Five Points Riots, 1834-35 — Croton River Aqueduct Decided Upon — Great Fire of 1835 — Flour Riot, 1837 — The Banks of New-York, including Savings-banks — The Farmers' Fire Insurance Company — Influence of Free Trade on the National Election — Albert Gallatin's Policy — The National Bank of New-York Established — The Bank of the United States Accepts a Charter from Pennsylvania — Enormous Increase in the Issue of Paper Currency — Sharp Reaction — The New-York Banks Suspend, May, 1837 — General Suspension of United States Banks — Convention of Bank Delegates from Seventeen States Meets in New-York — Favorable Prospects — Resumption of Specie Payments by the New-York Banks, May, 1838 — The Bank of Commerce Established — The New-York University Founded — Literary Society: "The Club" Organized — Polish Exiles Arrive in New-York — Fashionable Localities and Walks — Favorite Cafés — Celebrated Schools and Institutes — Death of Charlotte Canda — The Freedom of the City.

CHAPTER X

TEN YEARS OF MUNICIPAL VIGOR, 1837-1847. *J. Hampden Dougherty.* 364

Daniel Webster Visits New-York — Appearance of the Streets — Notable Houses — Improvements in Rebuilding Following the Fire of 1835 — Parks and Squares — Public Halls, Picture-galleries, Hotels, and Theaters — Ball in Honor of Charles Dickens — Introduction of Gas — Churches — Clubs — Literature of the Day — Newspapers — President Harrison's Death and Funeral — Stages and Horse-cars Introduced — Construction of the Fourth

Avenue Tunnel — Immigration and its Factors — Its Effect on Local Politics — The Native American Movement — First Elected Mayor, Cornelius W. Lawrence — The Council of Appointment — Suffrage Restrictions — All Property Qualifications for City Voters Abolished in 1842 — City Convention Amends City Charter, 1829 — Charter Elections — High Character of Municipal and Judicial Officers — Charter of 1830 Provides for Departments in City Government — Early Police Systems — Municipal Police Act Passed, 1844 — Jacob Hays, the Last High Constable — Origin and Establishment of the Public-school System — Conflict between Protestants and Romanists over State Funds — City Pumps, Springs, and Water Supply — Croton Aqueduct Commissioners Appointed — Major Douglass's Plans Approved, and Work Begun — Water Admitted into Aqueduct, June, 1842 — Grand Celebration upon Completion of Aqueduct — Fashionable New-York Moving Up-town — Luxurious Living Indulged in — Distinguished Foreigners Arrive in the City — The Presidential Canvass of 1844 — Invention of the Telegraph Perfected — Morse's Efforts to Obtain Patents in Europe — Election of Polk — War with Mexico — Great Fire of July, 1845 — Gotham as Applied to New-York.

CHAPTER XI

TELEGRAPHS AND RAILROADS, AND THEIR IMPULSE TO COMMERCE, 1847–1855 . . . . *Charles Burr Todd.* 413

Commercial Development — First Telegraph Line Opened — Succeeding Lines Established — The Erie Railroad — Preliminary Survey — First Section Opened — Ceremonies on Completion of Entire Line, 1851 — Receiver Appointed and Reorganization Effected — Second Receivership, and Subsequent Reorganization — The New-York Central and Hudson River Railroad: Its Charter and Construction — The Pennsylvania Railroad — The Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad — The West Shore Railroad — The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad — Discovery of Gold in California — The Clipper Ships and their Remarkable Voyages — The Yacht America and her Famous Race — The Great Ship-building Yards — The Century Club, and Gallery of Fine Arts — Passage of the New City Charter — The Astor Place Riot — Asiatic Cholera Again Visits the City — The Astor Library Opened — Philanthropic Societies Organized — The New-York Free Academy Opened — The Children's Aid Society Begins its Work — St. Luke's and the Demilt Hospitals Built — Young Men's Christian Association Formed — Arrival of Jenny Lind — The Grinnell Expeditions under De Haven and Kane — The Central Park Decided Upon — The Crystal Palace Built — The Clearing House Association — The City Markets.

CHAPTER XII

PREMONITIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1855–1860 . . . . *Eugene Lawrence.* 447

Condition and Progress of New-York City in 1856 — The City Prosperous — Severe Cold all over the Country — Central Park Progressing — Original Plans for Parks in the City — Metropolitan Museum of Art and Other Buildings Added to the Park — Battery Park Neglected — Incidents in the City — The Chief Newspapers of the Day — The Burdell Murder — The "Five

Points" — Creation of the Metropolitan Police — Mayor Wood's Opposition and Resistance — A Riot Averted — The Advent of the Metropolitan Police to Power Causes Numerous Riots —The Commercial Panic of 1857— Gradual Recovery from Financial Depression — Resumption of Specie Payments — Crime and Disorder — The "Dead Rabbit" Riot — The Astor Library and Cooper Institute — Readings and Lectures by Noted Speakers — Proposed Introduction of Slavery into Kansas Creates Political Excitement in New-York — Aspect of Broadway in 1858 — Laying of the Atlantic Cable, and Grand Celebration in the City — Burning of the Quarantine Buildings on Staten Island — Revival of the Slave Trade — General Condition of Affairs in 1859 — Visit of the Prince of Wales — Peril of Free Institutions, 1860 — Lincoln's Election — Plans of Disunionists — Southern Preparations for Civil War —Vacillation of Buchanan — Evacuation of Fort Moultrie.

CHAPTER XIII

New-York in the War for the Union, 1861 - 1865. *Gen. T. F. Rodenbough, U. S. A. (Retired).* 478

The Empire City Furnishes Sinews of War — The Pine Street Meeting — General Dix Appointed Secretary of War — His Famous Despatch — General Scott and President Buchanan — President Lincoln Assumes the Presidency — The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Passes Through the City — Great Meeting in Union Square — Patriotism of the Citizens — Large Sums of Money Raised — Thurlow Weed Assists the President — Union Defense Committee Organized — Departure of the Seventh Regiment, April 19, 1861 — Other New-York City Regiments Leave for Washington — Commodore Vanderbilt Presents a Steamer to the Government — Patriotic Action of New-York Women — Organization of the United States Sanitary Commission — Southern Disappointment at New-York's Loyalty — Foreign Correspondents in the City — The Government Arrests Disloyal Persons — Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Burke in Command of Fort Lafayette — President Lincoln Invites Three Eminent Citizens to Represent the Government Abroad — Call for Volunteers — The Enrolment Act — The Draft Riots, 1863 — The Seventh and other Regiments Ordered to Return to New-York — A Forged Proclamation by the President Published — Arrest of the Author — Metropolitan Fair in Aid of Sanitary Commission, April, 1864 — Assassination of President Lincoln, and Mass Meeting in New-York — Notable New-Yorkers who Died for their Country — Gallant Leaders of Both the Army and Navy — Military Organizations Recruited Wholly, or in Part, in the City and County of New-York — Compilation from Colonel Phisterer's "New York in the War of the Rebellion."

CHAPTER XIV

Recovery from War — Tweed Ring — Speculation and Reaction, 1865 - 1878 . . . . *Arthur E. Bostwick, Ph. D.* 518

New-York at the End of the Civil War — Activity in Building, and Local Improvements — Rapid Growth of the City — New Streets and Avenues Opened — Introduction of the Passenger Elevator — First Apartment-houses

Erected — East River Bridge Begun — Underground Roads Projected — The Elevated Railroads — The Railroad Viaduct on Fourth Avenue — The Atlantic Cable Successfully Laid, 1866 — Admiral Farragut Leaves New-York with a Squadron — Volunteer Fire Department Abolished, 1865 — Steam Fire-engines Introduced — Board of Health Established, 1866 — Cholera Again Visits the City — Dock Department Created, 1870 — The Orange Riot, July 12, 1871; Many Killed and Wounded on Eighth Avenue — John T. Hoffman — Formation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals — Societies Formed for the Suppression of Vice, for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and for the Prevention of Crime — Visits of Prince Arthur and Grand Duke Alexis — The Chicago Fire and New-York's Contribution — Concentration of State Power at Albany Works Injury to New-York — Best Elements of the Democratic Party Not Represented in its Councils — The Tammany Society Controls the Politics of Emigrants — William M. Tweed and his Methods — Origin of the Tweed Ring — Peter B. Sweeny — Richard D. Connolly — The Ring Judges — Demoralization of the Press — Fraudulent Naturalization — A. Oakey Hall — The Ring in Control — The County Court-house Frauds — The Tweed-Frear Charter — The Rochester Convention, 1870 — Increase of City Debt — Attacks on the Ring by the Press — James O'Brien Secures Information — Watson's Death — The "Times" Publishes the City's Accounts — The Committee of Seventy — Disposition of the Plunder — Civil Actions Begun Against Members of the Ring — Tweed Imprisoned — His Escape and Subsequent Capture — The New City Charter — The Panic of 1873 — Failure of Prominent Houses — Stock Exchange Closed — The One-hundredth Anniversary of American Independence — Emperor of Brazil Visits New-York.

CHAPTER XV

NEW-YORK DURING THE LAST FOURTEEN YEARS, 1879-1892.
The Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D. D. 570

Retrospective Review — The Genesis of the East River Bridge — Roebling's Engineering Triumph — Difficulties to be Overcome — Completion of the Great Work — Magnitude of its Passenger Traffic — Description of Hell Gate — Attempts at Removing its Obstructions — The Hallett's Point Reef: Its Destruction September 24, 1876 — The Harlem River Improvements — Cutting through Dyckman's Meadows — Revival of Architecture: its Progress — High Office-buildings — Passenger Elevators — Apartment-houses — Up-town Movement of Large Institutions — The New-York University: Its Associations and Contemplated Removal — Source of Columbia College's Wealth — Cathedral of St. John the Divine — The Methodist Book Concern — Rapid Transit Discussed — The Streets Relieved of Telegraph Poles — The Electric-subway System — The Blizzard — Death of Roscoe Conkling — Overworked Switchmen — The Statue of Liberty — The Centennial of Washington's Inauguration — The Columbus Celebration — The Presence of Tramps in the Public Squares — Schools and Schoolmasters — Nelson the "Blind Teacher" — Professor Anthon and His Characteristics: His Original Mode of Punishment — Requirements of the Education of Today — Methods of Columbia and Barnard Colleges — The Condition of, and Attendance at, the Public Schools — Women on the Board of Education — The Public Schools Intended to Reach the Poorest, and all Nationalities —

Charitable Societies — Lodging-houses and Industrial Schools for Girls and Boys — The Children's Aid Society's Work — The New "Charity Exchange" on Fourth Avenue — Changes in Length of Summer Vacations — The Unrest which Characterizes the People — The Cholera Scare — Strikes of the Laboring Classes — Résumé of the Period.

CHAPTER XVI

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL HISTORY OF NEW-YORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY . . . . *Robert Ludlow Fowler.* 615

The Constitutional Conventions of 1821 and 1846 — The Convention of 1801 — Opposition to the Convention of 1821 — Final Decision in its Favor — The Supreme Court of Judicature — Chancellors Kent and Lansing, and Their Administrations — Kent's Aims and Work — The Courts of Errors and Probates — Condition of New-York State in 1821 — New England Influence Perceptible in Politics — Names of Prominent Delegates to the Convention of 1821 — Debates in the Convention — The Basis of the Franchise Enlarged — Changes in the Judicial Establishment — The Bill of Rights Sections — The Act of 1823 Authorizes Courts of Equity — The Revised Statutes — The Revision of 1824 — The Act of 1825 — The Revisers' Work Considered and Described — Definition of the Term "Common Law" — Further Changes Made in the Ancient Courts — Effect of Foreign Immigration upon the Body Politic — Disturbances Connected with the Great Grants of Land — The Convention of 1846 — Provisions of the New Constitution — Court of Appeals Created — Many Minor Changes Adopted — Jurisdiction of the Various Courts — Determination of the Private Jural Relations of all Citizens of the State — Status of a Citizen of New-York City — Conclusion.

TABLE OF DATES IN NEW-YORK HISTORY 661

LIST OF STEEL-ENGRAVINGS.

	ARTIST.	PAGE.
Alexander Hamilton	*Trumbull*	Frontispiece.
Mrs. John Jay	*Unknown*	Face 87
Robert R. Livingston	*Stuart*	" 219
De Witt Clinton	*Inman*	" 334
John Jacob Astor	*Stuart*	" 447
John Adams Dix	*Brady*	" 518

LIST OF FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Address of Returned Exiles, and Washington's Reply 4, 5, 6
Map of Livingston Manor, 1714 . . . . Face 19
Washington's Reply upon Receiving Freedom of the City . . . 23, 24
Fac-simile of Last Page of the Federal Constitution 36
Map of New-York, 1789 53
Fac-simile of Roll for Attorneys, with Autographs 60
Fac-simile of the De Lancey Proclamation . . . . Face 69
Chiefs of the Creek Indians 74
Fac-simile of a Letter by Marinus Willett 77
Eighteenth-Century Coins and Currency 112
St. Memin's View of New-York in 1798 127
Map of New-York, 1797 . . . . Face 130
Fac-simile of Order of Washington's Funeral Procession . . . 132
Fac-simile of Page of the "Commercial Advertiser," 1797 149
Fac-simile Page of Minutes of New-York Historical Society . . 178
Plan of New-York, Showing the Made and Swamp Land 197
Map of the City of New-York in 1808 . . . . Face 208
Map of Harlem Heights and Plain, 1814 281
Interior of Park Theater, November 7, 1822 . . . . Face 306
Illumination of the City Hall upon Completion of Erie Canal . 325
St. Paul's Church and Broadway in 1831 358
Pine Street Meeting Signatures . . . . Face 480
Two Great Questions. (The Tweed Ring) 549
"What are you going to do about it?" (The Tweed Ring) Face 556
Centennial Souvenir issued in April, 1889 591
New-York City and Harbor in 1892 611

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

Great Seal of New-York 2
Portrait of Red Jacket 3
The Royal Savage 7
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Charles Inglis 8

PAGE.
AUTOGRAPH OF ROBERT LENOX 10
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT 11
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MARINUS WILLETT 13
FAC-SIMILE OF A FREEMAN'S CERTIFICATE 14
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN PINTARD 16
THE LISPENARD MEADOWS 17
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF LADY CATHARINE DUER 20
NEW-YORK SLEIGH OF 1788 25
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF NOAH WEBSTER 26
FROM A CONTEMPORARY BROADSIDE 29
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE CLINTON 31
COLONEL LAMB'S MANSION 32
AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN WATTS (SR.) 34
AUTOGRAPH OF ANNE WATTS 35
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS 39
PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION 40
GRAND FEDERAL BANQUET 41
DUTCH MEDALS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, I. 43
NOS. II. AND III. OF THE SAME 44
THE FRANKLIN HOUSE 47
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AT NEW-YORK 50
WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH 55
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. WASHINGTON 57
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM DUNLAP 65
"GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES" (FAC-SIMILE OF PART OF A PAGE) 66
CITY AND MANHATTAN BANKS AND THE MCEVERS HOUSE 71
THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE 79
FAC-SIMILE OF CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION 81
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF JOSEPH BRANT 83
MILE-STONES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 84
FAC-SIMILE OF WASHINGTON'S NOTE TO MRS. JAY 88
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. RUFUS KING 91
LIBERTY HALL, BIRTHPLACE OF MRS. JOHN JAY 92
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF REV. JOHN LIVINGSTON 93
PORTRAIT OF JAMES KENT IN YOUTH 95
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. ALEXANDER HAMILTON 96
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF EGBERT BENSON 97
FAC-SIMILE AUTOGRAPH ORDER OF MRS. JAMES ALEXANDER 98
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF REV. DR. JOHN RODGERS 99
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF BISHOP SAMUEL PROVOOST 100
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER . . . 101
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF ELIAS BOUDINOT 102
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF COLONEL JOHN BAYARD 103
PORTRAIT OF MRS. JAMES BEEKMAN 104
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF SIR JOHN TEMPLE 106
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF LADY TEMPLE 107
PORTRAIT OF PHILIP LIVINGSTON 109
THE TEMPLE ARMS 110

PAGE.
Residence of Lord Stirling 111
Autograph of Mrs. John Jay 111
New-York Near the Close of the Eighteenth Century 113
View Across the North River in 1796 115
Fac-simile of Order Signed by Mayor Varick 117
Portrait and Autograph of James Fairlie 118
Portrait and Autograph of Edmond C. Genêt 121
Portrait of Mme. Edmond C. Genêt 122
The Temple Monument 124
Stone Found in City Hall Park 125
Portrait of Mrs. William Jackson 131
Portrait and Autograph of Mary Philipse Morris 134
Autograph of James De Lancey 135
Cato's House on the Boston Road 137
Fac-simile Notice of Meeting of Society Library Trustees . . . 140
New-York Society Library, 1795 143
Portrait and Autograph of General Matthew Clarkson 144
Corner-stone of Park Theater 147
Portrait and Autograph of John Adams 153
Portrait and Autograph of Mrs. John Adams 154
View of Bedford House 156
Portrait and Autograph of James A. Bayard 157
Portrait and Autograph of General Morgan Lewis 158
Portrait and Autograph of Aaron Burr 159
Portrait and Autograph of Theodosia Burr 160
Hamilton's Residence, "The Grange" 161
The Hamilton-Burr Duel 163
Richmond Hill Mansion 164
Hamilton's Tomb in Trinity Churchyard 165
Portrait and Autograph of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins . . . 167
New-York at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century 169
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston 170
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Dr. William Linn 172
The Bayard Country House in Harlem 173
St. John's Church, Varick Street 174
Portrait and Autograph of Edward Livingston 175
Portrait and Autograph of Samuel Bayard 179
New-York Stage-coach 180
The Hamilton Monument 182
Portrait and Autograph of Robert Fulton 185
Portrait and Autograph of Joel Barlow 186
The Steamer Clermont 187
Portrait and Autograph of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill 189
The Clermont 'from an Advertisement' 191
Clermont Manor-house 192
Fac-simile of Letter Written by Robert Fulton 194
Brooklyn Ferry Ticket 196
Portrait and Autograph of Jacob Radcliff 200

PAGE.
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF DR. DAVID HOSACK 201
ST. JAMES CHURCH IN HAMILTON PARK, 1810 202
BROADWAY AT CANAL STREET, 1812 204
MAP OF THE "COMMON LANDS" BELONGING TO THE CITY 205
THE CITY HALL IN THE PARK, 1812 207
FIRST FREE-SCHOOL BUILDING 209
THE RUTGERS MANSION 210
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF WASHINGTON IRVING 211
COCKLOFT HALL AND SUMMER-HOUSE 212
FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF "KNICKERBOCKER'S NEW-YORK" 213
FAC-SIMILE OF BILL FOR PASSAGE ON RIVER SLOOP 214
NEW-YORK COUNTY SEAL 214
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF JAMES K. PAULDING 216
DE PEYSTER, ROOSEVELT, AND PELL ARMS 218
ESCAPE OF THE FRIGATE CONSTITUTION 219
BIBLE UPON WHICH WASHINGTON WAS SWORN 220
PORTRAIT OF MRS. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON 221
WASHINGTON'S WRITING-TABLE 223
THE LIVINGSTON HOUSE 224
GOLD RING CONTAINING WASHINGTON'S HAIR 225
MEMBER OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S ORDER FOR PAY 227
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF ALBERT GALLATIN 228
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF EBENEZER HAZARD 230
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF RICHARD BASSETT 232
FORTS FISH AND CLINTON, 1814 234
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL JACOB MORTON 237
THE KISSING BRIDGE 239
THE SMITH HOUSE, HAVERSTRAW 241
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF CAPTAIN ISAAC HULL 242
THE FRIGATE CONSTITUTION 243
BILLET-HEAD OF THE CONSTITUTION 244
"A WASP ON A FROLIC" 247
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON 248
TOWER AT HALLETT'S POINT 250
WASHINGTON HALL, BROADWAY 252
HENRY ECKFORD'S RESIDENCE 253
VIEW OF SPUYTEN DUYVIL 255
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GEN. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER 256
FORT GANSEVOORT — "THE OLD WHITE FORT" 259
THE CLARKSON ARMS 260
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF COLONEL WILLIAM S. SMITH 261
PORTRAIT OF ROBERT LIVINGSTON 263
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF COMMODORE STEPHEN DECATUR 264
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB 265
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF LIEUTENANT WILLIAM H. ALLEN 266
WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL CHAIR 269
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF COLONEL HENRY RUTGERS 271
TOMB OF CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE 272

PAGE.
Gold Snuff-box Presented to John Jay 274
President Washington's Desk 277
Portrait and Autograph of James Madison 278
Portrait and Autograph of Mrs. James Madison 279
Fulton the First, Steam War Vessel 280
Portrait and Autograph of Colonel Tobias Lear 282
Fac-simile of Livingston Deed 286
Residence of the American Commssioners in Ghent 289
New-York and Brooklyn Ferry Commutation Notice 290
Seals and Signatures of American Peace Commissioners 291
Portrait and Autograph of Captain James Lawrence 293
Morris, Chauncey, and Lawrence Arms 294
Portrait and Autograph of John Stevens 295
Medal Commemorating Peace 296
Portrait of Mrs. John Morton 297
Autograph of Mayor John Ferguson 298
View of Mrs. Murray's House, Murray Hill 299
Portrait and Autograph of Lindley Murray 300
The Van Cortlandt Sugar-house 301
The Shakespeare Tavern 302
Signature of Mrs. E. C. Genêt 303
View of Jersey City in 1820 305
Autograph of Mayor Stephen Allen 306
Portrait and Autograph of General Jacob Brown 307
The Lafayette Medal 309
Portrait and Autograph of General John Armstrong 310
Bayard Punch-bowl 311
Portrait and Autograph of James Tallmadge 312
Snuff-boxes made from the Oak of the Constitution 314
Provoost and Chapel Streets, 1826 315
Murray Street and Dr. Mason's Church in 1822 317
Portrait and Autograph of Mrs. De Witt Clinton 318
Portrait and Autograph of Samuel Verplanck 320
Autograph of Cadwallader D. Colden 321
North End of the City Hall Park, 1825 323
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel 327
Manhattan Reservoir, Chambers Street 328
Bath Ticket, 1819 330
The Leggett House 331
Portrait and Autograph of Captain Paul Jones 332
St. Peter's Church 333
Autographs of Invited Guests, Erie Canal Celebration 333
The Verplanck House 335
Portrait and Autograph of Gulian C. Verplanck 336
Portrait and Autograph of Philip Hone 337
Portrait and Autograph of Walter Bowne 338
Autograph of Gideon Lee 338
The New-York Hospital 339

PAGE.
The Verplanck Crest 340
Portrait and Autograph of Dr. John W. Francis 341
The Provost Jail 342
Chateau La Grange 343
Masonic Hall, 1830 345
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Dr. William Berrian 346
The Bridewell, City Hall Park 349
Fac-simile of Signatures from Order of the Cincinnati 350
Portrait and Autograph of Judge William Jay 351
Portrait and Autograph of Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore 353
The New-York Society Library 354
City Hotel, Trinity Church, and Grace Church, 1831 355
Residence of Bishop Moore 357
Portrait and Autograph of Christopher Colles 359
Contoit's Garden, Broadway, 1830 360
The Canda Monument 361
Portrait and Autograph of General William J. Worth 364
Bunker's Mansion House, Broadway 365
Dutch Church in Garden Street 366
Portrait and Autograph of Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart 368
The Beverly Robinson House 369
Autograph of John Wilkes 370
Portrait and Autograph of Samuel Jones 371
Autograph of Elizabeth Izard 372
Portrait and Autograph of Chancellor Samuel Jones 373
Autograph of P. G. Stuyvesant 374
The Bleecker Arms 375
Broadway, East Side, between Grand and Howard Streets 376
Autograph of Mayor Aaron Clark 377
Autograph of Mayor Isaac L. Varian 378
Autograph of Mayor Robert H. Morris 378
Portrait and Autograph of Jonathan I. Coddington 379
Autograph of Mayor William F. Havemeyer 380
Autograph of Mayor Andrew H. Mickle 380
The Foulke Residence 381
John Pintard Book-plate 382
Portrait and Autograph of Dr. Ebenezer Crosby 383
Autograph of William B. Crosby 384
St. Patrick's Cathedral, 1815 385
Autograph of Recorder Richard Riker 386
Portrait and Autograph of Governor William C. Bouck 387
Portrait and Autograph of Jacob Hays 388
Autograph of Robert Benson 389
L'Église du St. Esprit 390
Portrait of Mrs. Harriet Bayard Van Rensselaer 391
St. John's College, Fordham 392
Autograph of Archibald Gracie 393
Autograph of Charles Wilkes 394

PAGE.
Portrait and Autograph of Laura Keene 395
Portrait and Autograph of Robert L. Stevens 396
The Gardiner Arms 397
Portrait and Autograph of Governor De Witt Clinton 398
Portrait and Autograph of David Gardiner 399
The Sturgis Arms 400
Portrait and Autograph of Mrs. De Witt Clinton 401
Croton Water Procession, 1842 402
Portrait and Autograph of Henry C. Murphy 403
Opening of the Fountain, City Hall Park, 1842 404
Manhattan Reservoir, 1846 405
Portrait and Autograph of Samuel F. B. Morse 406
Portrait and Autograph of Andrew Jackson 407
General Worth's Residence 408
Proposed Washington Monument 409
Castle Garden as it Appeared in 1850 413
Portrait and Autograph of James H. Hackett 414
The Kip Arms 415
Portrait and Autograph of Matilda Heron 417
Autograph of Mayor Caleb S. Woodhull 418
Burnham's Hotel 419
Autograph of Mayor Ambrose C. Kingsland 420
Portrait and Autograph of Governor John Young 421
The Jay Arms 422
The Clipper Ship Dreadnaught 423
Portrait and Autograph of John C. Stevens 424
The Yacht America, Winner of the Queen's Cup 425
The America's Cup 426
The American Youth and Master Johnny 427
Sunnyside, Irving's Residence 428
Autograph of Mayor James Harper 429
Portrait and Autograph of John J. Audubon 430
Audubon's Residence 431
St. James Lutheran Church 432
Autograph of Mayor Jacob A. Westervelt 433
Portrait and Autograph of Anna Cora Mowatt 434
Autograph of John Jacob Astor 435
Portrait and Autograph of Charles Astor Bristed 436
Font Hill, Forrest's Castle 437
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Dr. William A. Muhlenberg . . 439
Portrait and Autograph of Jenny Lind 440
Portrait and Autograph of Kossuth 441
Portrait and Autograph of Henry Grinnell 443
The New-York Crystal Palace 444
Soldiers' Monument in Trinity Churchyard 445
La Grange Terrace, or Colonnade Row, in Lafayette Place . . 446
Portrait and Autograph of James W. Beekman 448
The Madison Square Cottage 449

PAGE.
FAYETTE STREET BAPTIST CHURCH 451
ELIAS BOUDINOT BOOK-PLATE 453
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN JAY 454
THE OLD PARK THEATER 457
AUTOGRAPH OF MAYOR FERNANDO WOOD 458
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF EDGAR A. POE 459
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF CHARLES FENNO HOFFMAN 460
AUTOGRAPH OF MAYOR DANIEL F. TIEMANN 462
THE WASHINGTON CHAIR 463
THE PIERREPONT ARMS 465
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF CYRUS W. FIELD 466
SECOND JOHN STREET METHODIST CHURCH 468
THE RUTHERFORD ARMS 469
THE STEAMSHIP GREAT EASTERN 471
CASTLE POINT, THE RESIDENCE OF MRS. STEVENS 472
ENTRANCE TO CASTLE POINT 473
THE SCHIEFFELIN ARMS 474
VIEW NEAR FORTY-SECOND STREET 475
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD 476
THE GALLATIN ARMS 477
AUTOGRAPH OF WM. F. BRADY 477
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF CHARLES O'CONOR 479
FAC-SIMILE OF GENERAL DIX'S CELEBRATED DESPATCH 481
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT 482
FAC-SIMILE OF MAJOR ANDERSON'S DESPATCH 485
ALEXANDER T. STEWART'S RESIDENCE 486
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. JOHN TYLER 489
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF ADMIRAL JOHN L. WORDEN 492
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. BOTTA 495
VIEW OF FORT LAFAYETTE, 1861-65 498
AUTOGRAPH OF MAYOR GEORGE OPDYKE 503
THE OLD BRICK CHURCH 505
SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MEMORIAL ARCH 508
AUTOGRAPH OF ULYSSES HIRAM GRANT 509
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF PRESTON KING 510
AUTOGRAPH OF MAYOR C. GODFREY GUNTHER 511
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. CAROLINE M. KIRKLAND 512
SHERIDAN AT WINCHESTER 513
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF DR. PETER WILSON 519
VAUXHALL GARDEN 520
THE TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE 522
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF DANIEL EMBURY 523
THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN 525
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. DANIEL WEBSTER 526
TERRACE AND LAKE, CENTRAL PARK 529
CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM 530
PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF HORACE GREELEY 531
THE FEMALE NORMAL COLLEGE 532

PAGE.
Autograph of John T. Hoffman 535
Portrait and Autograph of Henry Bergh 536
Autograph of Thomas Coman 537
Collegiate Reformed Church 538
Bridge and Lake, Central Park 539
Autograph of Mayor A. Oakey Hall 541
Arsenal and Menagerie, Central Park 542
Broadway, North from Post-Office 545
New-York County Court-House 546
The Mall, Central Park 547
Broadway, North from Leonard Street 551
The Lovers' Walk, Central Park 552
The New-York Post-Office 555
"What are You Laughing at?" (The Tweed Ring) 558
"To Whom it may Concern" (The Tweed Ring) 563
Autograph of Mayor William H. Wickham 565
Liberty Enlightening the World 566
Autograph of Mayor Smith Ely, Jr. 567
New-York Docks, East River 569
The East River Bridge 571
The East River and New-York Bay, from the Bridge 572
The Verplanck House, 1892 574
Hell Gate.—Excavations at Hallett's Point 575
Hell Gate.—Blowing up Hallett's Point Rocks 576
The Harlem River Improvements, Northwest from Kingsbridge Road 577
The Harlem River Improvements, West from Kingsbridge Road . 578
The Vanderbilt Residences 579
New-York Bay, Battery Park, and Governor's Island 580
Autograph of Mayor Edward Cooper 580
High Bridge and Washington Bridge 581
Cathedral of St. John the Divine 583
Autograph of Mayor William R. Grace 584
The Bowery, North from Grand Street 585
Electric Subway Man-hole 586
Washington Building and Produce Exchange 587
Washington Memorial Arch 588
Columbus Monument 590
The Columbian Celebration Medal 593
St. James Church 594
Autograph of Mayor Abram S. Hewitt 595
Fourteenth Street, West from Union Square 596
Madison Square Garden 597
"Times," "Tribune," "Sun," and "World" Buildings, Park Row . . 598
The Terrace, Central Park 599
Portrait and Autograph of Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye 600
Park Avenue, North from Thirty-fourth Street 601
Autograph of Mayor Franklin Edson 602

PAGE.
United States Cruiser New-York 603
The Battery, 1892 604
The Bowling Green, 1892 605
Autograph of Mayor Hugh J. Grant 606
Wall Street in 1892 607
The Post-Office and Park 608
The Audubon Monument 609
Autograph of Mayor Thomas F. Gilroy 610
Tomb of General Grant 613
Portrait and Autograph of Smith Thompson 617
Portrait and Autograph of Andrew Kirkpatrick 622
Portrait and Autograph of William Paterson 627
Portrait and Autograph of Benjamin F. Butler 630
Portrait and Autograph of Josiah Ogden Hoffman 633
Portrait and Autograph of Samuel J. Tilden 642
Portrait and Autograph of William M. Evarts 647
Portrait and Autograph of Roscoe Conkling 651
Portrait of Thomas J. Oakley 654
Portrait and Autograph of David Dudley Field 657

CHAPTER I

NEW-YORK CITY UNDER AMERICAN CONTROL: FROM THE CONFEDERATION TO THE CONSTITUTION

1783–1789

UPON the evacuation of New-York by the British forces, November 25, 1783, the city entered upon the third and modern period of its history. Successively Dutch and English, it was now to put on its distinctively American exterior, and shape its course along new lines defined by new conditions. Not all the original features, however, were to disappear. Elements of the old stock survived, and fundamental characteristics left their traces. If, politically, the transitions from one power to another have been violent, socially, and to a greater extent institutionally, a certain continuity has been preserved. Derived from a common Teutonic ancestry, each group of inhabitants has perpetuated its predecessor in whole or in part, while each change has effected little more than to introduce or evolve a new phase of Teutonic life. The quiet invasion of the city in later days, under the guise of a vast immigration from the Old World, encouraged by the opportunity and responding to the spirit of the age, has fastened a cosmopolitan character upon us; but the family identity is retained. Cosmopolitan New-York continues, by absorption, to be essentially American. It is marked, unmistakably, by the inherited brand.

In the development of events interest attaches to what appear to be beginnings — to the new order of things. One may sometimes see inspiration at work here. As against the hardships, struggles, distractions, and quarrels inevitable in the changes and movements of communities, the underlying resolution and confidence are bound to assert themselves; and these attract. The first years of the city's American career are an illustration; discouragement and comparatively slow advance will be succeeded by great strides forward. In 1784 the "plant" consisted of a partially ruined town, straitened resources, an unsettled foreign trade, debts, and hampered enterprises. In 1789 the city was on its feet and conscious of future unlimited expansion.

The work in hand for this initial period was not so much a work of reconstruction as one of restoration—restoration under a new impulse. We can follow the process and appreciate the results. First of all, the population,—who were the first American New-Yorkers, what their numbers, affiliations, quality, sympathies? Then the municipal government—its reëstablishment, the extent and source of its powers, its new personnel, its agency in lifting the city out of the depths. Then all the activities—the revival of trade and manufactures, the growth of industries, the status of the professions, education, religion, societies, and the general life of the city. And finally, the local politics of the time, and the larger question of a national constitution, with the influence which the metropolis will have in securing the adoption of that famous instrument. By following out these lines, the old city of a century ago will come into view, in perspective at least, as the new growth of that day and the true foundation of modern New-York. It was the latest prototype of what is, and so far its history becomes a piece of domestic reminiscence.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
EXCELSIOR

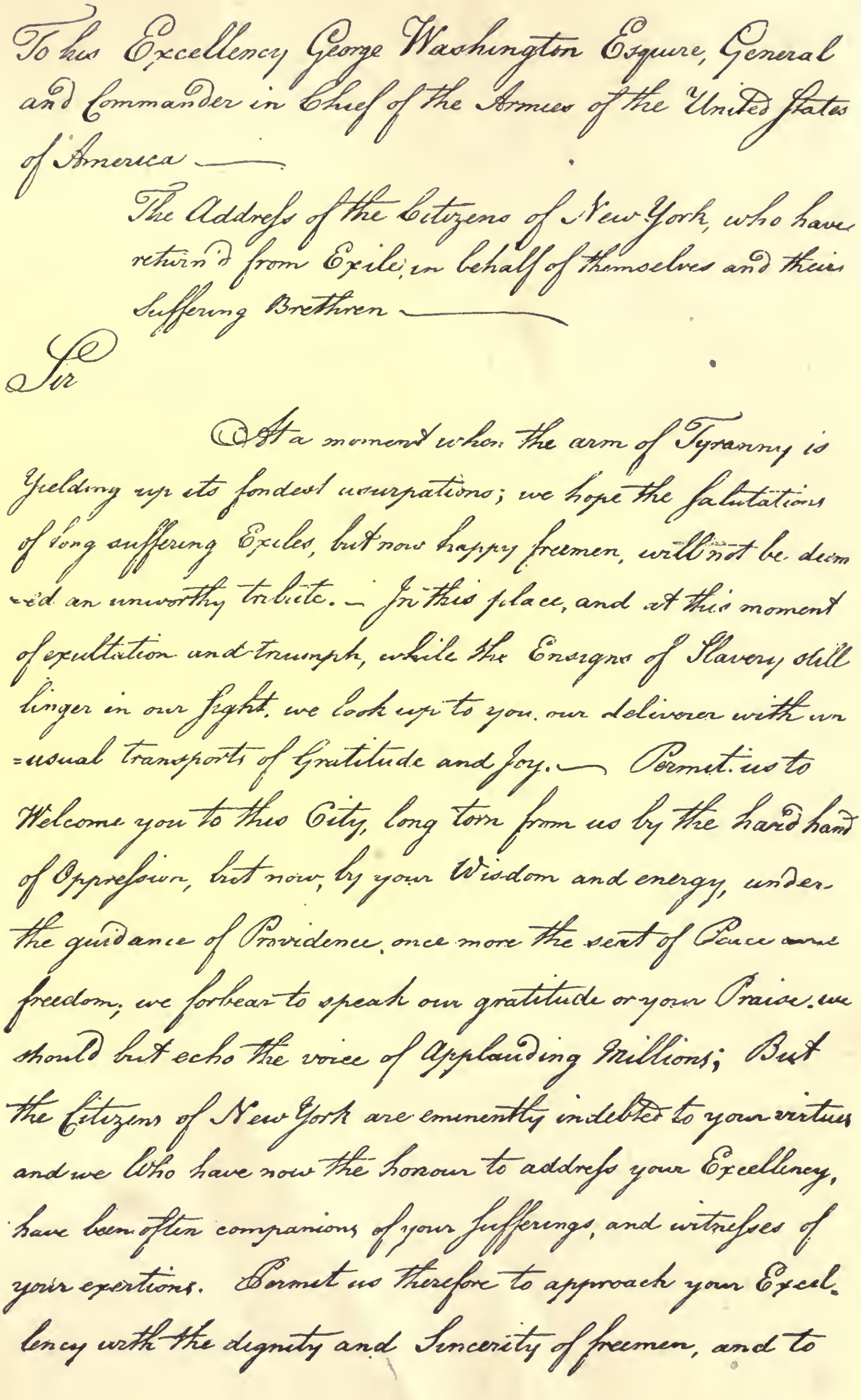
GREAT SEAL OF NEW-YORK.

How far did the Revolutionary war affect the number and composition of the city's population? That it suffered a material loss, and a loss mainly on the side of the original patrician stock, is a well-known fact. The population of 1784 and after was less old English and Dutch than it had been in 1775. While the middle, industrial classes changed to a certain extent, the decrease was felt most sensibly among the conservative, loyalist, highly respectable, and what may be called the churchly families of the city. In the rush of the new life that set in after the first interval of depression, the population assumed more of the "young American" character, with its nervous activity and practical bent, and rapidly pushed the city along toward its destined preëminence.

The change dates from the summer of 1776, when military operations opened in this vicinity. New-York then contained a population of some twenty-five thousand souls—the streets lined with about thirty-five hundred houses. The exodus began with the arrival of the enemy in June. Those who had homes or friends in other places, and the more timid element generally, left before the battle of Long Island in August. That disaster rendered New-York untenable, and by the time of the American retreat, on September 15, more than seven eighths of the residents had abandoned the city. The number acknowledging allegiance to Great Britain in October following was about nine hundred, which presumably included the greater portion of the male inhabitants who remained with the enemy. From this date the successes of the latter, followed by reaction of sentiment in this neighborhood, and the constant expulsion of disaffected persons from the American lines, gradually set the flow of population back again to the city. Of the old population, however, it is improbable that a large proportion returned. The new element was conspicuously a refugee element—loyalists of all classes, the wealthy especially, who had been forced from all parts of the country to seek British military protection in New-York. They came from New England, from the towns on the Hudson, from the Middle States, and from the South. There were "Jersey refugees," and "Maryland refugees," and "Carolina refugees," occupying vacant Whig houses or living like squatters in and about the town. In February, 1777, Governor Tryon could report that the number of men subscribing to the oath of allegiance had risen to three thousand, with scarcely a hundred remaining who had not taken it. The evacuation of Philadelphia in the following year, and repeated accessions, swelled the list until, in 1780, the number of volunteers between seventeen and sixty years of age, enrolled in the city companies during the alarm of that winter, was five thousand five hundred. The increase continued, and at the cessation of hostilities in 1782 the British were burdened in New-York with a sympathetic and largely dependent population of about thirty thousand men, women, and children, one quarter of whom may have been residents in 1775. Among these were many British merchants and sutlers who had come from England and settled in the city in the expectation of realizing large profits and monopolizing the import trade on the return of peace.

RED JACKET.

The transformation thus produced during the war was to be succeeded by another at its close. The passions excited by the protracted struggle became responsible for the loss to America of a large and valuable element among her people. Neighbors who had sought to destroy each other for seven years could not remain neighbors. The victorious party was bound to indulge its triumph in a demand for justice or retribution upon those who had so long been the "unnatural" enemies of the country, and the latter dared not remain. Thousands of loyalists, as stated in the previous volume, exaggerating

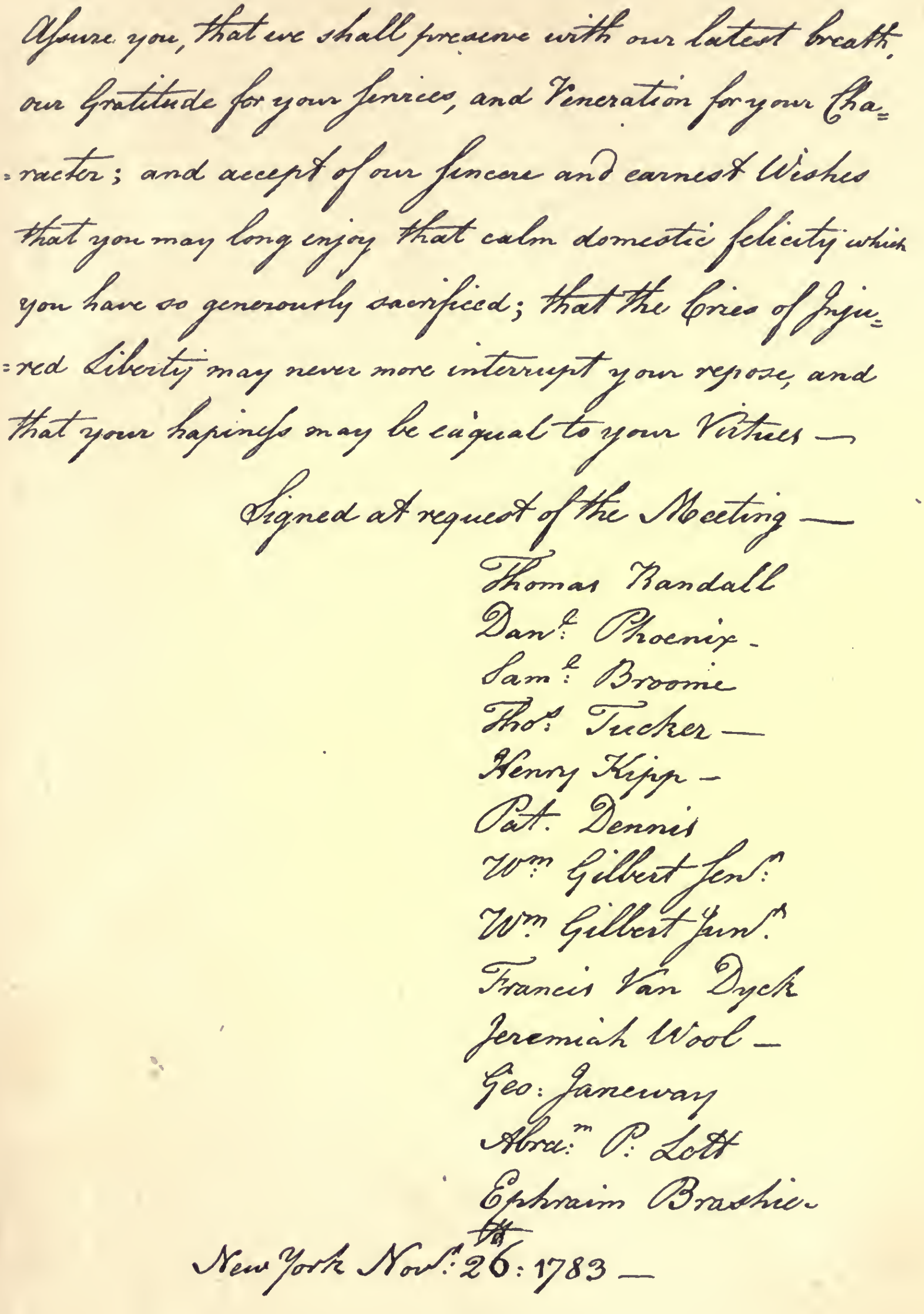


To his Excellency George Washington Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America —

The Addreſs of the Citizens of New York, who have return'd from Exile; in behalf of themselves and their Suffering Brethren —

Sir

At a moment when the arm of Tyranny is yielding up its fondest usurpations; we hope the Salutations of long suffering Exiles, but now happy freemen, will not be deemed an unworthy tribute. — In this place, and at this moment of exultation and triumph, while the Ensigns of Slavery still linger in our sight, we look up to you our deliverer with unusual transports of Gratitude and Joy. — Permit us to Welcome you to this City, long torn from us by the hard hand of Oppreſsion, but now, by your Wisdom and energy, under the guidance of Providence, once more the seat of Peace and freedom; we forbear to speak our gratitude or your Praise. we should but echo the voice of Applauding Millions; But the Citizens of New York are eminently indebted to your virtues and we who have now the honour to addreſs your Excellency, have been often companions of your sufferings, and witneſses of your exertions. Permit us therefore to approach your Excellency with the dignity and Sincerity of freemen, and to



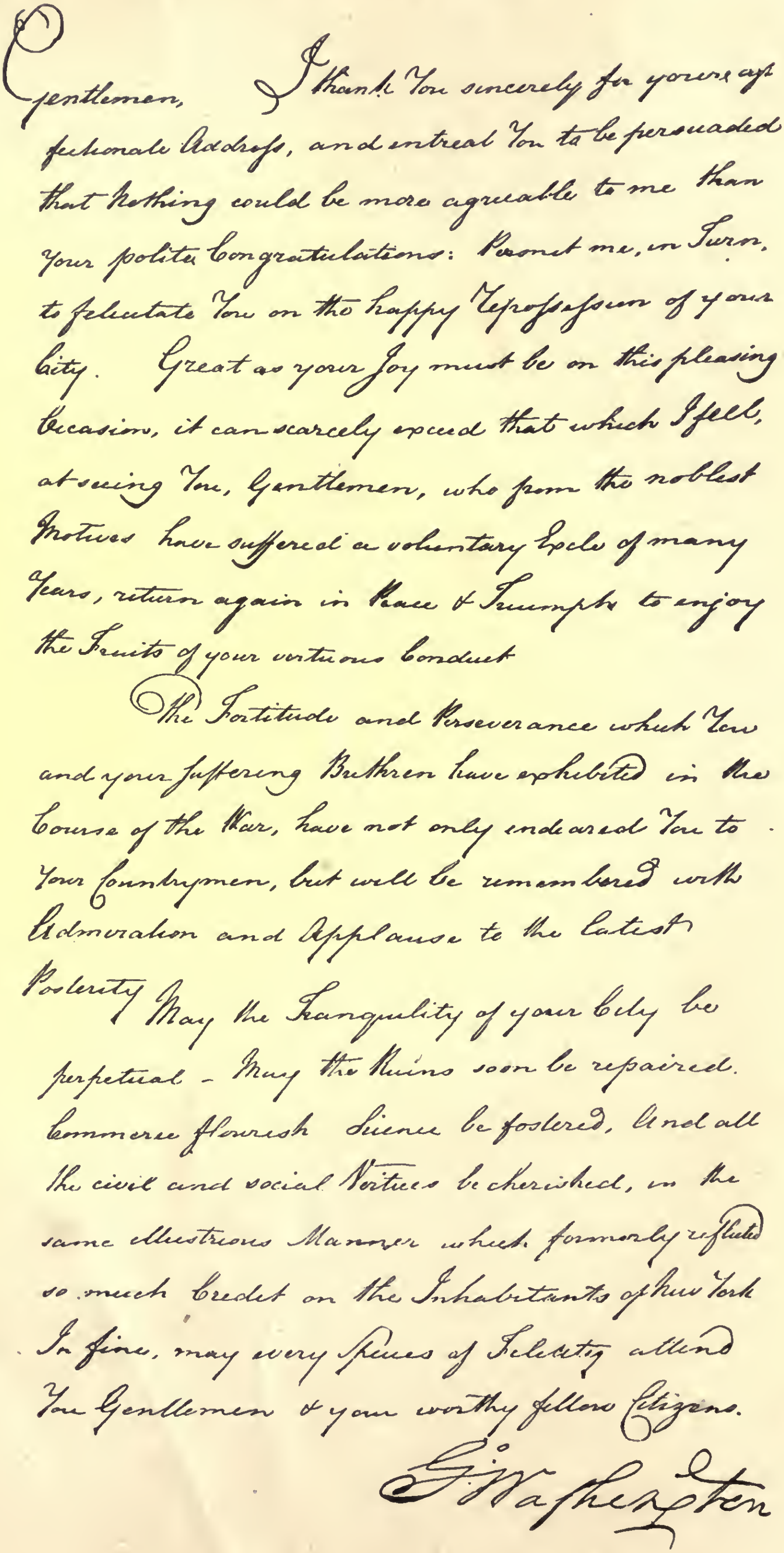
Aſsure you, that we shall preserve with our latest breath, our Gratitude for your ſervices, and Veneration for your Character; and accept of our ſincere and earnest Wishes that you may long enjoy that calm domestic felicity which you have so generously sacrificed; that the Cries of Injured Liberty may never more interrupt your repose, and that your hapineſs may be equal to your Virtues —

Signed at request of the Meeting —

Thomas Randall
Dan^{l}: Phoenix -
Sam^{l}: Broome
Tho^{s}: Tucker —
Henry Kipp -
Pat: Dennis
W^{m} Gilbert Sen^{r}:
W^{m} Gilbert Jun^{r}:
Francis Van Dyck
Jeremiah Wool —
Geo: Janeway
Abra:^{m} P: Lott
Ephraim Brasher

New York Nov^{r}: 26th: 1783 —

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.



Gentlemen, I thank You sincerely for your affectionate Address, and entreat You to be persuaded that Nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite Congratulations: Permit me, in Turn, to felicitate You on the happy Repossession of your City. Great as your Joy must be on this pleasing Occasion, it can scarcely exceed that which I feel, at seeing You, Gentlemen, who from the noblest Motives have suffered a voluntary Exile of many Years, return again in Peace & Triumph to enjoy the Fruits of your virtuous Conduct

The Fortitude and Perseverance which You and your suffering Brethren have exhibited in the Course of the War, have not only endeared You to Your Countrymen, but will be remembered with Admiration and Applause to the latest Posterity May the Tranquility of your City be perpetual. - May the Ruins soon be repaired. Commerce flourish Science be fostered, And all the civil and social Virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious Manner which formerly reflected so much Credit on the Inhabitants of New York In fine, may every Species of Felicity attend You Gentlemen & your worthy fellow Citizens.

G. Washington

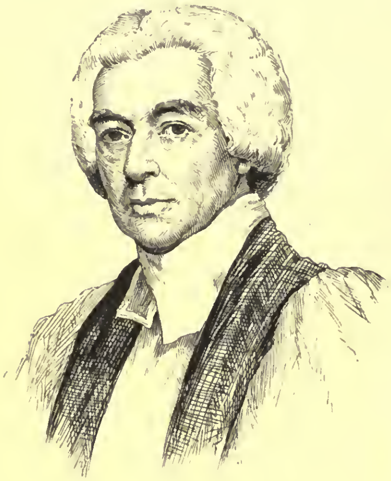
their alarms and fears, left their old homes or their refuge in New-York and went "beyond sea," wherever they could find shelter, protection, and the promise of an opportunity to recover themselves. They dispersed in families and companies, and were furnished with transportation by Sir Guy Carleton, the last British commander-in-chief in New-York, who assured them of lands and temporary support by the home government. They settled at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, at St. John's, Halifax, Montreal, Quebec, and other points in the Dominion. Some went to the Bermudas and Bahamas, some to the West Indies, and many more to the mother-country. Numerous descendants of these old colonial Americans, who opposed the Revolution and went into exile, may be found to-day at these distant points. In Nova Scotia they appeared in the rôle of settlers, building up new communities for that province, which so impressed Carleton that in an unpublished letter to Lord North, dated at New-York, October 5, 1783, he trusts that "liberal measures of sound policy will be immediately adopted and steadily pursued" in their interest. Above all, he believed that they should be granted an "explicit exemption from all taxation, except by their own legislature"—a clear recognition on his part of the effect our Revolution would inevitably work on England's restrictive colonial system.

THE ROYAL SAVAGE.[1]

As the Tories withdrew from New-York, the newly baptized American, the man of the Revolution, who had been patiently anticipating the occasion, proudly marched in to reoccupy and possess the old city. In reality the transfer had been going on by mutual agreement for some months before the formal evacuation of November 25. Permission was granted by the British authorities to Americans to enter the place for business purposes, or to prove title to property belonging to them before the war. There was accordingly much going back and forth during 1783. But not all the old American population could return. It had suffered from the experiences of the war no less than the loyalists. With the abandonment of the city in 1776, the "rebel" inhabitants had dispersed in every direction. Many retired to the upper counties of New-York, and scattered through the towns and villages. The families of the men who entered the service were cared for by local committees, while others attempted self-support as they could. Not a few found their way into New England, especially into western and central Connecticut, or into New Jersey among the hills. The exodus entailed ruin of fortunes, loss of occupation, separation of families, and seven years of distress. "You can have no idea," writes an elderly lady, in 1782, "of the sufferings of many who from affluence are reduced to the most abject poverty, and others who die in obscurity." Obviously, now that New-York was again open to them, comparatively few could return immediately, if at all. The limited number who owned lands and houses in the city went back, and others who possessed the ready means followed; but the mass of those who had formerly paid rents and carried on the minor trades found it impossible to change their situation again. Their places were eventually taken by strangers.

---

[1] Among the papers of General Philip Schuyler there was preserved a water-color sketch of the American sloop-of war of the above name. It is of importance as settling the mooted question respecting the device of the continental flag raised at the camp opposite Boston, in January, 1776, while the American forces were besieging that city. EDITOR.



Charles Inglis[1]

When New-York, accordingly, passed into American hands, toward the close of 1783, we find its population greatly diminished and changed as compared with that of 1775. For the six months following it could not have exceeded twelve thousand. Three years later it had risen to twenty-four thousand. The twelve thousand represented that portion of the Tory, British, mercantile, and lukewarm element that had resolved to remain, and the incoming Americans. At first the former outnumbered the latter. "The loyalists are more numerous and much wealthier than the poor, despicable Whigs," says a Tory writer in December, 1783, not a month after the evacuation. But the Whigs were masters. Altogether it was a changed and sorry representation of ante-war New-York. Old and well-known families were missing and missed on both sides. "Ah!" wrote Jay to his former friend, Van Schaack, at this time, "if I ever see New York again I expect to meet with the shade of many a departed joy; my heart bleeds to think of it." Among prominent expatriated royalists, former residents of the city, were such men as William Smith, the historian and chief justice of the province; Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church; Thomas Barclay and William Axtell, merchants; Colonel Edmund Fanning, and others, who found new homes in Nova Scotia. The Hon. Andrew Elliot, Judge Thomas Jones, William Bayard, George Ludlow, Colonel Roger Morris, and the Hon. James De Lancey were among those whose estates were confiscated by the legislature of New-York during the war, and who ended their days in the mother-country. Bayard, on leaving New-York, complained bitterly that "the rebels" had confiscated every shilling of his valuable property.[1] The immense De Lancey estate, lying on the east side of the city along the general line of Grand street, and which was sold under forfeiture after the war, accommodates to-day three hundred thousand inhabitants of the city with homes. Among the Whigs whom New-York was not to see again the most distinguished was Philip Livingston, member of Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who died at York, Pennsylvania, in 1778. General John Morin Scott, secretary of state for New-York, one of the active patriots representing the city both in the field and in the legislature during the memorable contest, died about three months after the evacuation.

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[1] The Rev. Charles Inglis was a native of Ireland. He came to America as a missionary in 1759, and in 1765 he became assistant minister of Trinity Church, this city. He was in violent opposition to the revolutionary sentiments of the colonists, and a pamphlet written against Paine's "Common Sense" was burned by the Sons of Liberty. He persisted in retaining the clauses in the prayers which mentioned the king and royal family. He left New-York in 1776, but was rector of Trinity during the British occupation. At the evacuation he retired to Halifax, became Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, and died in 1816. He was succeeded as bishop by his son John. EDITOR.

Bereft of more than half its original inhabitants, the remaining half divided into two distinct elements, in part bitterly hostile, and with trade relations and present resources precarious and meager,—the old town for the time being little resembled its former prosperous and hospitable self. As the immediate result of the war, we have a sifting process and a lull. Six years more, and the population will be thirty thousand. Apart from the natural increase, there will be increase by immigration both home and foreign. The home immigrant will be principally the rural New-Yorker, the New-Englander, and the Jerseyman. It was in those early years that the city began to attract and absorb that native American material which has continued to flow from other places ever since. It was then, in 1783, that Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, among the first, settled here in the practice of the law; a little later, James Kent, the future chancellor; Rufus King, of Massachusetts, and James Watson, of Connecticut, two of the city's early United States senators; William Samuel Johnson, president of Columbia; Francis Childs and Thomas Greenleaf, editors and printers; Drs. McKnight and Cogswell, and many others, including Revolutionary officers, whose numerous descendants are counted to-day among our old New-Yorkers. As to the foreign immigrant, he was always with us. Before the Revolution, the Scotch,[2]

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[1] His New-York and Hoboken estates were sold under the confiscation act. The latter was purchased in 1804 by Captain John Stevens, and in due time passed to his son, Edwin A. Stevens. He married for his second wife a member of the Delaware branch of the Bayard family, and at his death, in 1868, left her the estate, worth many millions. EDITOR.

[2] Deserving of conspicuous notice among the Scotch immigrants is Robert Lenox. He was born

Irish, French, and German elements were broadly recognized. After the war the immigration appears to have been mainly Irish, and a considerable number arrived during this period, though more went to Pennsylvania. Two hundred foreigners were naturalized in this city as early as May, 1784. A letter from Belfast of this date says: "The passengers now going, and who have since the conclusion of the American War sailed from this port in such prodigious numbers, are not the refuse of the country. No, they are those that form the yeomanry of the land." From Germany came, in 1783, young John Jacob Astor, who was to lay the foundation of that enormous private wealth with which the family name is associated.

Rob. Lenox

Passing to the municipal government of New-York for this period, we shall find the old colonial forms preserved and continued. There was simply a transfer of authority from English to American hands; and this was effected without friction or disorder. The original charter under which the city had been governed since 1686, or, in its amended form, since 1730, had been disturbed by neither party during the war, except so far as British military rule prevailed, and it was still operative in all its parts. Its revision upon the basis of the advanced political theories of the colonists was yet to be agitated, and upon the entry of the Americans it only remained to rehabilitate the corporation through some authorized agency. The occasion had been provided for. As early as October 23, 1779, by act of the State legislature, a body was created, known as the council for the southern district of New-York, which was charged with the duty of assuming control of the city and neighboring counties immediately upon the withdrawal of the enemy. It was empowered to preserve order; to prevent the monopoly of the necessaries of life; to impress fuel, forage, horses, teams, and drivers into its service; to supply the markets with provisions and regulate prices; and to superintend the election of members of the legislature and city officers, at which disaffected persons were not to be allowed to vote or stand as candidates. The members consisted of the governor, George Clinton; the lieuten-

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in Kirkcudbright, a seaport town on the southwest border of Scotland, in 1759, and during the Revolution was placed in the charge of an uncle, a commissary in the British service, who came to this country in 1776. At the close of the war, Robert Lenox settled in New-York and engaged in the East India trade, soon amassing a large fortune for those days. His business transactions surpassed for many years those of any merchant in this city of that period. In 1818 he purchased about thirty acres between Fourth and Fifth avenues and Sixty-eighth and Seventy-fourth streets, which became what was known as the Lenox farm. The price paid was $6920. For a portion of this property his only son James, who inherited it when his father died in 1839, received some three millions of dollars between 1870 and 1880, and at his death in the latter year possessed several acres of the old farm, the value of which, together with what he had given to the Lenox Library and the Presbyterian Hospital, was fully four millions. Mr. Robert Lenox was, like his son, a great benefactor to the Presbyterian Church, and for fifteen years was president of the St. Andrew Society,— his immediate predecessors being Chancellor Livingston and Walter Rutherford. His portrait is preserved in the Lenox Library.

EDITOR.

ant-governor, Pierre Van Cortlandt; the chancellor, Robert R. Livingston; Judges Robert Yates and John Sloss Hobart, of the State Supreme Court; John Morin Scott, secretary of state; Egbert Benson, attorney-general; the State senators of the southern counties, Stephen Ward, Isaac Stoutenburgh, James Duane, and William Smith, and the assemblymen of the same district. The judges of the district were also to serve, but none had been appointed. Seven members of the council, of whom the governor was always to be one, constituted a quorum. For the city's guardianship, temporary or permanent, the most punctilious community could not have made a more noteworthy selection. On Evacuation Day they rode into the city four abreast, and next in order after Washington and the governor at the head of the procession.

Pierre Van Cortlandt

Occupying the council-chamber in the old City Hall in Wall street, this provisional body, with James M. Hughes as secretary, entered at once upon its duties. The original records of its proceedings have disappeared, but from certain of its published ordinances, and from references in the papers of the day, the features of its administration can be outlined. Protection and relief for the daily increasing population were the first care. With the aid of the light infantry battalion of the continental army, which remained in the city under General Knox and Major Sumner for some weeks after the evacuation, order was maintained and the necessary regulations enforced. The first ordinance, issued November 27, related to great abuses "in the sale of bread." Thereafter a loaf was to weigh two pounds, eight ounces, avoirdupois, made of good merchantable flour, and each loaf marked with the initial letters of the baker, price "eight coppers." All new-comers were to register their names and places of abode, be they housekeepers or boarders. Licenses were granted, weighers, measurers, firemen, and watchmen appointed, thieves and robbers confined, and all the hundred other requirements of city oversight fulfilled.

The first steps toward the restoration of the regular city government were taken early in December, when the council authorized an election of ward officers or board of aldermen. The election occurred on the 15th of the month, under the old *viva voce* method,— the ballot not being introduced until 1804,— and seven aldermen, one from each ward, were chosen, whose names, with those of the assistant aldermen, who were doubtless elected at the same time, appear in the list of corporation officers given below. This incomplete body — incomplete so far as no mayor had been appointed — organized with John Broome as president, and assumed the government of the city under the title of the aldermen and common council. The provisional council still continued its functions, as, by the terms of the act of 1779, it was required to do for sixty days after the evacuation, but the details of city management were clearly left to the new body. Seven weeks later the organization of the government was completed. The common council and many citizens petitioned the governor to appoint James Duane mayor of the city, and on February 7 the appointment was made — the governor and board of appointment, authorized by the State constitution, exercising in this case the right of nomination vested in the colonial governors and their councils. On February 9 Duane was formally installed as mayor, at a special meeting of the city council held at the house of "Mr. Simmons,"— John Simmons, innkeeper, in Wall street, near the City Hall—where he took the oath of office in the presence of that body, and of the governor and lieutenant-governor of the State, representing the State provisional council, whose duties now ceased. The city corporation was thus restored in all its forms and offices, as follows:

First American city government of New-York, 1784: Mayor, James Duane; Recorder, Richard Varick; Chamberlain or City Treasurer, Daniel Phoenix; Sheriff, Marinus Willett; Coroner, Jeremiah Wool; Clerk of the Common Council, Robert Benson.

Aldermen: Benjamin Blagge, Thomas Randall, John Broome, William W. Gilbert, William Neilson, Thomas Ivers, Abraham P. Lott.

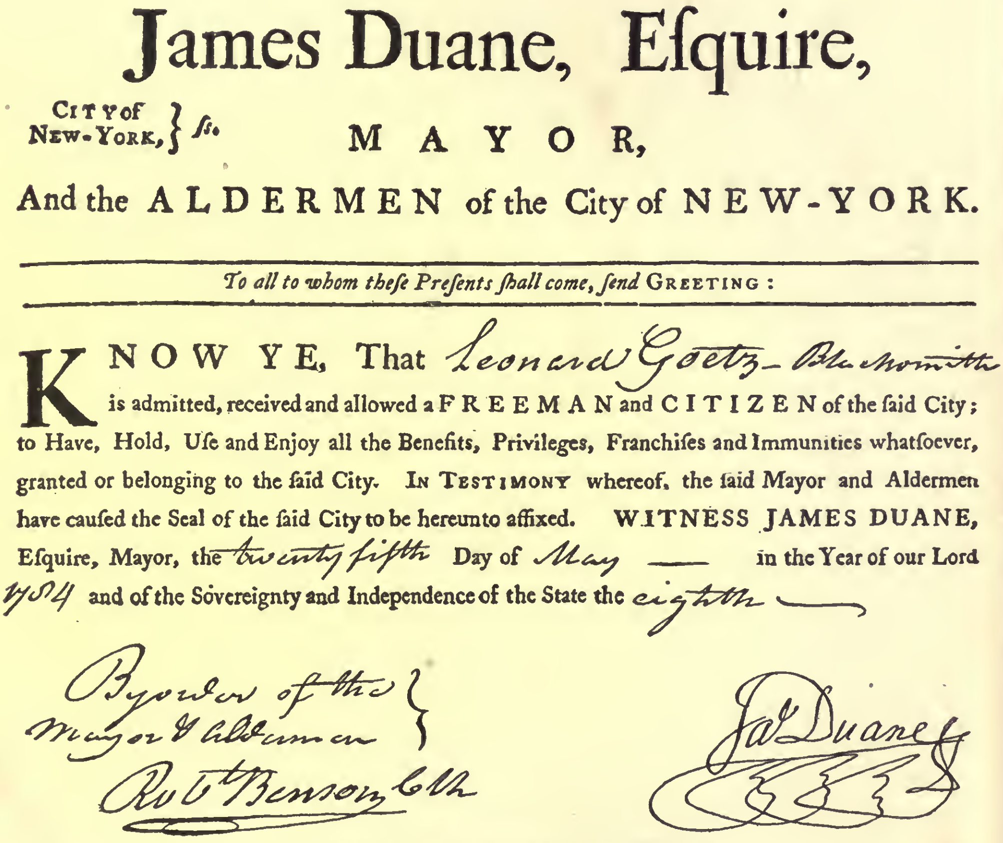
Assistants: Daniel Phoenix, Abraham Van Gelden, Thomas Ten Eyck, Henry Shute, Samuel Johnson, Jeremiah Wool.

These first "city fathers" of the new régime were representative citizens. James Duane, the mayor, was a man of wealth and high social and political standing. During the Revolutionary war he served as a member of the New-York provincial congress, of the Continental Congress, and of the State senate, and was elected a delegate to the New-York constitutional convention of 1788. He served as mayor until 1789, and was soon after appointed by Washington the first United States judge of the district of New-York. His city residence in Pine street had been practically destroyed during the British occupation, while his farm establishment on the general line of Twentieth street, east of Broadway, escaped injury. The latter was known as "Gramercy Seat" and included the present park of that name, this being a corruption of the Dutch name "*Krom messie*" (crooked little knife), given to a creek running through the land. In his letter of acceptance of the mayoralty, Duane requested that in view of the severity of the season and prevailing distress, the public entertainment usually given on the investiture of the office be dispensed with. He also presented twenty guineas for the relief of his "suffering fellow-citizens." The recorder, Richard Varick, who succeeded Duane as mayor, had been Washington's private secretary during the latter part of the war, and in later life was for many years president of the American Bible Society. The sheriff, Colonel Willett, had distinguished himself in various actions at the head of one of the New-York continental regiments, while Phoenix, Wool, Broome, Neilson, Lott, Ivers, and others of the common council, were old merchants and prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce. The first meeting of the common council, as completely organized, was held on February 10, 1784. On March 16 it was voted to change the city seal by erasing the imperial crown and substituting the crest of the arms of the State of New-York, that is, "a representation of a semi-globe with a soaring eagle thereon."

Marinus Willett

In its outward forms the city government reflected its English derivation. The conditions of citizenship also remained the same for many years, and so far presented a contradiction. The citizen of the State of New-York was politically a freer man than the citizen of the city of New-York. Suffrage rights were not the same for each. Under the new State constitution of 1777, while the property qualification required of voters for State officers varied, for assemblymen it was moderate. The voter must pay assessments and a nominal house rent of five dollars. To enjoy municipal privileges, to be able to vote and to stand as a candidate for the office of alderman, it was necessary to be either a "freeholder" or a "freeman" in the ancient English sense. The "freeholder" was a real-estate owner; he must possess land of the annual value of at least forty shillings. Ordinary tenants, rent-payers, could not vote; and these restrictions limited the voters of this class to a small number. The census of 1790 shows that out of a population of thirty thousand there were but 1209 freeholders of

£100 valuation or over; 1221 of £20, and 2661 "forty-shilling" holders. Property interests—something like a landed aristocracy—controlled municipal elections. The inconsistency of this system with the general leveling principles on which the Revolution had been fought out, was occasionally referred to. As early as March 31, 1785, some one writes to the "New-York Packet": "If you look into the corporation you will find men whom you both feed and clothe, that you have no power to elect. Is this right or wrong? Common sense gives the answer." The agitation will wax warm about 1800, and in 1804 the charter will be so amended that all New-Yorkers paying twenty-five dollars rent per year and taxes may vote for aldermen; but it will not be until 1833 that they secure the right to elect their own mayor.



James Duane, Eſquire,

City of New-York, } ſs.

MAYOR,

And the ALDERMEN of the City of NEW-YORK.

To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, ſend GREETING:

KNOW YE, That Leonard Goetz – Blacksmith is admitted, received and allowed a FREEMAN and CITIZEN of the ſaid City; to Have, Hold, Uſe and Enjoy all the Benefits, Privileges, Franchiſes and Immunities whatſoever, granted or belonging to the ſaid City. In Testimony whereof, the ſaid Mayor and Aldermen have cauſed the Seal of the ſaid City to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS JAMES DUANE, Eſquire, Mayor, the twenty fifth Day of May —— in the Year of our Lord 1784 and of the Sovereignty and Independence of the State the eighth ——

By order of the Mayor & Aldermen }
Robt Benson Clk

Jas Duane

FAC-SIMILE OF A FREEMAN'S CERTIFICATE.

The "freemen," who were not so numerous as the "freeholders," were likewise a relic of the Old World municipal system. They represented residents not owning real property, who, nevertheless, as merchants, traders, artisans, and workmen, contributed to the wealth of the city, and on whom the city corporation conferred the rights of citizenship on the payment of fixed fees. Such persons were made "free of the city." Among the Dutch they had been called "burghers" of the lesser right. During Mayor Duane's term a considerable number of "freemen" were admitted to the suffrage, including laborers, bakers, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, weavers, tanners, blacksmiths, butchers, grocers, cabinet-makers, cartmen, ironmongers, and tradesmen generally. When admitted to this privilege, merchants paid five pounds, and others twenty shillings, to the corporation, and fees ranging from one to eight shillings to the mayor, recorder, clerk and bell-ringer of the mayor's court. They also took oath that they would be "obeisant and obedient" to the city officials, "maintain and keep the said city harmless," and report and hinder all "unlawful gatherings, assemblies and conspiracies" against the peace of the good people of the State.

This custom of creating "freemen" died out early in the present century, and was formally abolished in 1815, except so far as the honorary right was conferred. Distinguished persons were presented with the freedom of the city down to a recent date, the roll being adorned with the names of Washington, Lafayette, Jay, Clinton, Steuben, Gates, Hamilton, the naval heroes of the 1812 war, and representatives of the war for the Union. The "freedom" in such cases was presented in the form of an address from the corporation inclosed in an elegant gold box. In Washington's reply to the address transmitted to him in December, 1784, it is possible that we have the origin of the title New-York enjoys as the "Empire State." His words were sympathetic and hopeful: "I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessings on your City; that the devastations of war in which you found it may soon be without a trace; that a well regulated and beneficial commerce may enrich your citizens; and that your *State* (at present the seat of the *Empire*) may set such examples of wisdom and liberality as shall have a tendency to strengthen and give permanency to the Union at home, and credit and respectability to it abroad."[1]

The interior life of the new city had its interesting phases. In the general activities an earnest start was made, although fortune failed to smile on every initial effort. The Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1768, and kept up by the British and resident merchants during the war, was incorporated by the New-York legislature, April 13, 1784. Its first president under the new charter was John Alsop; vice-president, Isaac Sears; treasurer, John Broome; secretary, John Blagge; and its first members were Samuel Broome, George Embree, Thomas Hazard, Cornelius Ray, Abraham Duryee, Thomas Randall, Thomas Tucker, Daniel Phoenix, Isaac Roosevelt, James Beekman,

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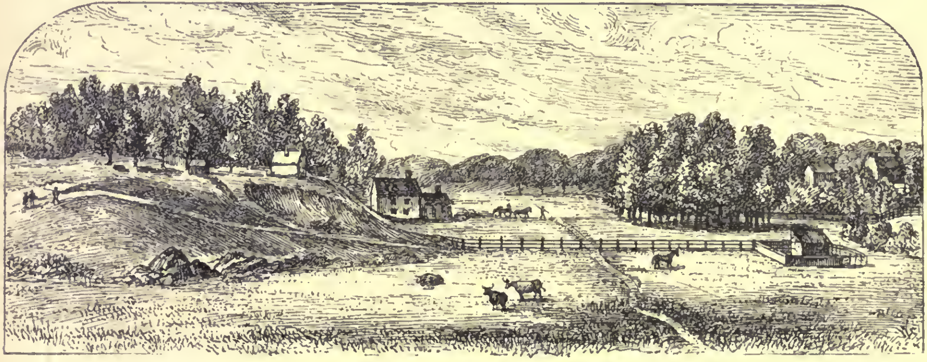
[1] See fac-simile of this letter on pages 23 and 24.

Eliphalet Brush, John R. Kip, Comfort Sands, Nathaniel Hazard, Jeremiah Platt, Gerardus Duyckinck, Abraham P. Lott, Benjamin Ledyard, Anthony Griffiths, William Malcolm, Robert Bowen, John Berrian, Jacob Morris, John Franklin, Abraham Lott, James Jarvis, Henry H. Kip, Archibald Currie, Stephen Sayre, Jonathan Lawrence, Joseph Blackwell, Joshua Sands, Viner Van Zandt, David Currie, Lawrence Embree, and Jacobus Van Zandt. The influence which this body, with its growing membership, exerted upon the affairs of the city, and especially in shaping its policy during the constitutional period, will be seen to have been quite marked. Most of the mercantile houses and offices, with the docks and shipping, were to be found on the east side of the town, near and along the East River. About 1788, as many as one hundred vessels might be seen at any one time discharging or taking in cargoes, but not all flying the American flag. The first American merchantman bound for Canton was the Empress of China, Captain Green, which left port February 22, 1784, and reached her destination August 30. She returned May 11, 1785, after having made a paying venture. Congress passed a resolution expressing satisfaction at this successful attempt to establish a direct trade with China. The ship Betsy sailed about the same time for Madras. Packet-ships, American, British, and French, kept up communication between New-York and European ports. There was but one bank in the city during this period — the Bank of New-York, established early in 1784, largely through the efforts of William Duer and General Alexander McDougall, who was its first president until his death on June 8, 1786. Isaac Roosevelt became its president in 1789. In April, 1787, a Mutual Fire Assurance Company made its appearance, which John Pintard, afterward prominent in many enterprises, had been chiefly instrumental in organizing; he was its first secretary. The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was established August 4, 1785, with the object of promoting mutual fellowship and confidence among all mechanics, preventing litigation between them, extending mechanical knowledge, and affording relief to distressed members. Anthony Post was chairman. There were societies for promoting useful knowledge, for the relief of distressed debtors, and for manufacturing purposes. The social or-

John Pintard

ganizations, or the societies of St. Andrew, St. George, and St. Patrick, with a German and musical society and masonic lodges, all had an existence or their beginning in those early years. The New-York branch of the Cincinnati Society of Revolutionary Officers maintained an active life, and regularly celebrated Independence Day with an oration, a dinner, and toasts. General McDougall and Baron Steuben were its first two presidents. The Society for the Manumission of Slaves, organized in 1785, held its first quarterly meeting on May 12 of that year at the Coffee House, when John Jay was elected president; Samuel Franklin, vice-president; John Murray, Jr., treasurer; and John Keese, secretary. Its members advocated the gradual emancipation of slaves, and their protection as freedmen. Some set their slaves free "at proper ages," and denounced the separation of families by exportation of individuals for sale in the Southern States. In June, 1788, Jay wrote to Granville Sharp, the English philanthropist: "By the laws of this State, masters may now liberate healthy slaves of a proper age without giving security that they shall not become a parish charge; and the exportation as well as importation of them is prohibited. The State has also manumitted such as became its property by confiscation; and we have reason to expect that the maxim that every man, of whatever color, is to be presumed to be free until the contrary be shown, will prevail in our Courts of justice. Manumissions daily become more common among us, and the treatment which slaves in general meet with in this State is very little different from that of other servants."



THE LISPENARD MEADOWS.[1]

The professions were revived under the new auspices, but without material change in practice and methods. Lawyers were numerous, and the deranged state of things after the war made litigation lucrative. The names of forty-two are given in the City Directory for 1786. Hamilton's office was at 58 Wall street; Burr's at 10 Little Queen street; Morgan Lewis, 59 Maiden Lane; Robert Troup, 18 Smith street; Richard Varick, 46 Dock street; Edward Livingston, 51 Queen (now Pearl) street. Among the few masters in Chancery were John Jay, 8 Broad street; John Broome, 6 Hanover Square; William M. Hughes, 20 Golden Hill, or John street; and Edward Dunscomb, examiner, 83 Wall street. The chancellor, Robert R. Livingston, conducted the limited business of his court at his residence, No. 3 Broadway. The Hons. Richard Morris and John Sloss Hobart were two of three judges of the State Supreme Court of Judicature, who resided in New-York or its immediate vicinity. For local cases the mayor's court, the oldest in the city, was the only resort, and it became the nursery of all the legal talent that distinguished the bar of New-York of that day. "Ignorant pretenders," we are told, found little chance of making their way at law on account of the number of critical examinations required of candidates for the higher courts and the time of study called for by the rules of admission to the bar.

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[1] This representation of Lispenard's Meadows was drawn by Dr. Alexander Andersen in 1785, and was taken from the site of the St. Nicholas Hotel, which formerly stood in Broadway, corner of Spring street, a few blocks above Canal street. EDITOR.

The New-York Medical Society, of which the well-known Dr. John Bard was president, was exceptionally strong in the character of its membership. Several of the surgeons and physicians had lately served in the army, Dr. John Cochrane having been medical director of the continental line, and Drs. Charles McKnight, James Cogswell, and others, regimental or hospital surgeons. Dr. George Christian Anthon had long been identified with the British army, and during the Revolution was stationed for a time as post surgeon at Detroit. He settled with his family in New-York in 1784, and died here at an advanced age. Among his sons was the late Professor Charles Anthon, the classical scholar. Among others were Drs. Benjamin Kissam, William P. Smith, Nicholas Romaine, James Tillary, Samuel Bradhurst, "physician and apothecary," Samuel Bard, and J. R. B. Rodgers. Dr. Mason Fitch Cogswell, subsequently the eminent Hartford physician, practised in New-York at this period, and was a member of the Medical Society. Still another member was the distinguished Samuel Latham Mitchill, who, as physician, scientist, professor, and United States senator, became one of the ornaments of the city and the nation.[1] With the doctors we also have the quacks, one of whom offers to heal almost every ailment, from palsy to burns and toothache, with electricity—"no cure no pay."

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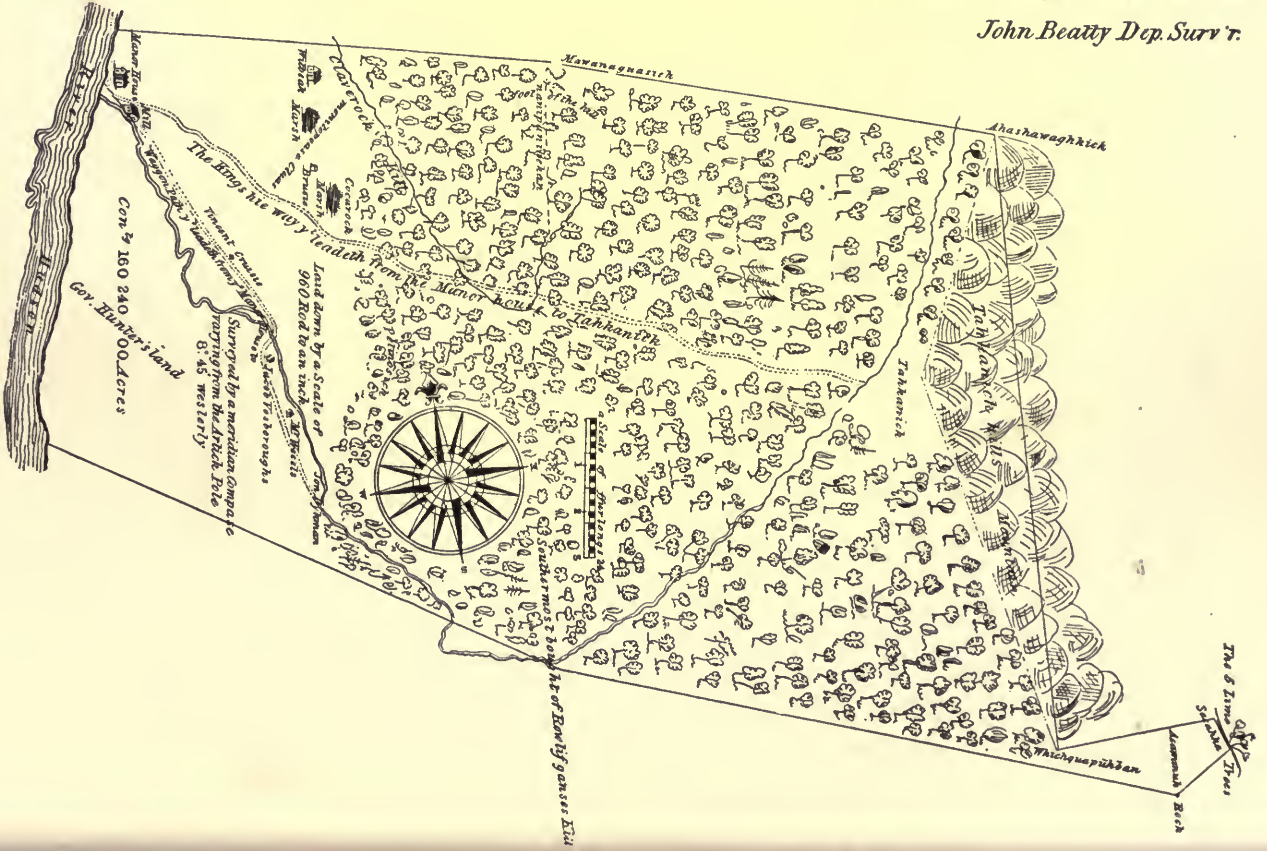
[1] One of Mitchill's earliest scientific papers was published in New-York in 1787, with the title, "Observations, Anatomical, Physiological and Pathological, on the Absorbent Tubes of Animal Bodies, to which are added Geological Remarks on the Maritime Parts of the State of New-York." Treating briefly on the latter point, especially of the shores of Long Island west of Whitestone, he says: "There is a tradition among that race of men who, previous to the Europeans, possessed this tract of country, that at some distant period in former times, their ancestors could step from rock to rock and cross this arm of the sea at Hell Gate."

At the request of ROBERT LIVINGSTON ESQ. of ye County of Albanie; Lord of the Manor of Livingston, I have measured and laid out for him said Manor lying and being situate on the East side of Hudson's River, on both sides of Roeloff Johnson's Kill in the County of Albany and Dutchess County. Beginning on the East side of Hudson's River Southward from Vastrix Island at a place where a certain run of water watereth out into Hudson's River called in ye Indian tongue Wachankassik, from thence running East by South three degrees fortyfive minutes, Southerly nine miles and a half to a certain place called in the Indian tongue Mawanagwassik, where Indians have laid several heaps of stones together, by an ancient custom amongst them; then East by South seven degrees forty five minutes, Southerly nine miles and a half and thirty rod, to a heap of stones laid together on a certain hill called by the Indians Ahashawahkik, by the North end of Taghkanick hills or mountains, then South two degrees West along said hills thirteen miles and a quarter to a place called Wichguapakkatt; then East two degrees fifty minutes, Northerly, three miles and one hundred and fifty six rod to a run of water on ye east end of a certain flat or piece of land called in ye Indian tongue Sakahka; then south by east eight degrees thirty minutes, Easterly one hundred and forty rod, to five Linds or Lime trees marked with St Andrew's Cross, standing together where two runs of water meet together on ye south side of said flatt; then West South west six degrees thirty minutes, Southerly one mile and one half and twelve rod, to a rock or great stone on ye South corner of another Flatt or piece of low land, called by the Indians Acawaisik; then West Northwest thirteen miles and three quarters of a mile to ye Southermost bought or bounds of Roeloff Johnson's Kill; then Northwest eleven degrees Northerly eleven miles and three quarters, to a dry gully at Hudson's river called in ye Indian tongue Sachahampa; opposite to ye Sawyers creek, and from thence up Hudson's river, including all ye turnings and windings thereof, to ye first station. The whole being bounded to ye South by ye land of Coll. Peter Schuyler, and ye land of Lieut. Coll. Augustin Graham & Companie to ye North and East by the land of Capt Hendrick Van Rensselaer and ye Patentees of Westenhook, to the West by Hudson's river containing in all one hundred and sixty thousand two hundred and forty acres.

Performed this 20th day of October 1714 Pr. me.

John Beatty Dep. Surv'r.



MAP OF LIVINGSTON MANOR, 1714.

As to educational institutions, it is interesting to note that steps were taken, very soon after the evacuation, to put King's College, now Columbia—the only college in the State—on a good working basis again. During the war the building had been used as a hospital by the British, who had rifled its library. The president, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, had given instructions in a private house, and a nominal faculty was continued, but little appears to have been accomplished. On May 1, 1784, the legislature passed an act altering the charter of the institution and placing it under the State Board of Regents provided for at the same time. The last provision of the act reads: "That the College within the City of New-York, heretofore called King's College, be forever hereafter called and known by the name of Columbia College." Young De Witt Clinton was the first student who entered under its new name. A faculty of professors carried out the curriculum until 1787, when William Samuel Johnson, son of the first president, was elected to the presidency. The first commencement was held April 11, 1786, after "a lamented interval of many years"; and on this occasion Congress and both houses of the State legislature adjourned to attend the exercises. College Place of to-day—Barclay, Church, and Murray streets—marks the site of the original structure, which was long and wide, three stories high, built of freestone, with a very high fence around it. Private schools also appeared, but it cannot be said that any special interest was taken by the public in the cause of education at this date.

The religious denominations remained of nearly the same relative strength as before the war. There were the three Dutch Reformed churches, which had been turned into hospitals, storehouses, and riding-schools by the enemy during the Revolution, and shamefully abused. The Middle Church required extensive repairs, and was not reopened until 1790. The pastors during this period were the Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston and Rev. Dr. William Linn. The Protestant Episcopal Church was represented by three parishes—Trinity, St. Paul's, and St. George's. Trinity Church was destroyed by the great fire of September, 1776, and it was not until August 21, 1788, that the corner-stone for a new building was laid. Some excitement was occasioned at the time of the evacuation of the city by the action of the Tory element in the parish in electing the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore rector, to succeed Dr. Inglis, who had left with the refugees for Nova Scotia. When the Whigs took possession of the town, the Trinity members among them appealed to the legislature and succeeded in obtaining full possession and reversing the election. Their choice fell on the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost. The four Presbyterian churches, one of them built in 1787, had for pastors such men as Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, Rev. John McKnight, Rev. Dr. John Mason, and others not permanently settled. Of Dr. Rodgers, Rev. Manasseh Cutler, visiting New-York in the interest of the Ohio Company, wrote in 1787: "He is certainly the most accomplished gentleman for a clergyman, not to except even Dr. Cooper, that I have ever been acquainted with. He lives in elegant style, and entertains company as genteelly as the first gentlemen in the City. This he may well do, for his salary is 750 pounds, and his perquisites upwards of 200 more." There were, in addition, two German Lutheran churches, one Moravian church, one Methodist, one Baptist, one Roman Catholic church, one Friends' meeting-house, and one Jewish synagogue.

Cath. Duer

On its strictly social side, New-York life had always been attractive. Less provincialism existed here than at any other center in the colonies. Strangers and foreigners alike remarked on the hospitality of the people. What with the State legislature meeting in the city, and Congress following early in 1785, with foreign ministers, consuls, and merchants entertaining handsomely, society established itself in full feather. Distinguished men and old families gave tone to it. More than one member of Congress from other States found their future partners within the charmed circle. James Monroe, the future president, married the daughter of Lawrence Kortwright; Rufus King, of Boston, the daughter of John Alsop; and Elbridge Gerry, the daughter of James Thompson, who is flatteringly referred to as "the most beautiful woman in the United States." A visitor at Colonel William Duer's house states that he lived in the style of a nobleman, and had fifteen different sorts of wine at dinner. His wife, Lady Kitty, daughter of General Lord Stirling, late of the continental army, and a person of most accomplished manners, was observed to wait upon the table from her end of it, with two servants in livery at her back. But it has been estimated that less than three hundred families affected society life at this time, and these were of different grades.

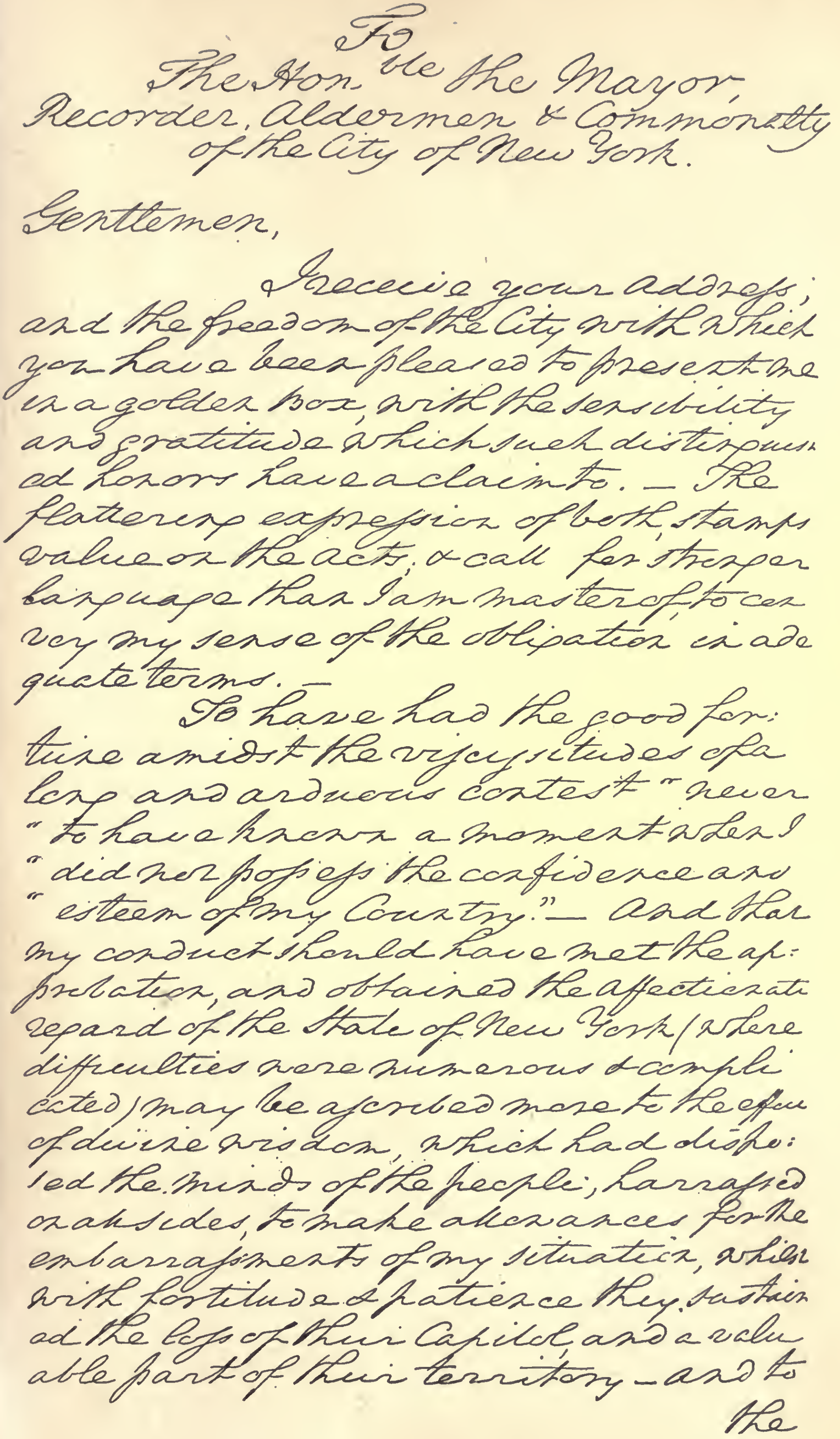
This sumptuous tendency did not escape criticism. As a whole, the town was hard pushed for a living during these early years. The item of house-rent alone was claimed to be out of all proportion to the condition of business and the average of incomes. Before the war the highest rental was one hundred pounds; now nearly double that sum, was demanded. Seventy pounds and taxes was the figure for a moderate house in Wall street in 1786. House-owners, then as now, held on for a rise, and declined to let houses at lower rates even when assured that they would stand empty a good part of the year. Rent-day proved distressing beyond its proverbial reputation. Money was scarce. "Cash! Cash! O, Cash!" exclaims a writer to the press, "why hast thou deserted the Standard of Liberty! and made poverty and dissipation our distinguishing characteristic?" The inability of the congress of the confederation to regulate commerce accounted largely for the slow financial recovery which marked the period.

These straitened lines presented a contrast to society drift, and rebuked it. Luxuries, pleasures, and amusements were coming into favor more and more, disturbing the peace of mind of sensitive, frugal, hard-worked people, and shocking church society. The tendency was unmistakable, but hardly unnatural or extravagant. It had developed alarmingly in Philadelphia during the later years of the war, and New-York was now feeling something of the same reaction without faring worse. Society and fashion, like everything else, were simply reinstating themselves after the wreck of the war. John Jay, who had seen enough of high life abroad for four years, was not especially depressed by the signs at home, when he could discourage Lafayette's wife from coming to America in 1785, as she proposed, by informing her that we had few amusements here to relieve travelers of the monotony of a visit. "Our men for the most part," he assures her, "mind their business and our women their families; and if our wives succeed (as most of them do) in 'making home man's best delight,' gallantry seldom draws their husbands from them. Our customs, in many respects, differ from yours, and you know that whether with or without reason, we usually prefer those which education and habit recommend. The pleasures of Paris and the pomp of Versailles are unknown in this country." No doubt of this; but people, nevertheless, said, and printed it in the papers, that the *ton* of New-York ought to set simpler habits and fashions to the public.

The taste for luxuries was increased by the varied importations of the foreign merchants. The assortment was attractive. Wines and liquors of many brands were advertised freely. At the "Universal Store" in Hanover Square, kept by Randall, Son & Stewart, one could buy almost everything, from broadcloths and carpets to nails and cheeses. Leonard Kip's line of dry-goods included "shalloons, durants, tammies, antaloons, moreens, dorsetseens, satins, persians, taffities and the like." At No. 11 Queen street, Patrick Hart & Company announced "London consignments of taboreens, rattinets, black and colored callimancoes, checks, jeans, thread and silk hose, Irish linens of all prices, shoes with common and French heels," and much more.

The expansive dresses of the women also came in for censure. "The article I mean to take notice of," writes a critic, in 1784, "is the hoop, which is now so universally worn, that it is impossible for a person to walk the streets without being frequently turned out of the way and exposed to the annoyance of carts and coaches." A father adds that he cannot afford it for his daughters. With the varieties of head-gear, silk stockings, powdered wigs, and lessons in dancing and etiquette, such life proved more or less expensive — unduly so for the times, complained the wage-earners.

The question of extravagance and amusements seems to have stirred public feeling very generally when, in the fall of 1785, it was proposed to revive the theater in the city. The theater building of colonial times still stood on John street, a short distance east of Broadway, where before the war Lewis Hallam, a popular actor of the old American company, who afterward was also its manager, drew respectable audiences. It was a quaint wooden affair, with a gallery and a double row of boxes in addition to the pit. As Congress had recommended the closing of places of amusement during the contest, and Washington had issued orders threatening dismissal upon all officers who engaged in theatrical entertainments, Hallam and his troupe went to the island of Jamaica, and amused its inhabitants until the peace opened the door for his return to America. His return, however, was far from welcomed by the element which had been harboring anxiety over the moral health of New-York. It protested against the revival of the drama, and succeeded in giving the city a temporary sensation. The controversy entered the newspapers, and the theater became the talk of the town. What was said on both sides can be readily imagined, but what is of special interest to the modern reader are the glimpses afforded here and there in the discussion of certain phases in the social status. Thus an appeal against the revival, published by some reformer through the "Packet," is quite in point: "Are the families in this city," he asks, "of whatever rank, as rich now as they were before the war? Are there not many who have advanced a great part of their estates to their bleeding country during the contest, who are not yet repaid? Have not many of our most respectable families, to maintain the credit of our continental money, which was then supporting our army against the Britons, received all their outstanding debts in that money, and thereby become nearly ruined? And do not many of them, besides their losses, owe large sums upon debts they contracted before the war? Have not repairs and entering anew into some line of business exhausted their deranged finances, and proved an exertion almost beyond their strength? And are gentlemen in such a situation fit to indulge themselves, their wives or children, in expensive amusements? Have not some hun-



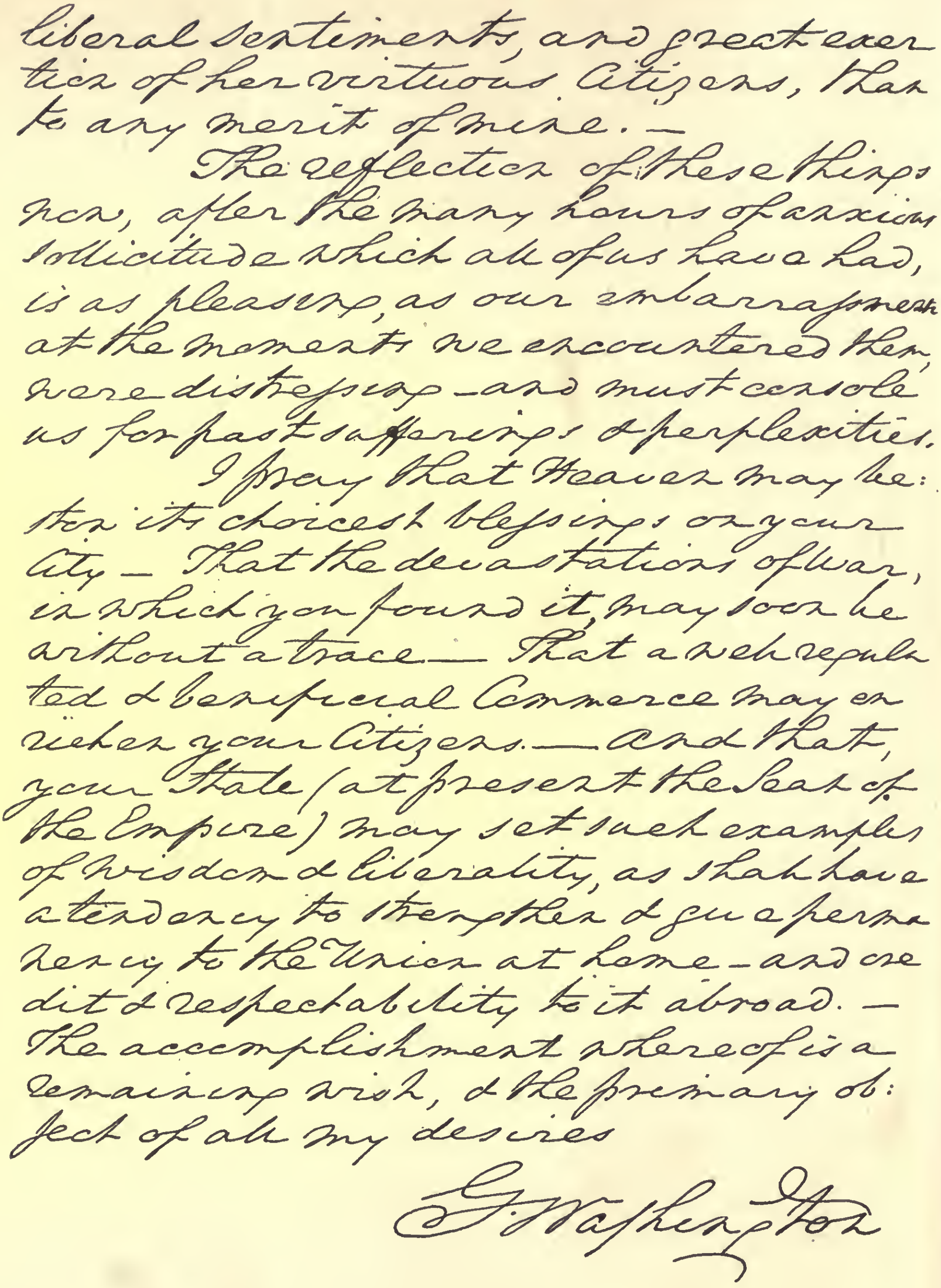
To
The Hon.ble the Mayor,
Recorder, Aldermen & Commonalty
of the City of New York.

Gentlemen,

I receive your addreſs; and the freedom of the City with which you have been pleased to present me in a golden Box, with the sensibility and gratitude which such distinguished honors have a claim to. — The flattering expreſsion of both, stamps value on the acts, & call for stronger language than I am master of, to convey my sense of the obligation in adequate terms. —

To have had the good fortune amidst the viciſsitudes of a long and arduous contest "never "to have known a moment when I "did not poſseſs the confidence and "esteem of my Country." — And that my conduct should have met the approbation, and obtained the affectionate regard of the State of New York (where difficulties were numerous & complicated) may be aſcribed more to the effect of divine wisdom, which had disposed the minds of the people, harraſsed on all sides, to make allowances for the embarraſsments of my situation, whilst with fortitude & patience they sustained the loſs of their Capitol, and a valuable part of their territory — and to

the



liberal sentiments, and great exertion of her virtuous Citizens, than to any merit of mine.—

The reflection of these things now, after the many hours of anxious sollicitude which all of us have had, is as pleasing, as our embarrassments at the moments we encountered them were distressing—and must console us for past sufferings & perplexities.

I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessings on your City—That the devastations of War, in which you found it, may soon be without a trace—That a well regulated & beneficial Commerce may enrichen your Citizens.—and that, your State (at present the Seat of the Empire) may set such examples of wisdom & liberality, as shall have a tendency to strengthen & give permanency to the Union at home—and credit & respectability to it abroad.—The accomplishment whereof is a remaining wish, & the primary object of all my desires

G. Washington

dreds of citizens had their houses burned down while the British army lay in New York? Are not multitudes obliged to take up money upon interest to build a little hut or else pay rent superior to their earnings? Is there not a general complaint of the unhappy situation of our merchants, of the distress attending our commerce, and of the balance of trade being heavily against us — heavily in importations not only of necessaries, but also of articles of luxury, and scarce anything to make a remittance with? And is a play-house proper for a city in such a situation? Are our taxes paid up? Are not the wheels of government clogged for want of money? Have you a single ship of war to guard your coasts or even defend your city from the insults of one armed vessel?" And in all this there is much to read between the lines. The theater, nevertheless, was reëstablished. Of course there were the usual jugglers, mountebanks, waxworks, and harlequin farces about town to amuse shilling sight-seers.

SLEIGH OF 1788.

As to recreations and resorts, nothing irresistibly inviting offered. The heats of summer found most New-Yorkers at home; but there were pleasant excursions on the island. A small party could ride out to Murray Hill in a hired carriage, and be gone half a day, for fourteen shillings; two shillings more if they kept on to Gracie's Point, opposite Hell Gate. Sixteen shillings to go up the west side to Apthorpe's, at Ninety-second street, lately Elm Park. From that point one could walk a mile beyond, along the old Bloomingdale road, and find himself on "Harlem Heights battle-field," about One Hundred and Fifteenth to One Hundred and Twentieth street, just west of present Morningside Park. The fine orchard through which Knowlton's rangers, and Leitch's Virginians, and other troops under Greene, Clinton, and Putnam, chased the choicest of the redcoats on September 16, 1776, was still standing; so also was Jones's stone house at One Hundred and Seventh street, near Riverside drive, where the British Adjutant-General Kendall tells us the fighting first began, and near where we know it ended. To go to Harlem, a day's excursion, would cost thirty-eight shillings; to Kingsbridge, forty. As to Long Branch and Saratoga, their attractions were known and were beginning to draw. In 1789, about a dozen respectable persons, including two or three New-Yorkers, were stopping at a wretched tavern at Saratoga. "There is no convenience for bathing," writes Elkanah Watson, the traveler, "except an open log hut, with a large trough, similar to those in use for feeding swine, which receives the water from the spring. Into this you roll from off a bench." About the same time an advertisement appeared in one of the New-York papers, offering an elegant farm for sale "at the place called Long Branch, near Shrewsbury, in Monmouth County, in the State of New Jersey." It was described as most charmingly situated for a gentleman's country-seat, or for a house of entertainment for "the great concourse of people that every year fly to this sweet spot from the fatigues of business and the want of health to inhale pure air and taste true delight."

In its exterior appearance the city steadily improved upon the condition in which the British left it in 1783. The burned districts, the ruined churches and public buildings, the dilapidated residences, stores, and docks, and the wretched streets, were for months a constant eye-sore. By 1786 much had been done in the way of clearing up, repairing, and building; much more by 1789. The greater portion of the town still lay east of Broadway and stretched out to Grand street. As the houses were not very high, and garden fronts and open spaces intervened, Broadway commanded a delightful prospect of the Hudson. There were as yet few stately residences on it. "In this street," says Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, in 1787, "the gentry ride every morning and afternoon in their carriages, which are generally very grand and are principally coaches, chariots, and phaetons. The common people ride in open chairs." Wall street was much more "elegant." William was the dry-goods street. Pearl street, then Queen, surpassed any in the city, being wide, and more than a mile and a half long. "The buildings are grand, from four to six stories high, and the sides of the street within the posts are laid principally with free-stone sufficiently wide for three persons to walk abreast." Noah Webster tells us that in 1786 not many houses remained "built after the old Dutch style." The new houses going up were frame or brick; or, as the insurance statements represent, most of them were "framed buildings, with brick or stone fronts and the sides filled in with brick." Water privileges were limited. "Most of the people," says Webster, "are supplied every day with fresh water conveyed to their doors in casks from a pump near the head of Queen street, which receives it from a pond almost a mile from the city." This pond was the "Collect," long since filled in, and on the site of which now stands the Tombs.

Noah Webster.

Public buildings were few. The City Hall stood on the northeast corner of Wall and Nassau streets, having been erected in 1700. When Congress assembled in New-York in 1785, the city authorities gave up the use of the greater part of it to that body. The main hall, or "Congress chamber," was at the east end of the second floor. On an elevated platform on the southern side stood the president's chair, lined with red damask silk, and over it a curious canopy fringed with silk, with damask curtains falling to the floor and gathered with silken cords. The chairs for the members were mahogany, richly carved, and trimmed with red morocco leather. In front of each chair stood "a small bureau table." The walls were hung with the portraits of Washington and the king and queen of France. The mayor's office was on the first floor; the common-council chamber at the west end of the second floor. Upon the adoption of the federal constitution by the several States, or in the fall of 1788, the "city fathers" resolved to appropriate the entire building to the use of the new government, and Major L'Enfant, a French engineer, was intrusted with the work of remodeling it. Thereafter it was known as the "New Federal Hall," and passed criticism as the most imposing structure in the country. It cost about $65,000. At the other end of the city, or on the common, stood the jail, now the Hall of Registry; the almshouse, on the site of the present court-house; and west of it, on Broadway, the bridewell, or main prison for criminals. Near the jail had been erected, apparently in 1784, a gallows tastily inclosed in a kiosk-like structure, which a stranger took to be a summer-house. Six persons could be executed in it at a time without exposure to the public gaze. In 1785 the death sentence was passed on a negro horse-thief, a noted burglar, and a city watchman found guilty of robbery while on duty at night. Mentioning the first execution, without giving details, the editor of the "Packet" observed that the criminal, in his taking off, "had relieved many worthy inhabitants from unremitted apprehensions of occult danger."

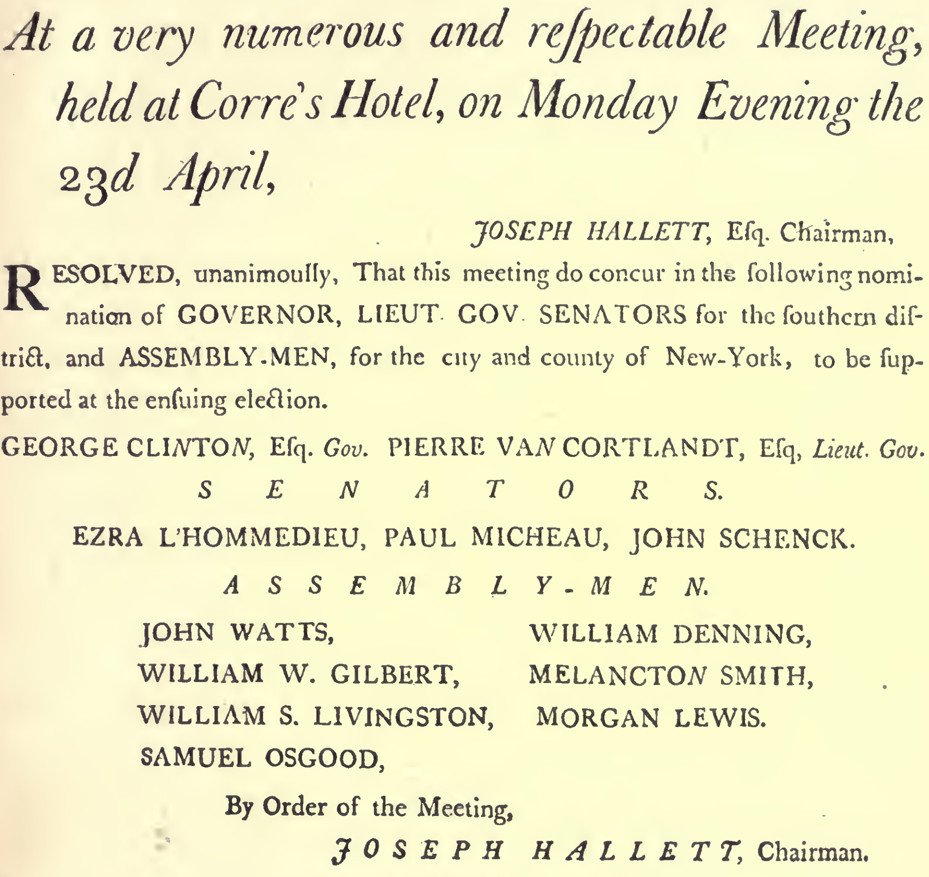
Inns, taverns, coffee-houses, were scattered about the city, some of them associated with stirring local events, as the headquarters of the "Sons of Liberty" and political societies. The City Tavern, Fraunces' or Francis' Tavern, Cape's, the Bull's Head, Leggett's and Day's, near Harlem, were all well patronized. At Fraunces', at Pearl and Broad streets, occurred the parting scene between Washington and his officers, as he was leaving New-York on December 4, 1783, to surrender his commission to Congress at Annapolis. Since Evacuation Day he had been the guest of Chancellor Livingston. One of his favorite officers, Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, as already cited in the preceding volume, describes the farewell moment in a feeling manner.

The first American post-office in the city opened November 28, 1783, at No. 38 Smith street, in the house formerly occupied by Judge Horsmanden. William Bedlow was postmaster, being a deputy under Postmaster-General Ebenezer Hazard, then at Philadelphia.

The first American newspapers were the New-York "Weekly Journal," published by John Holt, who returned with his paper to the city in the fall of 1783, and was succeeded by Thomas Greenleaf; the semi-weekly "Packet," published by Thomas Loudon, January, 1784; the "Daily Advertiser," by Francis Childs, begun in the spring of 1785. In January, 1788, Noah Webster established his monthly "American Magazine," devoted to essays on all subjects, "particularly such as relate to this country."

From fires, crime, and the negligence of officials the city was only passably protected. There were some fourteen or fifteen old-style fire-engines, each pumped by about a dozen men, while citizens with buckets supplied the water from wells. Watchmen patrolled the streets at night, but robberies and knock-downs were not uncommon, and, in the absence also of good lamps, there was not much passing at late hours. The ordinary city force was inadequate to cope with a mob, as appeared in the case of the "Doctors' Riot," which suddenly broke out on April 13, 1788, when the militia and citizens alone could restore quiet. The mob had been excited to violence by a boy's report that he had seen physicians or medical students dissecting dead bodies in the hospital, a practice which stirred up a general revulsion. Several persons were killed or wounded during the riot, among the latter John Jay, who with others endeavored to quell the disturbance.

Our earliest local political disputes in the American period were the immediate outgrowth of the war. It was a case where feelings and sensibilities were keenly touched, and as time sooner or later softens human nature in this regard, the issue did not long continue. Plainly stated, it was a question whether the Tories who remained in the city had any rights the Whigs were bound to respect. Chancellor Livingston clearly defined the parties as they stood in January, 1784. First, the Tories themselves, who "still hope for power under the idea that the remembrance of the past should be lost, though they daily keep it up by their avowed attachment to Great Britain." Second, the violent Whigs, who were for "expelling all Tories from the State, in hopes by that means to preserve the power in their own hands." Third, those who wish "to suppress all violences, to soften the rigour of the laws against the loyalists, and not to banish them from that social intercourse which may, by degrees, obliterate the remembrance of past misdeeds; but who, at the same time, are not willing to shock the feelings of the virtuous citizens that have at every expense and hazard fulfilled their duty" to the country in the recent struggle. The more determined Whigs organized a "Whig Society," whose object was to urge the removal of certain influential, offensive Tories from the State. The society's president was Lewis Morris, and its secretary, John Pintard. Outspoken views, public meetings, and petitions to the legislature followed, but the status of the Tories was not eventually disturbed. The measure which affected them most seriously was the trespass act, by which all Whigs who had been obliged to fly from their homes in consequence of the enemy's invasion could bring an action of trespass against those who may have entered and occupied their houses under the enemy's protection. Many Tories had done this, and were held to be liable. In one case, however, that of Elizabeth Rutgers against Joshua Waddington, a wealthy Tory, a decision was rendered in favor of the latter in the mayor's court, on the general ground that the State act was in violation of the provisions of the treaty of peace, under which Tories were protected in property rights. This caused great excitement, especially as Waddington's counsel was none other than Alexander Hamilton, who, as a distinguished officer in the continental army, could be supposed to have none but the most pronounced Whig sympathies. But with Hamilton the war was over, and he discountenanced harsh measures toward



At a very numerous and reſpectable Meeting, held at Corre's Hotel, on Monday Evening the 23d April,

JOSEPH HALLETT, Eſq. Chairman,

RESOLVED, unanimouſly, That this meeting do concur in the following nomination of GOVERNOR, LIEUT. GOV. SENATORS for the ſouthern diſtrict, and ASSEMBLY-MEN, for the city and county of New-York, to be ſupported at the enſuing election.

GEORGE CLINTON, Eſq. *Gov.* PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT, Eſq, *Lieut. Gov.*

SENATORS.

EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU, PAUL MICHEAU, JOHN SCHENCK.

ASSEMBLY-MEN.

JOHN WATTS, WILLIAM DENNING,
WILLIAM W. GILBERT, MELANCTON SMITH,
WILLIAM S. LIVINGSTON, MORGAN LEWIS.
SAMUEL OSGOOD,

By Order of the Meeting,

JOSEPH HALLETT, Chairman.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY BROADSIDE.

those who would in time assimilate with and be lost in the mass of the people. This position he maintained in some able articles contributed by him to the press, over the signature of "Phocion," and to which Isaac Ledyard replied over the signature of "Mentor." Hamilton's broad, statesmanlike views left their impression, though his professional course excited the anger of his opponents. So bitter were the feelings of some of the more violent among them, that they secretly determined to challenge him one by one to a duel until he fell. When Ledyard heard of this, he immediately prevented the execution of the scheme. This extreme hostility to the Tories died out in the course of a year or two, and soon disappeared in the greater question of the national constitution which was beginning to engage public attention.

State issues or politics were yet to become prominent. The war governor, Clinton, had held office for eight years, and opposition interests were bound to show their strength in time. The first attempt was quietly made in 1785, when General Schuyler sounded John Jay as to his willingness to run against Clinton for the governorship at the next election. The general charged that Clinton was striving to maintain his popularity "at the expense of good government," and that reform demanded a change in the office. "But who," he asks, "is to be the person? It is agreed that none have a chance of succeeding but you, the chancellor or myself. The second, on account of the prejudices against his family name, it is believed, would fail. . . . I am so little known in the southern part of the State that I should fail there." Jay was accordingly the only available candidate, and Schuyler believed he would secure the election by "a great majority." But Jay declined. That he was then the most distinguished citizen in New-York would have been conceded. The many services he had rendered the State as a member of conventions and committees; in the wider sphere of the Continental Congress, of which he was once president; his diplomatic labors abroad as minister to Spain and as one of the commissioners to conclude the treaty of peace in 1783; his present position as the secretary for foreign affairs of Congress;—all combined to put the State under a special obligation to him as a public character. At this juncture, however, he stood aloof from local or State controversies, and thereby rendered another service in not precipitating a party issue which would have worked unfavorably upon the constitutional problem of the near future. "If the circumstances of the State were pressing," he replied to Schuyler, "if real disgust and discontent had spread through the country, if a change had in the general opinion become not only advisable but necessary, and the good expected from that change depended on me, then my present objections would immediately yield." He was not impressed with the necessity in the case, and furthermore felt that it was his duty to continue in the service of Congress at that time. At a later date the governorship will be his.

In the larger field of national politics or of national reorganization, the city played a conspicuous part and exercised a decisive influence. It will ever be to her honor that in the emergency through which our federal constitution passed at its adoption, New-York kept the State true to its best interests by powerfully assisting in bringing its unwilling convention to ratify that instrument and insure the formation of our "more perfect" Union.

Geo: Clinton

The issue in New-York, at its culmination in 1788, took a sectional turn. The city and its environs favored concentration of authority in a strong national government; the State at large preferred the Confederation, with such amendments or revision as immediate exigencies demanded. In the contest for the new constitution as finally presented, the city triumphed by converting the State; she triumphed through the wise and well-directed action of her merchants, through the superior ability, persistence, and unremitting zeal of her delegates, and through the moral support of both on the part of a large majority of her citizens. One of the toasts offered at the first public dinner in the city after the war—that given by Governor Clinton on Evacuation Day—seemed to serve as the key-note of local sentiment through the following years: "May a *close* Union of the States guard the temple they have erected to Liberty."

The history of the national movement in this State may be traced to the action of the legislature on July 21, 1782, when, in response to a resolution of Congress of May 22 preceding, it gave expression to certain decided views and convictions on "the state of the nation." It resolved that the general situation respecting foreign and financial matters was "in a peculiar manner" critical, threatening the subversion of public credit and exposing the common cause to "a precarious issue." It resolved further that "the radical source of most of our embarrassments is the want of sufficient power in Congress to effectuate that ready and perfect coöperation of the different States, on which their immediate safety and future happiness depend"; and it proposed to Congress "to recommend, and to each State to adopt the measure of assembling a general convention of the States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving a right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determinations." Congress postponed action upon this recommendation, which operated unfortunately in New-York; for during the next five years delegations and opinions underwent a change throughout the State, and it was only by the most strenuous efforts that it was kept true to its first professions. Those were the gloomy, distracting years after the war, when the weakness of the Confederation made it impossible to regulate trade and commerce, and its defects opened up the question of the reconstruction of the Union under circumstances which made it difficult to discuss it dispassionately. The situation was not an unnatural one. It was a transitional period. The States had been living together for seven years on a war basis; peace, with its new requirements, now called for a readjustment of the supports, and this could not be done without a disturbing effort. In New-York a variety of influences combined to complicate the difficulties in the case. A strong State pride developed as the question of surrendering further powers to the Union was agitated; jealousy and fear of such a Union increased; persons and parties in power held tenaciously to the sovereignty which they were enjoying in a practically independent State; and the State's legislation looked toward autonomy. All this was more or less true of every State. In New-York it was marked. Not that any such thing as a disunion sentiment found expression; but, in the absence of a binding national tie, local predilections governed.

COLONEL LAMB'S MANSION.

For this state of feeling the governor, George Clinton, and his large body of friends and supporters were mainly responsible. The governor himself was a strong character. A partizan in one sense, he was eminently public-spirited in another. He was loyal to the Union and the Confederation, but his hopes and his pride centered on his State. To make that great and prosperous was his first ambition; and his policy and wishes were reflected in the proceedings of the State legislature. By the year 1788 New-York was exercising all but national sovereignty. She had a well-organized militia; she appointed boundary commissions; she issued a paper currency; she levied duties; she maintained custom-houses. Under the act of November 18, 1784, one custom-house was established at the port of New-

York and another at Sag Harbor, on Long Island. Collectors, surveyors, gaugers, weighers, and tide-waiters were appointed. The first collector for New-York was Colonel John Lamb, who commanded the first regiment of continental artillery during the war; and the surveyor was Colonel John Lasher, of one of the early city regiments of levies. Under the impost act of the same date, many articles were made dutiable. Sixpence duty was levied on every gallon of Madeira wine brought into the State, and threepence on other wines; twopence on every gallon of rum, brandy, or other spirits, if imported in vessels owned by citizens of any of the United States, but a double duty for vessels with British registers. There were duties on carriages, chariots, sulkies, gold and silver watches, scythes, saddles, hollow ironware, women's leather or stuff shoes, starch, hair-powder, cocoa, teas, coals, bricks, wools, furs, and similar importations.

But this system had serious defects—defects that were the most sensibly felt by the commercial element throughout the country. A prosperous trade was wanting. There was no power to regulate it. Congress might propose treaties of commerce with foreign powers, but lacked ability to enforce them. No uniform system of duties could be imposed when each State was devising a tariff of its own. New-York might draw up an elaborate schedule, but this did not establish the New-York merchant's credit in London; it failed to open the West India ports to his vessels. The one remedy in the case was to confer the necessary powers upon Congress—"let Congress, and Congress alone, regulate foreign trade and commerce."

It is here that New-York city followed the course that reflects so creditably upon her. As between the policy which the State as such was pursuing and the policy which the general government should be empowered to pursue, she set herself in line with the latter. Her merchants and her distinguished lawyers and statesmen were the salvation of both city and State. The merchants agitated trade requirements. There was an abundance, indeed a surplus, of foreign goods in town during those early years from 1784 to 1787, but they were largely the importation or consignments of British merchants of ample means, who could wait for a market. The American Whig merchant, entering mercantile life anew, found himself at a disadvantage, and he saw little relief under the existing system. The merchants in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston were in the same predicament, and all expressed themselves alike. By the spring of 1785 the situation had become all but unendurable. On March 7 a memorial was published, to be signed by residents of New-York, praying the legislature to pass the impost act of Congress and to recommend the regulation of commerce by that body. Under the former act, which had been hanging fire since its passage in April, 1783, Congress would have been able to pay the interest on the public debt. New-York alone of all the States refused to approve it. Sentiment in the city favored the measure. On March 14 the Chamber of Commerce came forward with another and a more formal petition to the legislature, signed by its president, John Alsop, calling attention to the failure of the individual States to regulate trade for the common benefit. They could not possibly so regulate it, because, in the words of the petition or memorial,—"1st, not being enabled to form treaties, trade cannot in their hands be made the basis of commercial compacts; 2d, because no regular system can be adopted by thirteen different Legislatures pursuing different objects, and seeing the same object in different lights; and 3d, because if it even were to be presumed that they would at all times and in every circumstance sacrifice partial interests to the general good, yet the want of harmony in their measures and a common force, would forever defeat their best intentions." In consequence of this loose system, the merchants observed with concern that trade, "the great spring of agriculture and manufactures," was languishing "under fatal obstructions" and daily on the decline. The legislature made no recommendations on these petitions; but public opinion continued to assert itself. In the following May, Boston voted, in town meeting, that, as peace had not brought plenty, and foreign merchants were monopolizing commerce by crushing out the American carrying-trade, Congress should be invested with power competent to the wants of the country. In Philadelphia a committee of thirteen merchants was appointed to stir up the State authorities to the same end. The Boston people went further, as in early war days, and invited the coöperation of the New-York merchants; whereupon the Chamber of Commerce and "many other citizens," following up their March memorials, called a meeting of merchants and "other inhabitants" at the Exchange, June 15, at which Alderman John Broome presided. Their former sentiments and views were reiterated in a body of resolutions, and a committee was appointed to correspond with the several counties in the State and with committees in other States, in the hope that "a free and reciprocal communication of opinions" would rouse the country to action. The committee was composed of the most prominent merchants in the city. To the committees in other States it was proposed that they should severally take measures to induce their respective legislatures to confer the necessary powers

Jno: Watts[1]

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[1] The autographs of John Watts, Sr., and Anne Watts, his wife, are exceedingly rare. They were only to be obtained by tracing their signatures as found on the valuable documents recently presented by their great-grandson, General John Watts De Peyster, to the New-York Historical Society. By his courtesy permission was granted to trace them. EDITOR.

on Congress. "Our Union," said the New-York committee, "is the basis of our grandeur and our power." To the counties of the State the committee represented that if commerce languished, agriculture would feel a corresponding effect. "By the Union of the farmer, the merchant and mechanic," they wrote, "we have, in the most dangerous crisis, been able to withstand the open force of our enemies; and if this spirit still actuates us, we shall soon convince them that their insidious politics in peace are of as little effect." The farmer was accordingly urged to send assemblymen with federal views to the next legislature.

What effect these appeals produced at large it would be difficult to determine, but they kept the subject uppermost in popular discussions and clearly strengthened sentiment in New-York. The papers in the city, notably the "Packet" and the "Journal," published the effusions of correspondents at intervals, which indicated the interest felt. "What is to be done?" inquires "Consideration" in March, 1785; and answers, "All the States must give Congress ample powers to regulate trade, . . . likewise all other powers necessary for an active and firm Continental government." But "Rough Hewer, Jr.," who was known to be Abraham Yates, a pithy writer on the other side, declared that history had established the fact that republicanism can flourish in small states only, and expressed a dread of "a mighty Continental Legislature," which in time would merge and swallow up the rights of the States. "Unitas" called for assemblymen who could discern with precision "in what particular a local must give way to a more general advantage," and could appreciate the benefits of a general union. "The chain," he exclaims, "should be of adamant, indissoluble, eternal! Should this chain ever be broken, good God! what scenes of death and misery lurk under the dreadful event." "Sydney," on the other hand, saw nothing but despotism and an oligarchy in a congress which could control a revenue exacted from the States by its own agents: "If you put the sword and the purse into the hands of the supreme power, be the Constitution of that power what it may, you render it absolute. Congress already have the sword vested in them; the single power wanting to make them absolute is that of levying money themselves. When this is compassed, Adieu to Liberty!" Such contributions to the press, however, appeared too infrequently to enable us to judge of the strength of parties at this date. The discussion went on in the coffee-houses and clubs, and two years later the fruits will be seen in test elections.

Anne Watts

In the following year (1786) the situation improved so far as agitation led to action. Virginia came forward with her proposition for a convention at Annapolis, Maryland, "to consider how far a uniform

The ſenators and repreſentatives beforementioned, and the members of the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the ſeveral States, ſhall be bound by oath or affirmation, to ſupport this conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution between the States ſo ratifying the ſame.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous conſent of the States preſent, the ſeventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our Names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident,
And Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.	*John Langdon,* *Nicholas Gilman.*
MASSACHUSETTS.	*Nathaniel Gorham,* *Rufus King.*
CONNECTICUT	*William Samuel Johnſon,* *Roger Sherman.*
NEW-YORK.	*Alexander Hamilton.*
NEW-JERSEY.	*William Livingſton,* *David Brearley,* *William Paterſon,* *Jonathan Dayton.*
PENNSYLVANIA.	*Benjamin Franklin,* *Thomas Mifflin,* *Robert Morris,* *George Clymer,* *Thomas Fitzſimons,* *Jared Ingerſoll,* *James Wilſon,* *Gouverneur Morris.*
DELAWARE.	*George Read,* *Gunning Bedford, Junior,* *John Dickinſon,* *Richard Baſſett,* *Jacob Broom.*
MARYLAND.	*James M'Henry,* *Daniel of St. Tho Jenifer,* *Daniel Carrol.*
VIRGINIA.	*John Blair,* *James Madiſon, Junior.*
NORTH-CAROLINA.	*William Blount,* *Richard Dobbs Spaight,* *Hugh Williamſon.*
SOUTH-CAROLINA.	*John Rutledge,* *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney* *Charles Pinckney.* *Pierce Butler.*
GEORGIA.	*William Few,* *Abraham Baldwin.*

Atteſt, *William Jackſon,* SECRETARY.

IN CONVENTION, Monday September 17th, 1787.

PRESENT

The States of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, Mr. *Hamilton* from New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia:

RESOLVED,

THAT the preceding Conſtitution be laid before the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it ſhould afterwards be ſubmitted to a Convention of Delegates, choſen in each State by the People thereof, under the recommendation of its Legiſlature, for their aſſent and ratification; and that each Convention aſſenting to, and ratifying the ſame, ſhould give Notice thereof to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

Reſolved, *That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as ſoon as the Conventions of nine States ſhall have ratified this Conſtitution, the United States in Congreſs aſſembled ſhould fix a day on which Electors ſhould be appointed by the States which ſhall have ratified the ſame, and a day on which the Electors ſhould aſſemble to vote for the Preſident, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Conſtitution. That after ſuch publication the Electors ſhould be appointed, and the Senators and Repreſentatives elected: That the Electors ſhould meet on the day fixed for the Election of the Preſident, and ſhould tranſmit their votes certified, ſigned, ſealed and directed, as the Conſtitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, that the Senators and Repreſentatives ſhould convene at the time and place aſſigned; that the Senators ſhould appoint a Preſident of the Senate, for the ſole purpoſe of receiving, opening and counting the votes for Preſident; and, that after he ſhall be choſen, the Congreſs, together with the Preſident, ſhould, without delay, proceed to execute this Conſtitution.*

By the unanimous Order of the Convention,
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident.

William Jackſon, Secretary

system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to the common interest and permanent harmony" of the States. The convention met on September 11, with commissioners present from but five States—Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New-York. Their action resulted in the assemblage of the famous constitutional convention at Philadelphia in the following year. In each of these bodies New-York city found its representation in the person of Alexander Hamilton; or, while being a representative of the State, he more nearly reflected the sentiment of the city, which was largely coincident with, and influenced by, his own. The possibilities that lay in the Virginia call immediately absorbed his attention. His own proposition for a convention, broached as early as 1780, was a sufficient assurance that all his sympathies would be aroused by any movement that might be utilized for national ends; and the present opportunity was not to be lost. The Annapolis proposition came in January, 1786. Hamilton then determined to make one more effort to induce the State to accede to the impost act of Congress, which would be an entering wedge toward granting general powers to the government; or failing in this he hoped to secure the appointment of commissioners to the Annapolis convention. One of his intimate friends was Colonel Robert Troup, formerly aid to General Gates, at this date a rising lawyer in the city, and later judge of the United States district court of New-York. He seconded Hamilton's efforts. "In pursuance of the latter's plan," says Troup at a subsequent date, "the late Mr. Duer, the late Colonel Malcolm and myself were sent to the State Legislature as part of the City delegation, and we were to make every possible effort to accomplish Hamilton's objects. Duer was a man of commanding eloquence. We went to the Legislature and pressed *totis viribus* the grant of the impost agreeably to the requisition of Congress. We failed in obtaining it. The resolutions of Virginia were communicated by Governor Clinton the 14th of March. We went all our strength in the appointment of commissioners to attend the Commercial Convention, in which we were successful. The commissioners were instructed to report their proceedings to the next Legislature. Hamilton was appointed one of them. Thus it was that he was the principal instrument to turn this State to a course of policy that saved our Country from incalculable mischiefs, if not from total ruin."[1] The other commissioner was Egbert Benson, then attorney-general of the State, who was in perfect sympathy with the objects of the proposed convention, and who turned his business before the Supreme Court at Albany over to a friend, to hurry on with Hamilton to Annapolis.

The outcome of the brief convention at Annapolis was an urgent recommendation for the meeting of a more representative body at

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[1] John C. Hamilton's "Life of Hamilton."

Philadelphia in the following spring. Hamilton, as Benson tells us, was the author of the address to this effect sent to Congress and the individual States. The work of the Philadelphia convention is a matter of history. The delegates to that body from New-York State were Judge Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., and, again, Hamilton. By the withdrawal of the two former from the convention, on the ground that it was proposed to formulate a new constitution instead of revising the existing one, Hamilton remained alone as the State's representative. The measure of his influence in the convention may be seen in the national character of the constitution.

There yet remained the problem of the adoption of the new instrument by the States; and here, so far as New-York is concerned, the value of the labors of distinguished men of the city appears to highest advantage. The struggle for the constitution in the State convention was not less earnest and critical than the effort at its framing. Whatever the situation might have been elsewhere, it was well known that in New-York ratification could not be secured without a close and determined contest. "True it is," wrote Gouverneur Morris to Jay, October 30, 1786, "that this city and its neighborhood are enthusiastic in the [federal] cause, but I dread the cold and sour temper of the back counties." This sour temper was in reality the Clintonian disposition to resist centralization in the general government. There still survived what Morris called the old "Colonial oppositions of opinion," the strong, inherited local feeling, which it was necessary to overcome; and the men of the new order of things set to work to overcome it. The first work in hand was to parry the adverse criticisms upon the proposed constitution, which appeared soon after the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention. The anti-federalist "Journal" for a while abounded with them, over the signatures of "Cato," "Brutus," "Old Whig," "Centinel," "Cincinnatus," and the like. A "Son of Liberty," writing from Orange County, denounced the Philadelphia outcome as "a preposterous and new fangled system." Some saw in it the loss of State independence, others the ascendancy and control of a government class, others a menace to privileges and personal liberty in the absence of a bill of rights.

It was at this juncture that Hamilton and his associates appeared in the field with their great defense and exposition of the constitution in the "Federalist" papers. It is to the local controversy in the city and State that we owe that lucid and authoritative commentary on our fundamental law. Of the eighty-five numbers of the work that were published, all of them over the signature "Publius," Hamilton wrote sixty-three, Jay five, Madison (then a member of Congress in New-York) thirteen, and three were the joint production of Hamilton and Madison. The first number was printed in the "Independent

Journal, or Weekly Advertiser" on October 27, 1787, and thereafter the articles appeared, sometimes two in the same issue, in the "Packet" and other papers, continuing through the summer of 1788.[1]

The New-York State convention had been called to meet at Poughkeepsie on June 17, 1788. Delegates were nominated in the counties early in April, and representative men were put forward. All felt the importance of the discussion and the decision. It was at about this time that John Jay reinforced the "Federalist" papers with "An Address to the People of the State of New York," which he issued anonymously in pamphlet form. It had its effect in strengthening federal views, and, according to a contemporary letter, would doubtless have converted many an honest anti-federalist in the upper counties had it appeared earlier. "The proposed government is to be the government of the people," he wrote; and in 1793 he reiterated this sentiment as chief justice of the United States, in his opinion on the suability of the State: "The people, in their collective and national capacity, established the present Constitution." Two sets of delegates for the State convention were nominated for the city and county of New-York. Jay and Hamilton appeared on both tickets. Who the candidates were, how they were put in nomination, and on what platform, appears from the announcement of the ticket itself, issued in the city papers, in the following form:

Gouv Morris

THE FEDERAL TICKET.

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

A number of your Fellow Citizens, deeply impressed with the importance of the Crisis, and convinced that it is your and their interest at the present juncture, by men unequivocally attached to the establishment of a firm national Government, beg leave respectfully to recommend to your support and choice, the following persons as delegates to the Convention.

John Jay,
John Sloss Hobart,
Richard Harrison,
Richard Morris,
James Duane,
Isaac Roosevelt,
Robert R. Livingston,
Alexander Hamilton,
Nicholas Low.

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[1] The heading of the first number read as follows:
For the "Independent Journal."
THE FEDERALIST, No. 1.
To the People of the State of New York.

We flatter ourselves the characters proposed will unite the suffrages of all those who sincerely have at heart "That which appears to be the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence." . . . Those who have in view the same object with ourselves, cannot but be sensible of the great importance of unanimity on the present occasion, and will consequently be on their guard against the artifices which already begin to be practised for the purpose of dividing them. In supporting the present nomination let *One* and *All* be our *Motto*. It is not only of consequence that men of proper characters and sentiments should be chosen, but that the sense of the citizens should also appear in the choice. This will give weight to the exertions of your representatives, and manifest to the world that no considerations of State influence and State interest can induce the Patriotic and Independent Electors of the City to betray the cause of the Union.

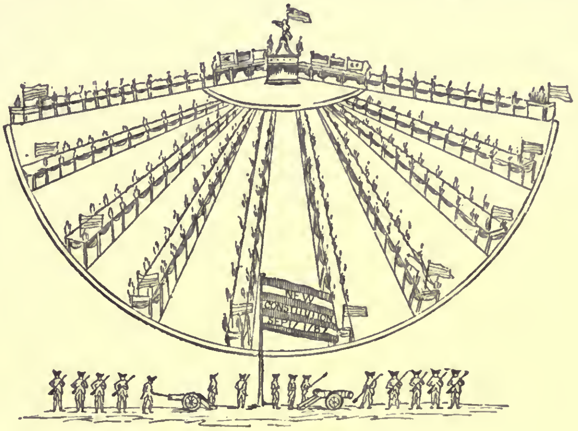
PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

By Order of the Meeting.
THOMAS RANDALL, Chairman.

New York, April 8, 1788.

This ticket was elected with a clean sweep. Jay received the highest number of votes, or only one hundred and one less than the total cast,—2735 out of 2836. Hamilton, Morris, Hobart, and Livingston were less than thirty votes behind. The highest anti-federal vote was but 134. But the upper counties were overwhelmingly anti-federalist; and when the convention met, their majority out of fifty-seven members was found to range from twenty-five to thirty. When the convention adjourned, July 26, after deliberating forty days, this majority had been reduced to a minority. The convention adopted the constitution by a majority of three votes — a result due almost wholly to the abilities, character, personal force, and effective appeal of the delegates from New-York city. Hamilton, Jay, and Livingston bore the honors of the debate.[1] In dealing with this whole question of a stronger government, from the Annapolis to the Poughkeepsie convention, Hamilton's services were the most conspicuous.

Although the Poughkeepsie convention had adopted the constitution in a certain sense provisionally, and called for its amendment by a new national convention, the final ratification was binding, and the State joined the circle as the "eleventh pillar" of the Union. This result was in itself a triumph for the federalists, and when the news reached the city, on Saturday evening, July 26, great was the rejoicing. Men cheered, bells were rung, and impromptu processions were formed which marched to the houses of the several delegates to cheer again. When the delegates themselves returned to town, they were personally complimented in the same way, with the addition of a salute of eleven guns for each member. "In short," says the "Packet," "a general joy ran through the whole City, and several of those who were of different sentiments drank freely of the Federal Bowl and declared that they were now perfectly reconciled to the new Constitution." The result was received in Philadelphia with "a glorious peal from Christ Church bells."



GRAND FEDERAL BANQUET.[2]

A feature and expression of the intense interest felt throughout the country in the fate of the constitution were the popular federal processions held at different places, notably Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, and New-York. The New-York procession was the last and grandest. It was held July 23, in honor of the adoption of the constitution by ten States, and exceeded all previous demonstrations in the country. There were over six thousand men in the line, representing all degrees, professions, trades, and interests. Each one of the ten divisions included representations, flags, designs, and emblems of commerce and labor. There were foresters, plowmen, farmers, gardeners, millers, bakers, brewers, distillers; coopers, butchers, tanners, cordwainers; carpenters, farriers, peruke-makers and hair-dressers; whitesmiths, blacksmiths, cutlers, masons, bricklayers, painters, glaziers, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, civil engineers; shipwrights, joiners, boat-builders, sailmakers, riggers; printers, binders, cartmen, coachmakers, pewterers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, tobacconists, chocolate-makers; saddlers, harness-makers, founders; lawyers, physicians, professors, students, societies, the Cincinnati, merchants and clergymen. Near the center of the procession the full-rigged man-of-war or "federal ship" Hamilton, carrying thirty-two guns, with a crew of thirty men, complete in all its appointments, and drawn by twelve horses, attracted a continuous gaze of admiration from the throngs along the streets. Commodore Nicholson commanded. The costumes, dress, implements, and general paraphernalia of the exhibitors and participants made the whole immensely pleasing and imposing. The entire day was given up to the festivities; for, after the parade had passed from the common down Broadway and around through the streets on the east side, it moved out into the Bowery to Bayard's grounds, where a temporary building, consisting of three grand pavilions, had been erected for a civic and popular feast. Tables were set for five thousand persons. We are told, in the carefully prepared account of the procession published later, that, "as this splendid, novel and interesting exhibition moved along, an unexpected silence reigned throughout the City, which gave a solemnity to the whole transaction suited to the singular importance of the cause. No noise was heard but the deep rumbling of carriage-wheels, with the necessary salutes and signals. A glad serenity enlivened every countenance, while the joyous expectation of national prosperity triumphed in every bosom."

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[1] Reporting the proceedings at Poughkeepsie, the "Packet" of July 13, 1788, says: "We are informed that on Saturday last the Hon. Mr. Jay, Chancellor Livingston and Colonel Hamilton, severally addressed themselves to our State convention in a masterly, animated and pathetic manner; which, it is said, made sensible impressions on the minds of such anti-federal members who have not yet rendered their conception entirely callous by preconceived prejudices to the voice of truth."

[2] One feature of the celebration, as mentioned in the text, was a grand banquet, at the Bayard country-house, in the vicinity of Grand street and the Bowery. Covers were laid for no less than five thousand persons. At a table somewhat raised above the others, sat the President and members of Congress. The pavilion under which this great company were seated terminated in a dome over this table, and here stood Fame sounding upon her trumpet the beginning of a new era. Around the dais upon which these seats of honor were placed, ten tables were arranged like radii of a semicircle, representing the ten States which had adopted the Constitution. Each table bore an escutcheon inscribed with the arms and names of a State; while the colors of the French Monarchy and of the Dutch Republic, and of whatever other nations had aided or sympathized with the American cause, were liberally blended with the brilliant "Stars and Stripes." EDITOR.

Yet it is to be remembered that while the citizens of New-York were thus celebrating the forming of the nation, their own State was not yet a part thereof; it was three days after this ere they knew that the constitution had been adopted at Poughkeepsie. An elaborate ode published at the time, in commemoration of the services and in recognition of the personal greatness of Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, expressed the prevailing sentiment and hopes of the people of New-York. To Hamilton it addressed itself with these lines:

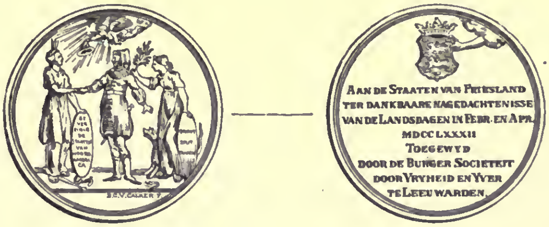
. . . . And thou,
Our City's boast, to whom so much we owe,
In whom, the last and youngest of the three,
No common share of excellence we see,
In every grateful heart thou hast a place,
Nor time nor circumstance can e'er erase!
All hail, ye champions in your country's Cause!
Soon shall that country ring with your applause.
. . . .
Discord shall cease and perfect *Union* reign,
And all confess that sweetly powerful chain,
The *Fed'ral system*, which at once unites
The Thirteen States and all the people's rights.

Under this inspiration, with its union feeling deepened by the course of events, the city now entered, in the year 1789, into the constitutional period of its history—the period of nationality and of commercial prosperity.

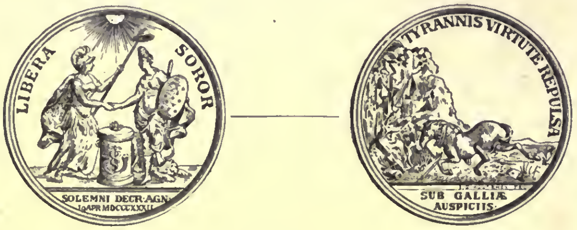
DUTCH MEDALS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

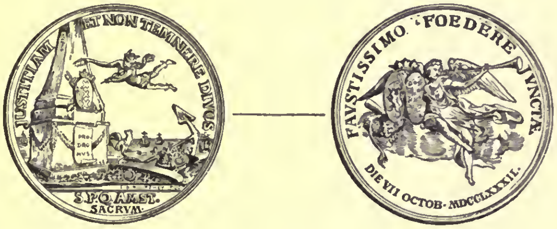
The medals of which representations appear on this and the next page are preserved in the Royal Museum at The Hague, Holland. By reason of their interest to the citizens of the United States, our Minister Plenipotentiary there, Samuel R. Thayer, Esq., requested and was courteously granted permission to have copies of each medal struck off in zinc. These he sent to the Department of State at Washington, D. C., accompanied with a despatch to Secretary Blaine, giving an historical and descriptive account of each medal, and asking the privilege of presenting one set to the department, and one to each of several historical societies of the country. During his recent visit to the United States, Mr. Thayer presented the editor of this work with a set of the medals. The description of them, as cited from the despatch to the State Department, is as follows:

I. "The first medal in the series referred to was designed to commemorate the recognition of American Independence by the Province of Friesland on the 26th of February, 1782, a description of which is as follows: On the obverse side is a male figure personating a Frisian in ancient costume, joining right hands with an American, represented by a maiden in aboriginal dress, standing on a scepter with her left hand resting on a shield bearing the inscription [in Dutch]: 'The United States of North America'; while with his left hand the Frisian signals his rejection of an olive branch offered by a Briton, represented by a maiden accompanied by a tiger, the left hand of the maiden resting on a shield having the inscription: 'Great Britain.' On the reverse side is the figure of an arm projecting from the clouds holding the coat of arms of the


B.E.V.CALKER F.
AAN DE STAATEN VAN FRIESLAND
TER DANKBAARE NAGEDACHTENISSE
VAN DE LANDSDAGEN IN FEBR. EN APR.
MDCCLXXXII
TOEGEWYD
DOOR DE BURGER SOCIETEIT
DOOR VRYHEID EN YVER
TE LEEUWARDEN.

province of Friesland, under which is the inscription [in Dutch]: 'To the States of Friesland in grateful recognition of the Acts of the Assembly, in February and April, 1782, by the Citizens' Club of Leeuwarden. *Liberty and Zeal.*'" II. "The second medal in the series was struck off by order of the States General in commemoration of its recognition of the Independence of the United States. On the obverse side of the medal will be found the United States and the Netherlands, represented by two maidens equipped for war, with right hands joined over a burning altar. The Dutch maiden is placing an emblem of freedom on the head of the American, whose right foot, attached to a broken chain, rests on England, represented by a tiger. In the field of the medal are the words: 'Libera Soror. Solemni Decr. Agn. 19 Apr. MDCCLXXXII.' On the reverse side is the figure of a unicorn lying prostrate before a steep rock against which he has broken his horn; over the figure are the words: 'Tyrannis virtute repulsa,' and underneath the same the words: 'Sub Galliæ auspiciis.'" III. "The third medal in the series was made to commemorate the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation entered into between the United States and the Netherlands the 7th of October, 1782. On its obverse side stands in relief a monumental needle bearing the Amsterdam Coat of Arms, upon which a wreath is being placed by a figure representing Mercury; underneath the coat of arms is a parchment bearing the inscription: 'Pro. Dro. Mvs.' France, symbolized by a crowing cock, stands beside the needle pointing with a conjurer's wand to a horn of plenty and an anchor. Over all are the words: 'Justitiam et non temnere divos.' On the reverse side is an image of Fame riding on a cloud and carrying the arms of the Netherlands and the United States, surmounted by a naval crown; the figures are covered by the following words: 'Faustissimo foedere junctae Die VII. Octob MDCCLXXXII.'"




JUSTITIAM ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS
PRO DRO MVS
S.P.Q. AMST.
SACRVM
FAVSTISSIMO FOEDERE IVNCTÆ
DIE VII OCTOB. MDCCLXXXII.

CHAPTER II

NEW-YORK THE FEDERAL CAPITAL, AND WASHINGTON'S FIRST TERM

1789–1793

THE fourth day of March, 1789,—the day set for the assembling of the first Congress,—found the city of New-York with about thirty thousand inhabitants. It was alive to the honor and advantages of being the first national capital, but had not been given sufficient notice of the approaching dignity to make itself at once perfectly presentable for the inauguration. At this distance of time there is, for the historic imagination, a certain picturesqueness in the contrast between the splendor of the presidential pageant and the antiquarian frame in which it was set. The streets, poorly paved and sparsely lighted; the uncleanly wharves; the freedom of the city enjoyed by pigs and dogs; the ragged rows of wooden or brick-faced houses; the blackened ruins lingering from the great fire of 1778; dilapidated Fort George, used for stables, and its filthy earthwork, the Battery: these and other dismal features suddenly became conscious of themselves on the eve of the inauguration of the republic. A sardonic bit of gaiety was visible in the Chinese pagoda enshrining the gallows, which stood between the jail and the almshouse, with stocks and whipping-post adjacent, in a beautiful grove, where now stands the City Hall. It was to be a good many years before the laws could become conscious of their barbarism. John Shelvey, the public whipper, had enough lashing to do for his $87.50 per annum; ten different offenses were punished with death; the slave-market was active. There were more than two thousand slaves in the city. "The sewerage system of the City," says Mr. Thomas E. V. Smith, "consisted of the negro slaves, a long line of whom might be seen late at night wending their way to the river, each with a tub on his head."[1] The inevitable accompaniment of slavery, a large pauper population, was represented in crowded quarters with many pallid and barefoot women.

Amid these somber things stood a few mansions, familiar to us in old pictures, with a dignity and charm of their own. In them dwelt the gentlemen who did their best to improve the city, and among other things generously raised thirty-two thousand dollars to turn the old City Hall into a capitol. This edifice (where the subtreasury now stands) was a monument of both British vandalism and British benevolence. In it had been the public library whose nucleus was (as has been related on a previous page) of English origin (1700), and which during the British occupation was plundered and scattered. In 1789 the charter was confirmed, and the Society Library, now located in University Place, founded anew. The State and municipal authorities were unwearied in their services for the emergency. The city records — carefully kept, and now politely shown to the investigator — should be printed as an instruction to modern councils in the amount of good work that may be achieved in a brief time. It is not quite pleasant, indeed, to find that these extraordinary expenses were met by lotteries, even though the highest prize of the first (three thousand pounds, a pound then being equal to $2.50) was won by two poor girls. And it is sad to know that although the public-spirited gentlemen who advanced thirty-two thousand dollars were repaid, the artist who planned and superintended the work was never paid at all, though mainly by his own fault. This was Major Pierre L'Enfant, a French engineer, who in the American Revolution had been an aide of Baron Steuben. On October 12, 1789, the common council, in acknowledgment of the major's architectural and decorative services, conferred on him the freedom of the city, and ten acres near the city, in the region where now Third Avenue crosses Sixty-eighth street. It was a remote territory, and Major L'Enfant declined such poor compensation. He desired money, but scorned the $750 offered him, and in the end got nothing; which was a pity, for few foreign names stand so well in our national history as that of Major L'Enfant. He came to America in 1777, fought gallantly throughout the war, was severely wounded in 1779 at Savannah, and received the rank of major in 1783. He is credited with having designed the steeple of St. Paul's (New-York); he did design the medal of the Cincinnati; and assisted in planning Washington city. He died June 14, 1825, in Prince George's County, Maryland.

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[1] "The City of New York in the year of Washington's Inauguration, 1789," p. 9.

Federal Hall possessed considerable beauty. It had a grand vestibule, paved with marble, with arches and pillars in front; the senate chamber had an azure ceiling resplendent with the sun and thirteen stars (though North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet entered the Union); the vice-president's chair was under a canopy of crimson damask, above it the United States arms. From this chamber three windows opened on a balcony overlooking Wall street. The hall of representatives was larger, and had symbolic decorations; but the plainness of the speaker's chair, compared with the canopied seat of the vice-president, and other items, were enough to make the building symbolical to the anti-federalists of aristocracy. One party declared it the finest building in the world, the other described it as a mongrel affair paid for by lottery. On May 15, 1812, Mr. Jinnings bought for four hundred and twenty-five dollars the materials of the edifice which, twenty-two years before, had been repaired at a cost of over sixty-five thousand dollars.

On February 2 the corporation was authorized to raise by taxation six thousand pounds for the poor, the street improvements, and the bridewell; also four thousand pounds for watchmen and street-lamps. On February 28 regulations for ferries were formed and passed by the legislature. There were to be boats always ready on both sides of the rivers, each passenger to pay two pence, infants free. Women were allowed to carry as much as their aprons could hold of the articles scheduled, as nearly all articles were. Meantime the common council attempted to clear the streets of pigs by their forfeiture if found therein; grappled with footpads; repaired the fire-engines, attended to the markets, ordering that they should be opened daily except on Sundays; increased penalties on unwholesome provisions; in fact, did all that such public-spirited and competent men as Mayor James Duane, Recorder Richard Varick, Sheriff Robert Boyd, and Chamberlain Daniel Phoenix were expected to do in view of the great emergency.

THE FRANKLIN HOUSE.

Edmund Randolph, the first attorney-general, having come on from Williamsburg, Virginia, in advance of his family, writes to his wife: "I have a house at a mile and a half or thereabouts from the Federal Hall; that is, from the most public part of the city. It is, in fact, in the country, is airy, has seven rooms, is well finished and gentlemanlike. The rent, £75 our money ($250). Good water is difficult to be found in this place, and the inhabitants are obliged to receive water for tea, and other purposes which do not admit brackish water, from hogsheads brought about every day in drays. At our house there is an excellent pump of fresh water. I am resolved against any company of form, and to live merely a private life. I confess I [*torn*] our house in Williamsburg [*torn*] pleasing to me than [*torn*]." This deficiency in the water-supply was formidable. The city depended chiefly on a pump in Chatham street fed from a pond (the "Collect") where the Tombs prison now stands—a pond of uncanny reputation in New-York folk-lore. Early in the year 1789 a correspondence took place between the common council and the State legislature concerning the invention of Rumsey for supplying towns with water. It was proposed by the Rumseyan Society of Philadelphia to apply the invention to New-York. The steamboat which Washington saw launched by James Rumsey on the Potomac was little thought of compared with his steam-pump; but the city could not afford the expense of it, and the "tea-water" carts continued their rounds.

The ambition of men in 1789 was provincial. They looked upon a migration to New-York as expatriation. Remote congressmen came reluctantly, and their complaints after arrival savor of homesickness. "This town," grumbles Governor Page, "is not half as large as Philadelphia, nor in any manner to be compared to it for beauty and elegance. Philadelphia, I am well assured, has more inhabitants than Boston and New York together. The streets are badly paved, dirty and narrow, as well as crooked and filled up with a strange variety of wooden, stone, and brick buildings, and full of hogs and mud. The College, St. Paul's Church, and the Hospital are elegant buildings. The Federal Hall in Wall street is also elegant." Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, finds the streets ripped up, the climate variable, the wealthy citizens inhospitable, the people vile; but he wrote very differently when he was going away next year.

March 4, the day appointed for the opening of Congress, had brought to New-York eight senators and thirteen representatives. From day to day the two chambers met only to adjourn. The prolonged failure to obtain a quorum was disheartening to Washington. "The delay," he writes to Knox, "is inauspicious, to say the least of it, and the world must condemn it." On April 1 the house had a quorum of thirty, and elected Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, speaker. On April 4 twelve senators appeared, and John Langdon, of New Hampshire, was chosen presiding officer. Washington received the whole sixty-nine electoral votes for president, and John Adams thirty-four for vice-president. Charles Thomson was sent to inform Washington, and Sylvanus Bourne to inform Adams, of the result. Three days later a noisy conflict took place in New-York city and Westchester County, which made one congressional district, for this seat, in which the federalist, John Lawrance (lawyer), was elected over John Broome (merchant). The city vote for Lawrance was 2255 against 280; in Westchester County 163 against 92. The anti-federalists, as they were called, could have shown larger numbers against a less popular man. For this first congressman of New-York city had been on Washington's staff as judge-advocate in the Revolution; had served in the Continental

Congress (1785–87), and was a State senator at the time of his election to Congress in 1789. John Lawrance, a native of England, who came to this country at seventeen, was subsequently United States circuit judge and United States senator (1796–1800). He died in New-York, November 7, 1810.

John Adams left Boston, April 13, and was met on the 20th at Kingsbridge by members of Congress and a civic escort of Light Horse (Captain Stakes), his arrival being announced by guns at the Battery. He was escorted to the residence of John Jay, 133 Broadway, where he was for some time a guest. On the 21st, Senators Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts, and Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, conducted Adams to Federal Hall. Adams's coachman assumed majestic airs toward the common folk, and unluckily affronted some youths of Columbia College, who happened to be Southerners—John Randolph of Roanoke, and his brother Richard. Adams was met at the senate door by Langdon, and conducted to the chair, where he made an unprepared address. The constitution having only provided a presidential oath, neither the vice-president nor the senators took any oath until June 3.

On March 30 Washington wrote to Madison, in New-York, that he had declined an invitation to stay with Governor Clinton,—"As I mean to avoid private families on the one hand, so on the other I am not anxious to be placed early in a situation for entertaining." The president was already beset by office-seekers, all politely put off, and was anxious to incur no personal obligations. As he declined Governor Clinton's invitation, so he declined that of John Jay. Congress requested Mr. Osgood to prepare the Franklin House, which had been used by presidents of Congress, for Washington's reception.

On April 16 the president left Mount Vernon,—"with feelings," as he wrote General Knox, "not unlike those of a culprit who is going to his place of execution,"—and, retarded by ovations, a week later entered New-York. Among those who crowded around Washington, on his triumphal progress through Philadelphia, was a newly naturalized mechanician from England, John Hall. In a letter of his, now before me, to a friend in England, Hall says: "The General, now our King by the name of George the First, has passed through this City to New York in the most popular manner. I hope your King will never more cry out on the distraction of these colonies. It has come home to him with a vengeance. And the Bishop of Canterbury says the Lord has smitten him for the sins of the people! I hope neither thee nor thine are concerned in the affair: if you are, the Lord mend you! The prayer from the synagogue is more sublime than the above Canterbury tale." This young radical could little imagine the historic coincidence marking that St. George's Day, April 23, in

England and America. While George III. was moving in grand procession to St. Paul's, London, to offer thanksgiving for the restoration of his sanity, the American George was moving toward a St. Paul's in New-York, where thanksgivings were also to be offered. The widely parted processions moved to the same anthem, so far as the music was concerned. Beside the decorated barge on which Washington crossed to the city sailed a sloop on which a large choir of gentlemen and ladies sang the ode prepared by Mr. Low, containing the much-admired lines:

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AT NEW-YORK, APRIL 23, 1789.

> Far be the din of arms,
> Henceforth the Olive's charms
> Shall War preclude:
> These shores a head shall own,
> Unsullied by a throne,—
> Our much loved Washington,
> The Great, the Good!

If in the spectators witnessing the London procession there were misgivings that the king's recovery might be followed by the nation's relapse, similar misgivings were not absent from many who witnessed the entrance of the unanimously elected president. But they were strongest in his own breast. In his diary he wrote: "The display of boats which attended and joined us on this occasion, some with vocal and some with instrumental music on board; the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the skies, as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (considering the reverse of the scene, which may be the case after all my labors to do good) as they are pleasing."

The president had been received on the Jersey shore by a committee of Congress and representatives of the State and city. These were distributed on six barges, the gay fleet being under command of Commodore Nicholson. The president's barge, fifty feet long, hung with red curtains, festooned, was rowed by thirteen pilots in white. The display of decorated ships, their yards manned, the salutes from foreign flags, the thunder of guns, the Spanish man-of-war Galveston suddenly displaying the twenty-eight colors of all nations, the shores crowded with gaily dressed people, the companies with their banners, made this the most memorable pageant in the early history of New-York. Washington was at times overcome with emotion, especially when he stepped on the carpeted wharf (Murray's) near the foot of Wall street; for there he was met by old comrades, who had struggled in "the times that tried men's souls," and who could share with him the joy of this consummation of their sufferings and courage. The president was dressed in the same "blue-and-buff" which John Adams remarked when the Virginia colonel appeared in Congress, before he was made commander. It had then no martial significance, such as some historians have ascribed to it; it was the uniform in which he had served his king, and was still ready to serve him if he were faithful to freedom and justice. But time had given the costume historic meaning: for it is to be noted that the lovers of liberty in England were called "the Blue-and-Buffs."

The president was welcomed at the wharf by the governor and State and municipal officers, the whole military and civic resources of the city being drawn on for the grand procession which accompanied the president. The French and Spanish ambassadors rode in their carriages, in homage to the president, who was on foot: weary of riding, he declined the carriage awaiting him. The procession escorted him to the Franklin House (3 Cherry street), where the president found but brief repose, for he presently went off to dine with the governor.[1]

A letter from Sarah Robinson to Kitty F. Wistar,[2] dated "New-York, 30th of the fourth month 1789," gives an account of the arrangements made in the Franklin mansion for the president and his family: "Great rejoiceing in New-York on the arrival of General Washington; an elegant barge decorated with an awning of satin, twelve oarsmen dressed in white frocks and blue ribbons, went down to E. Town [Elizabeth Point] last fourth day [Wednesday] to bring him up. . . . Previous to his coming, Uncle Walter's house in Cherry street was taken for him, and every room furnished in the most elegant manner. Aunt Osgood and Lady Kitty Duer had the whole management of it. I went the morning before the General's arrival to look at it. The best of furniture in every room, and the greatest quantity of plate and china I ever saw; the whole of the first and second stories is papered and the floors covered with the richest kind of Turkey and Wilton carpets. The house did honor to my Aunts and Lady Kitty, they spared no pains nor expense on it. Thou must know that Uncle Osgood and Duer were appointed to procure a house and furnish it, accordingly they pitched on their wives as being likely to do it better. I have not yet done, my dear. Is thee not almost tired? The evening after His Excellency arrived, there was a general illumination took place, except among friends [Quakers] and those styled Anti-Federalists. The latter's windows suffered some, thou may imagine. As soon as the General has sworn in, a grand exhibition of fireworks is to be displayed, which, it is expected, is to be to-morrow. There is scarcely anything talked about now but General Washington and the Palace."[1] The latter term was no doubt a republican sarcasm.

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[1] In the De Peyster House, Queen street, nearly opposite Cedar.

[2] The Sarah Robinson mentioned in the text was a daughter of a brother of the owner of the Franklin House, married to Rowland Robinson, a merchant of New-York. The Kitty F. Wistar to whom the letter was addressed was a daughter of Mary Franklin and Caspar Wistar, of Pennsylvania.

From the time of the president's arrival until his oath of office, his time was occupied with receptions. Meanwhile Congress had been torn with dissensions as to how he should be received, and with what title, the disputes being continued to the very moment of the president's appearance at their door. Old Fort George had thundered its salute — nearly its last — to the sunrise of April 30, the church bells had rung, prayers had been offered. At noon the official escort had gathered at the president's door. Congressmen, cavalry, artillery, grenadiers, light infantry, Scotch Highlanders, German companies, gentlemen in carriages, people on foot, made a vast procession, which at one o'clock formed an avenue up to the Federal Hall, through which Washington passed in his carriage, in which also sat Colonel Humphreys and Tobias Lear. Arriving in the senate chamber,

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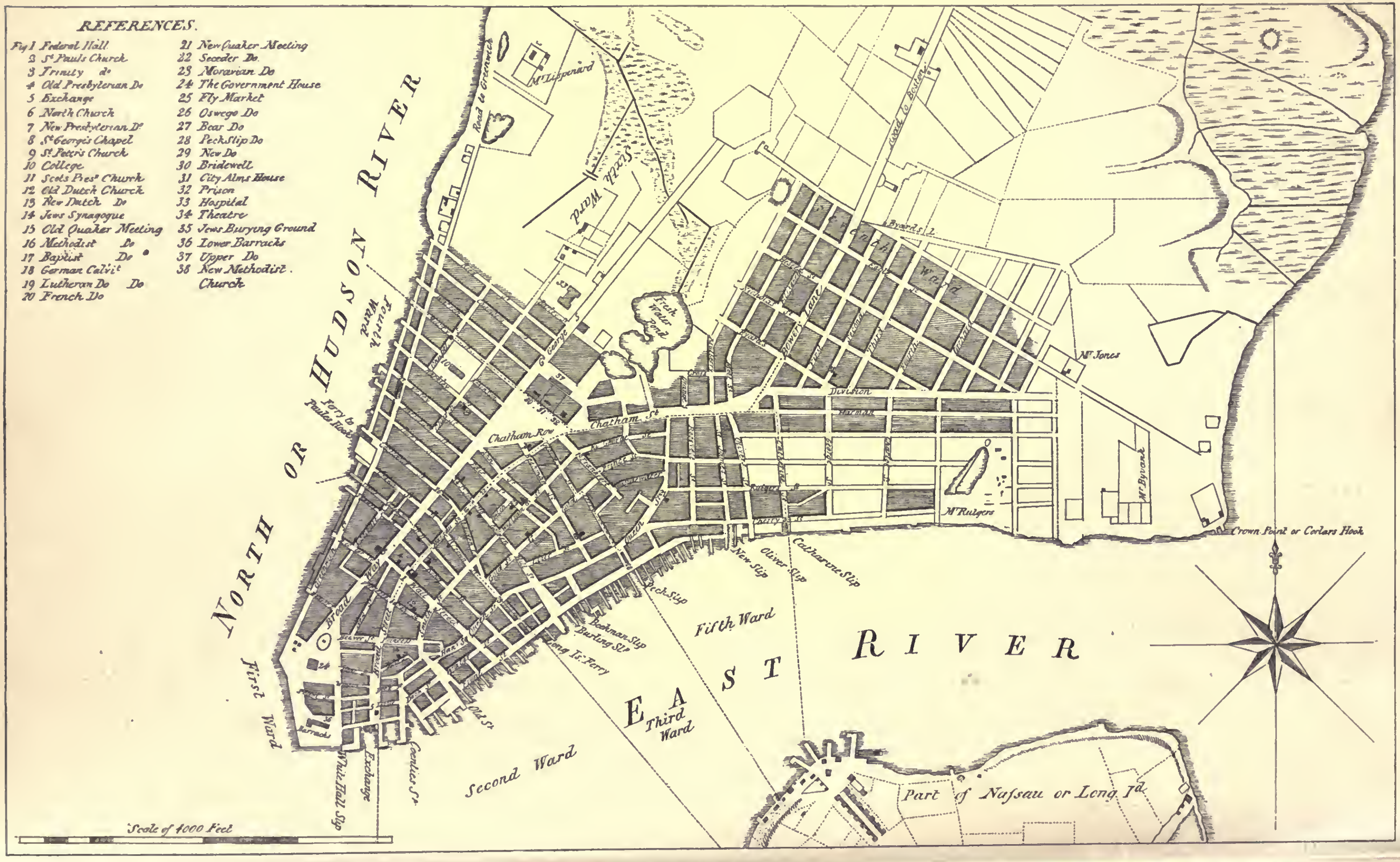
The Franklin House became the property of Samuel Osgood, the postmaster-general, through his marriage with the widow of the owner, Walter Franklin. Hence arises the "Aunt Osgood" referred to in the letter. This lady was a daughter of the Quaker Daniel Bowne, of Long Island.

EDITOR.

[1] The original is in possession of Admiral Franklin, U. S. N., who favored the editor with a copy. The barge, so beautiful in New-York, was seen in distant regions as a dark corsair, being identified by rumor as the "Federal Ship Hamilton" carried through the streets in the previous year, on the adoption of the constitution, when the riots occurred. That the anti-federalists in the city had not quite recovered their good humor was shown by their dark windows. The common council had (April 22) especially recommended illuminations between 7 and 9 P. M., and ordered all bells to be rung.


REFERENCES.
Fig 1 Federal Hall
2 St Pauls Church
3 Trinity do
4 Old Presbyterian Do
5 Exchange
6 North Church
7 New Presbyterian Do
8 St Georges Chapel
9 St Peters Church
10 College
11 Scots Presr Church
12 Old Dutch Church
13 New Dutch Do
14 Jews Synagogue
15 Old Quaker Meeting
16 Methodist Do
17 Baptist Do
18 German Calvit
19 Lutheran Do Do
20 French Do
21 New Quaker Meeting
22 Seceder Do
23 Moravian Do
24 The Government House
25 Fly Market
26 Oswego Do
27 Bear Do
28 Peck Slip Do
29 New Do
30 Bridewell
31 City Alms House
32 Prison
33 Hospital
34 Theatre
35 Jews Burying Ground
36 Lower Barracks
37 Upper Do
38 New Methodist Church
NORTH OR HUDSON RIVER
EAST RIVER
First Ward
Second Ward
Third Ward
Fourth Ward
Fifth Ward
Sixth Ward
Seventh Ward
Road to Greenwich
Mr Lispenard
Road to Boston
Byards L.
Fresh Water Pond
Ferry to Paules Hook
Broad Way
Broad Street
Wall Street
Chatham Row
Chatham St
George St
Bowery Lane
Division
Harman
Rutgers St
Cherry St
Queen St
Mr Jones
Mr Rutgers
Mr Byvank
Crown Point or Corlars Hook
White Hall Slip
Exchange
Coenties Sr
Old Sr
Long Id Ferry
Burling Slip
Beekman Slip
Peck Slip
New Slip
Oliver Slip
Catharine Slip
Part of Nassau or Long Id
Scale of 4000 Feet

Washington passed up, bowing to the members, to a seat between the vice-president (right) and the speaker (left).

The statue of Washington at the subtreasury has for its pedestal a stone said to be that on which he stood while taking the oath. This is all that remains of the edifice from whose balcony the Declaration of Independence was read in 1776, where the Continental Congress had last sat, and the new United States government began. There is a legend that just before the oath was administered, it was discovered that there was no Bible in Federal Hall, and that Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, grand master of freemasons, despatched a messenger to bring one from St. John's Lodge. Washington wore his sword, and was dressed in clothing of American manufacture; his metal buttons bore eagles, each cuff-button thirteen stars. It was not his fault that he had to kiss a London Bible (1767) containing a portrait of George II. On the balcony many of the chief men of the nation stood beside him. Hamilton observed the scene from the window of his house, nearly opposite. The streets and the roofs were thronged. The president was overcome at the enthusiasm, and laid his hand upon his breast in token of helplessness to address the multitude. When he had kissed the book, the chancellor proclaimed to the people, "It is done!" then cried, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" A flag raised to the cupola of Federal Hall signaled the battery; its thunder of guns was followed by bells throughout the city, and universal shouts. After the president had returned to the senate chamber, and his inaugural address been there delivered,— with an awkwardness not unbecoming a man of deeds,— all repaired to St. Paul's Church, where services were conducted by Bishop Samuel Provoost, of the Episcopal Church of New-York. Earlier in the day services were also held in the churches of some of the other denominations.

A profound impression was made by the passage in Washington's inaugural address which declared his intention to continue the course he had adopted while in military service, of receiving no payment. This is the more remarkable as Washington was at the time in pecuniary straits. He was compelled to borrow of Captain Richard Conway six hundred pounds to pay his debts in Virginia and go on to his inauguration. He receded from this resolution, but his declaration flew over the world. Thomas Paine proudly proclaimed it in London, and remarks in his "Rights of Man": "The character and services of this gentleman are sufficient to put all those men called kings to shame. While they are receiving from the sweat and labors of mankind a prodigality of pay, to which neither their abilities nor their services can entitle them, he is rendering every service in his power, and refusing every pecuniary reward." This, written nearly three years after the inauguration in New-York, shows that the reconsideration was not known.

Samuel Fraunces, keeper of the inn which had been Washington's headquarters in former years, was made his household steward. The president's private secretary was Robert Lewis, a younger son of Washington's only sister,— a handsome youth, whose diary (in possession of his descendant Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington) showed that he very much enjoyed the fashion and gaieties of New-York. The president had to drill him in punctuality. On one occasion when Robert laid the blame on his watch, his uncle said: "You will have to get a new watch, or I a new secretary." The president had, indeed, to drill New-York society in punctuality. In Fenno's "Gazette" of May 30 the following hint appeared: "The President's Levee yesterday was attended by a numerous and most respectable company. The circumstance of the President's entering the Drawing Room at 3 o'clock not being universally known occasioned some inaccuracies as to the time of attendance."

WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH.

From April 23 to May 14, Congress was mainly occupied with the subject of titles. On the latter date the senate concurred with the determined stand taken by the house against titles. The vice-president was compelled to call Washington "President," when reading the senate's answer to his speech, and to describe the speech as "excellent" instead of "most gracious." But he (Adams) on this occasion refused to sit in the president's presence, though twice requested by Washington to do so, and although the senators with him did so, or as many as could find chairs. This occurred on May 18. The president would probably have regarded it as unconstitutional for him to express an opinion on titles while the question was pending, but his silence and the course of Lee gave an impression that he was favorable to titles. Fenno's "Gazette of the United States," regarded as the government organ, assumed the style of the English "Court Gazette." Its court news included (May 30) the following: "The principal ladies of the City have, with the earliest attention and respect, paid their devoirs to the amiable consort of the President, viz., the Lady of his Excellency the Governor, Lady Sterling, Lady Mary Watts, Lady Kitty Duer, La Marchioness [*sic*] de Brehan, the Ladies of the Most Hon. Mr. Langdon, and the Most Hon. Mr. Dalton, the Mayoress, Mrs. Livingston of Clermont, Mrs. Chancellor Livingston, the Miss Livingston's [*sic*], Lady Temple, Madame de la Forest, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Gerry, Mrs. Edgar, Mrs. McComb, Mrs. Lynch, Mrs. Houston, Mrs. Griffin, Mrs. Provost, the Miss Bayards, and a great number of other respectable characters." Lady Kitty's title was understood, and seemed a defiance of the House of Peers, which had refused her father's claim to be Lord Stirling; but why some of the others should be "Ladies," while the wife of the secretary of war was plain "Mrs. Knox," or why not "Mrs. Senator" as well as "Mrs. Chancellor," and so on, seemed to be court mysteries. Child's "Daily Advertiser" reprinted from the "Albany Register" a clever article which declared "La Marchioness" the only title properly given, and proceeded with amusing quotations from a court journal of 1800.

Mrs. Washington did not reach New-York until May 28. The inauguration ball had been postponed a week in hope of her arrival, but she could not make her arrangements for it. After she had started, with her two grandchildren, and under charge of the president's nephew, Robert Lewis, they were delayed by a carriage accident. She was received with demonstrations of respect along her route. At Elizabeth Point she was met by the president, Hon. Robert Morris, and other eminent men, and entered the same barge which had conveyed her husband to New-York. Their approach was greeted by guns, and an enthusiastic crowd.

The subject of etiquette gave the president much anxiety. At heart he was a plain Virginia farmer, and formalities were irksome to him. But he was impressed by the necessity of presenting to the world an elegant republican régime and submitted questions on the subject to Adams, Madison, and Hamilton. Their diverse opinions were confusing, and the president and his wife were compelled to solve the problems as best they could. They held "drawing-rooms" between eight and nine every Friday evening. Wild reports of the "court" at New-York were spread throughout the country. In reply to a letter from his old friend David Stuart, of Virginia, mentioning some of these, the president (July 14, 1789) says that public business had necessitated a rule that he should return no visits, and that his entertainments should be confined to official characters, and strangers of distinction. "So strongly had the citizens of this place imbibed an idea of the impropriety of my accepting invitations to dinner, that I have not received one from any family (though they are remarkable for hospitality, and though I have received every civility and attention possible from them) since I came to the City, except dining with the Governor on the day of my arrival. It is to be lamented that he (Adams) and some others have stirred a question [titles] which has given rise to so much animadversion, and which I confess has given me much uneasiness lest it should be supposed by some (unacquainted with facts) that the object they had in view was not displeasing to me."

The president occasionally made calls on the vice-president, or very eminent official people, but had to be careful about public appearances. "Received," says his diary, "an invitation to attend the funeral of Mrs. Roosevelt (the wife of a senator of this State) but declined complying with it — first, because the propriety of accepting an invitation of this sort appeared very questionable, and secondly, (though to do it in this instance might not be improper) because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen." Mrs. Washington for some time called on none. The first year of this lady's term as president's wife was a sort of martyrdom. She made a good impression on those who met her, but she was in no sense a woman of the world, and was shy amid the circle of remarkably brilliant ladies in political society. Of her personal appearance a mistaken impression prevails, through the error of Sparks in giving out a portrait of Washington's sister as that of his wife. This has been reproduced by Griswold and others. Of Mrs. Washington many portraits exist. She was small in stature, her profile clear-cut, and her expression amiable. She dressed richly, and her manners were of well-bred simplicity. It is plain from the letters both of herself and the president that they were for a time grievously homesick in New-York, and suffered from the unnecessary restraints of an ill-advised etiquette. Writing to a friend in Virginia (Stuart) who had alluded to rumors of presidential pomp, the president says that his Tuesday callers do not sit down because, first, it is unusual, and secondly, the room would not hold enough chairs. The dignity of office, he says, "God knows has no charms for me. I had rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government by the officers of state and the representatives of every power in Europe." Yet he was often denounced for his monarchical proclivities.

M. Washington.

The following pathetic letter from Mrs. Washington was written to Mrs. Fanny Washington, then keeping house at Mount Vernon:

> "NEW YORK, Oct. the 22d, 1789.
>
> "My dear Fanny,—I have by Mrs. Sims sent you a watch; it is one of the cargoe that I have so long mentioned to you, that was expected, I hope it is such a one as will please you — it is of the newest fashion, if that has any influence on your taste, the chain is of Mr. Lear's choosing and such as Mrs. Adams the Vice president's lady and those in the polite circle wear.
>
> "Mrs. Sims will give you a better account of the fashions than I can — I live a very dull life hear and know nothing that passes in the town — I never goe to any public place — indeed I think I am more like a State prisoner than anything else; there is certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from — and as I cannot doe as I like, I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal.
>
> "The President set out this day week on a tour to the eastward; Mr. Lear and Major Jackson attended him — my dear children has had very bad colds but thank God they are getting better. My love and good wishes attend you and all with you — remember me to Mr. and Mrs. L. Wn. [Lund Washington] how is the poor child — kiss Marie, I send her two little handkerchiefs to wipe her nose. Adue."

To Mrs. Mercy Warren, whom she had met at Cambridge thirteen years before, she writes: "I sometimes think the arrangement is not as it ought to have been, that I, who had much rather be at home, should occupy a place with which a great many younger and gayer women would be extremely pleased." One may speculate as to what might have been the effect on the political aspirations of the American women, had one so imbued with them as Mercy Warren, or, still more, Abigail Adams, been wife of the first president. Meanwhile Mrs. Adams, who in 1776 wrote to her husband of the rights of women to representation, was enjoying "The Mansion" on Richmond Hill, and the freedom of New-York. Of her new home she writes: "In natural beauty it might vie with the most delicious spot I ever saw. It is a mile and a half distant from the city of New York. The house stands upon an eminence; at an agreeable distance flows the noble Hudson, bearing upon its bosom innumerable small vessels laden with the fruitful productions of the adjacent country. Upon my right hand are fields beautifully variegated with grass and grain, to a great extent like the valley of Honiton in Devonshire. Upon my left the city opens to view, intercepted here and there by a rising ground and an ancient oak. In front, beyond the Hudson, the Jersey Shores present the exuberance of a rich, well-cultivated soil. In the background is a large flower-garden, enclosed with a hedge and some very handsome trees. Venerable oaks and broken ground covered with wild shrubs surround me, giving a natural beauty to the spot which is truly enchanting. A lovely variety of birds serenade me morning and evening, rejoicing in their liberty and security." From which one may gather not only that the corner of Charlton and Varick streets was different a hundred years ago, but that the lady, like the serenading birds, was also rejoicing in her liberty and security.[1] The ladies were accustomed to present themselves in large numbers in the gallery of the House of Representatives. In a letter to David Stuart the president says: "Why they (the Senate) keep their doors shut, when acting in a legislative capacity, I am unable to inform you, unless it is because they think there is too much speaking to the gallery in the other House, and business thereby retarded."

The *sequelæ* of royalism having been cleared, so far as it could be done, by Congress, the fateful question of human rights, as represented in the negro slaves, confronted it. The first challenge of slavery, in the new government, came from Virginia. During the first tariff discussion, early in May, the Hon. Josiah Parker of that State moved an amendment imposing a duty of ten dollars on every slave imported. He expressed the hope that "Congress would do all in their power to restore to human nature its ancient privileges; to wipe off, if possible, the stigma under which America labored; to do away with the inconsistency in our principles justly charged upon us, and to show by our actions the purer beneficence of the doctrine held out to the world in our Declaration of Independence." Parker's motion—made within a few steps of a slave-market—was seconded by Theodoric Bland, and supported by James Madison, both of Virginia. It was bitterly opposed by Jackson of Georgia, who declared the negroes better off in the South than they were in Africa. "Virginia," he said, "an old and settled State, has her complement of slaves, and, the natural increase being sufficient for her purposes, she is careless of recruiting her numbers by importation." But he asked if Virginia would free her slaves, and said that "when the practice comes to be tried, then the sound of liberty will lose those charms which make it grateful to the ravished ear." Had the ten dollars import duty on negroes been adopted, American history might have been less tragical. But this proposal of Virginia was defeated by two Northern men distinguished for anti-slavery sentiment. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, approved of the object of Parker's motion, but "could not reconcile himself to the insertion of human beings as a subject of import among goods, wares and merchandize." Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, "detested slavery from his soul, but had some doubts whether imposing a duty on such importation would not have an appearance of countenancing the practice." By these sentimental objections the practical measure was defeated.

The inaugural address of the president made a profound impression on the religious sentiment of the country. Some jealousy may have been felt at the official recognition by Congress of the Episcopal

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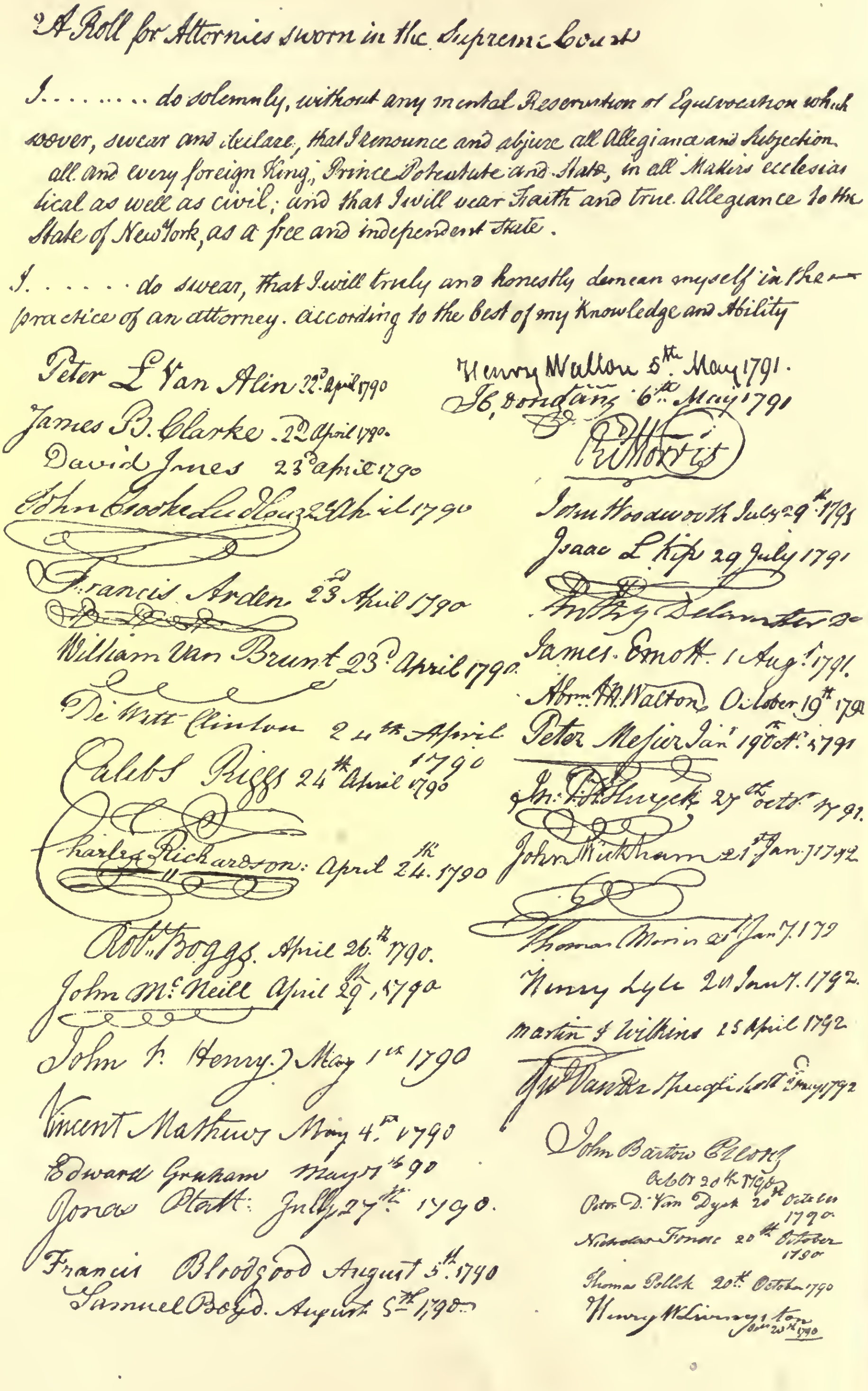
[1] Mrs. Lamb's "History of the City of New-York." See also Dr. Francis's "Old New-York," p. 17.



"A Roll for Attornies sworn in the Supreme Court

I........ do solemnly, without any mental Reservation or Equivocation whatsoever, swear and declare, that I renounce and abjure all Allegiance and Subjection all and every foreign King, Prince Potentate and State, in all Matters ecclesiastical as well as civil; and that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to the State of New York, as a free and independent State.

I..... do swear, that I will truly and honestly demean myself in the practice of an attorney. according to the best of my Knowledge and Ability

Peter L. Van Alin 22d April 1790
James B. Clarke 22d April 1790.
David Jones 23d April 1790
John Cooke Ludlow 23d April 1790
Francis Arden 23d April 1790
William Van Brunt 23d April 1790.
De Witt Clinton 24th April 1790
Caleb S. Riggs 24th April 1790
Charles Richardson: April 24th. 1790
Robt. Boggs. April 26th 1790.
John McNeill April 29th, 1790
John V. Henry May 1st 1790
Vincent Mathews May 4th 1790
Edward Graham May 7th 90
Jonas Platt. July 27th. 1790.
Francis Bloodgood August 5th. 1790
Samuel Boyd. August 5th 1790

Henry Walton 5th. May 1791.
J. G. Dongan 6th. May 1791
R. Morris
John Woodworth July 29th 1791
Isaac L. Kip 29 July 1791
Anthony Delamater do
James Emott. 1 Augt. 1791.
Abrm. M. Walton October 19th 1791
Peter Mesier Jany 19th Octr. 1791
Jn. [illegible] 27th Octr. 1791.
John Wickham 21st Jany. 1792.
Thomas Morris 21st Jany. 179
Henry Lyle 21 Jany. 1792.
Martin S. Wilkins 25 April 1792
Jno. Vander Spiegle 2d May 1792
John Bartow Cloke Octor 20th 1790
Peter D. Van Dyck 20th October 1790
Nicholas Fonda 20th October 1790
Thomas Pollok 20th October 1790
Henry W. Livingston Octr 20th 1790

Church, in the selection of St. Paul's for the services on the day of inauguration; that, however, was not ascribed to the president, and all denominations were moved by the solemn religious utterance in his address. The first response came from the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the old John street church, their only one in the city, of which Rev. John Dickens was minister, services had been held at nine on the morning of the inauguration. On May 28 the New-York conference began a session in that church. There were only twenty ministers in it, but among these were men of weight. The bishops present were Asbury and Coke, who had visited Washington at Mount Vernon, and received from him a pledge that he would use his influence with the Virginia assembly to "secure the emancipation of the slaves." With another present, the Rev. Thomas Morrell, of Elizabeth, N. J., Washington had special associations. Morrell, a young major in the Revolution, had been wounded in leading the advance at Flatbush, and Washington had detailed six soldiers to carry him to his father's home in Elizabeth. On May 29, in pursuance of a resolution of the conference and an arrangement with the president, Morrell introduced the two bishops, and cordial addresses were interchanged. A sharp controversy followed this action of the Methodist Conference relative to Dr. Coke's opposition to the American cause in England. Bishop Coke had sailed (June 5) for England, where he was assailed for disloyalty, while Morrell was maintaining (in the "Daily Advertiser") that he (Coke) had accepted the new order of things. But it was not so easy to defend the anti-American manifestos of John Wesley.

The mayor was annually appointed by the governor. In the earlier part of 1789 the mayor was James Duane, who had held the office since 1783; but in September he was appointed the first judge of the United States District Court of New-York, and was succeeded by Richard Varick (who held the office until 1801). Varick, who resided at 11 Pearl street, had previously been recorder. He enjoyed the personal friendship of Washington. His successor as recorder was Samuel Jones, an eminent lawyer, a trustee of the Society Library, and active in city affairs. Aaron Burr, whose private office was 10 Cedar street, was elected attorney-general. Twenty-eight attorneys were admitted to the bar in 1789, making the total number of lawyers in the city one hundred and twenty-two.

On Saturday, May 9, the mayor and corporation exchanged formal addresses with the president. On the same evening the Black Friars Society enjoyed their annual banquet, among the toasts being "Our noble order of honesty," "Virtuous nuns to honest friars," and "The mother friary of Europe." On June 24 the Knights Templar celebrated the "Festival of St. John the Baptist," a sermon being preached at 12.30 P. M. The lodges represented were seven in number, and were styled respectively Jamaica, Holland, Hiram, St. John's, St. Patrick's, St. Andrew's, and Independent Royal Arch.

Mr. Thomas E. V. Smith seems to give some credit to an English report that on the birthday of George III., June 4, 1789, the president celebrated that monarch's recovery. A letter dated June 6, afterward printed in a London paper, says: "His Excellency General Washington our new Congressional President, and perhaps I might add Dictator of America for life, gave a very sumptuous entertainment on Thursday the 4th, on account of the recovery of his Majesty the King of Great Britain; the Envoys of England, France, Holland, and Portugal, and persons of the first distinction were present. This very handsome respect to the British Monarch will doubtless be received as it deserves." The English government had no envoy in America, but only a consul-general (Sir John Temple). It is difficult to believe that Washington gave such an entertainment, or that it would or could have been kept secret. The foreign representatives in 1789 were Don Gardoqui (Spanish), the Count de Moustier (French) and Louis Otto (Chargé d'Affaires), Francis Van Berckel (Holland), and Richard Sonderstrom (Sweden). Sir John Temple was popular in New-York, and entertained handsomely. The entertainment given in the president's honor, May 14, 1789, by Count de Moustier (whose house was kept by his sister, Madame de Brehan), has become historic through the description given in Griswold's "Republican Court."

According to a masonic tradition, Washington kissed the open Bible on a page, now carefully marked, adorned with a picture of Issachar as "a strong ass, couching down between two burdens."[1] There is no doubt that America and its president were between two burdens, and that they were formidably displayed from the first in New-York. One of these burdens was anti-federalism, the other a federalism which seemed eager to invest the republic with the pomp and circumstance of royalty. In an unpublished historical fragment Edmund Randolph says: "It was expected, at the commencement of our revolutionary government, that these gaudy trappings would be abandoned. They were retained indeed by usage, not by any authoritative recognition, nor yet from any admiration of the empty baubles in the country of our origin, or an anti-republican tendency in the people; but they may be ascribed to a degree of pride which would not suffer the new government to carry with it fewer testimonies of public devotion than the old." But democratic sentiment was exasperated by the proposal (already mentioned) to institute titles, sprung upon Congress immediately after its organization. The vice-president's warm demand for titles had been seconded by Senator Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, who moved that a resolution on the subject should be transmitted to "the Lower House"—a phrase not soon forgotten. A committee of the Senate reported that the executive should be styled "His Highness the President of the United States, and Protector of their Liberties." Among the titles suggested were "His Majesty," "His Elective Majesty," "High Mightiness." It is said that the president asked Speaker Muhlenberg what he thought of the title "High Mightiness," and that Muhlenberg said it might do for a tall man like himself, but if a little president should be elected it would sound rather ridiculous. Lee's supercilious phrase, "the Lower House"; the vice-president's proposal to thank the president for "his most gracious speech," and his remark, when this was ridiculed, that "could he have thought of this he never would have drawn his sword"—the whole discussion, threw the country into agitation. John Randolph of Roanoke, then a student in Columbia College, was precocious enough in radicalism to fill Virginia with alarm. The vice-president's speeches about titles made him feel in the "spurning" of his brother Richard by Adams's coachman (April 22) something symbolical. The royalist whip was cracked over the head of the citizen. He detected "the poison under the eagle's wings." "I saw the coronation (such in fact it was) of General Washington." Soon after young Randolph was in Richmond, and Edmund Randolph, in a letter to Madison (July 23, 1789), mentions a report of the president's "total alienation (in point of dinners) from the representatives." On the other hand, it is said by the same statesman, in a letter of September 26: "The President is supposed to have written to Mr. Adams, while titles were in debate, that if any were given he would resign."

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[1] Genesis xlix. 14. One must almost suspect in this legend the invention of some political philosopher of the time who had remarked the profane caricature representing Washington's "Entry" seated on an ass led by David Humphreys. In "The Century Magazine" for April, 1889, there is an admirable engraving of the open Bible, and a full description of it, with its inscriptions as added by St. John's Lodge. A letter of John Armstrong to General Gates, dated New-York, April 7, 1789, says: "A caricature has already appeared called 'The Entry,' full of very disloyal and profane allusions. It represents the General mounted on an ass, and in the arms of his man Billy Humphreys [Colonel David Humphreys, aide-de-camp, who accompanied Washington from Mount Vernon to New-York] leading the jack, and chanting hosannas and birthday odes. The following couplet proceeds from the mouth of the devil:

'The glorious time has come to pass
When David shall conduct an ass.'"

The two burdens between which the new government, like Issachar, was beginning to couch found some representation in the Society of the Cincinnati and that of Tammany. It is true that men of all parties belonged to these societies; nevertheless, the Cincinnati, making membership hereditary, had come to be regarded as aristocratic, and Tammany had been evolved to counteract it. Washington had been induced to remain president of the Cincinnati only on its promise (never fulfilled) of abolishing the hereditary feature. This society had a large influence in New-York, where it had about one hundred and eighty members. Senator Maclay notes in his diary (May 1, 1789) the continuance of a party which, in the Revolution, "cared for nothing else but a translation of the diadem and sceptre from London to Boston, New York, or Philadelphia," and adds: "This spirit they developed in the Order of Cincinnati, where I trust it will spend itself in a harmless flame and soon become extinguished." But on July 4 the New-York branch of the society elected Baron Steuben president, Alexander Hamilton vice-president, Major John Stagg secretary, and Colonel Richard Platt treasurer. These were strong men. John Stagg had served in the Continental army, also in the New-York assembly (1784 and 1786), and was now major of the City Legion and city surveyor. Colonel Platt had also a Revolutionary record. The society sent a committee with Fourth-of-July congratulations to the president, vice-president, and speaker, after which it attended St. Paul's, where Hamilton pronounced a eulogium on General Nathaniel Greene to an audience including magnates of the government and their families. Washington was ill, but his wife was present. A grand banquet with thirteen toasts followed at the City Tavern.

The St. Tammany Society had hitherto been a rather feeble survival from the Revolution. The name of the pacific chief of the Delawares (who signed the treaty with Penn, and had been largely invested with mythology), Tammany, — canonized, as an offset to the foreign saints Andrew, Patrick, and George, — was adopted for a patriotic society that latterly had little purpose.[1] But in May, 1789, the organization in New-York city was strengthened, and the "Columbian Order" added to its name. Its officers were to consist of native-born Americans, while adopted citizens were eligible to the honorary posts of "warrior" and "hunter." The officers were one grand sachem, twelve sachems, one treasurer, one secretary, and one doorkeeper, the society being divided into thirteen tribes, each representing a State and being governed by a sachem, and containing one honorary warrior and one hunter. The society at the outset included men of all parties, and did not take a prominent part in politics. In 1789 its meetings were held at Fraunces' Tavern, but it celebrated May 12 (old May-day) in tents erected on the banks of the Hudson River, about two miles from the city, where a large number of members partook of an elegant entertainment, served precisely at three o'clock, after which there were singing and smoking and universal expressions of brotherly love.

The society also had a curator of property ("sagamore"). John Pintard, one of the few fashionable gentlemen among them, was the first sagamore. Although no partizanship was at first manifest, there are few indications of federalist or fashionable patronage. "Fashionable Society," says Smith, "in New-York in 1789 seems to have consisted of about three hundred persons, as that number attended a ball on the 7th May at which Washington was present." The common folk had to form their own social circles, and their own organizations, which must naturally pass into a democratic evolution. Tammany was the American positive pole to the Cincinnati's negative pole; and in their relative importance to-day our national history may be studied.

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[1] An interesting history of the Tammany Society, by R. G. Horton, is given in the Manual of the Common Council of New-York, 1865. It is curious that this society should have anticipated the French revolutionists in their wish to alter the names of the seasons, which Tammany designated as Blossoms, Fruits, Snows, Hunting. The months were "moons." A Tammany letter might be dated: "Manhattan, Season of Fruits, 17th day of the 7th moon, year of discovery 300th, of independence 16th, of the institution 3d."

Wm Dunlap

During the first year of Congress three hundred and thirty tavern licenses were granted (30*s.* each), and gambling (Pharaoh) was pretty general. Prices ran high, and trade societies were refurbished. The foreign societies — St. Andrew's,[1] St. George's, St. Patrick's — shared the national enthusiasm. There was one social club — the Black Friars. There were twenty-two church edifices. The great institution was Columbia College. At the commencement on May 6, 1789, the President of the United States attended, and the chief members of both National and State governments. The number of students was between thirty and forty. There were more than fifty schools in the city. Literature appears to have been represented by Philip Freneau, captain of a merchant vessel; Samuel Low, bank clerk; and William Dunlap, playwright. There were, however, twelve publishing-houses, one of which (Robert Hodge's) announced on February 4, 1789, the "First American Novel," which was entitled, "The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature."

The newspapers published in New-York in 1789 were: The "New-York Packet," published three times a week, at two dollars a year, by Samuel Loudon, 5 Water street; the "New-York Journal," weekly, two dollars, by Thomas Greenleaf, 25 Water street; the "Daily

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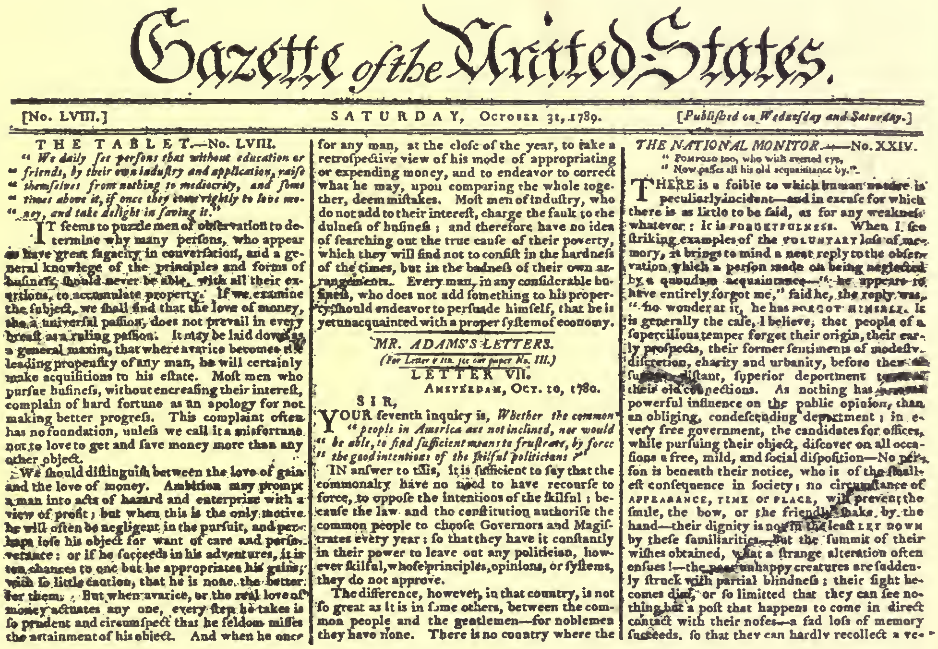
[1] Among the earliest charitable organizations of New-York city is St. Andrew's Society, organized in 1756, of which Philip Livingston, the signer, was first president; Dr. Adam Thompson, second; John Morin Scott, third; Anthony Barclay, fourth; and the Earl of Stirling, fifth. It is still an influential and useful organization, and the oldest among existing societies of its character. EDITOR.

Advertiser," six dollars, by Francis Childs, 190 Water street; the "Daily Gazette," by McLean, 41 Hanover street, at the sign of "Franklin's Head"; the "Gazette of the United States," biweekly, three dollars, by John Fenno, 9 Maiden Lane. These publishers were also considered editors of their papers. The laws of the United States were printed by Francis Childs and sold at one dollar per one hundred pages. Greenleaf was printer for the State.

On May 11 and 12, 1789, the Bank of New-York (established in 1784) elected the following officers: President, Isaac Roosevelt; vice-president, William Maxwell; cashier, William Seton; directors, Nicholas Low, Joshua Waddington, Daniel McCormick, Thomas Randall, Comfort Sands, Robert Bowne, Samuel Franklin, Thomas B. Stoughten, William Constable, William Edgar, and John Murray. This bank, the only one in the city, prayed for incorporation on July 3, but was not chartered until two years later. The money was pounds, shillings, and pence; the dollar being worth eight shillings.



Gazette of the United States.

[No. LVIII.] SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1789. [Publiſhed on Wedneſday and Saturday.]

THE TABLET.—No. LVIII.

"*We daily ſee perſons that without education or*
"*friends, by their own induſtry and application, raiſe*
"*themſelves from nothing to mediocrity, and ſome*
"*times above it, if once they come rightly to love mo-*
"*ney, and take delight in ſaving it.*"

IT ſeems to puzzle men of obſervation to determine why many perſons, who appear to have great ſagacity in converſation, and a general knowlege of the principles and forms of buſineſs, ſhould never be able, with all their exertions, to accumulate property. If we examine the ſubject, we ſhall find that the love of money, tho' a univerſal paſſion, does not prevail in every breaſt as a ruling paſſion. It may be laid down as a general maxim, that where avarice becomes the leading propenſity of any man, he will certainly make acquiſitions to his eſtate. Moſt men who purſue buſineſs, without encreaſing their intereſt, complain of hard fortune as an apology for not making better progreſs. This complaint often has no foundation, unleſs we call it a misfortune not to love to get and ſave money more than any other object.

We ſhould diſtinguiſh between the love of gain and the love of money. Ambition may prompt a man into acts of hazard and enterpriſe with a view of profit; but when this is the only motive, he will often be negligent in the purſuit, and perhaps loſe his object for want of care and perſeverance: or if he ſucceeds in his adventures, it is ten chances to one but he appropriates his gains, with ſo little caution, that he is none the better for them. But when avarice, or the real love of money actuates any one, every ſtep he takes is ſo prudent and circumſpect that he ſeldom miſſes the attainment of his object. And when he once for any man, at the cloſe of the year, to take a retroſpective view of his mode of appropriating or expending money, and to endeavor to correct what he may, upon comparing the whole together, deem miſtakes. Moſt men of induſtry, who do not add to their intereſt, charge the fault to the dulneſs of buſineſs; and therefore have no idea of ſearching out the true cauſe of their poverty, which they will find not to conſiſt in the hardneſs of the times, but in the badneſs of their own arrangements. Every man, in any conſiderable buſineſs, who does not add ſomething to his property, ſhould endeavor to perſuade himſelf, that he is yet unacquainted with a proper ſyſtem of economy.

MR. ADAMS'S LETTERS.

(For Letter [illegible] ſee our paper No. III.)

LETTER VII.

AMSTERDAM, OCT. 10, 1780.

SIR,

YOUR ſeventh inquiry is, *Whether the common "people in America are not inclined, nor would "be able, to find ſufficient means to fruſtrate, by force "the good intentions of the ſkilful politicians?"*

IN anſwer to this, it is ſufficient to ſay that the commonalty have no need to have recourſe to force, to oppoſe the intentions of the ſkilful; becauſe the law and the conſtitution authoriſe the common people to chooſe Governors and Magiſtrates every year; ſo that they have it conſtantly in their power to leave out any politician, however ſkilful, whoſe principles, opinions, or ſyſtems, they do not approve.

The difference, however, in that country, is not ſo great as it is in ſome others, between the common people and the gentlemen—for noblemen they have none. There is no country where the

THE NATIONAL MONITOR.—No. XXIV.

"Pomposo too, who with averted eye,
"Now paſſes all his old acquaintance by."

THERE is a foible to which human nature is peculiarly incident—and in excuſe for which there is as little to be ſaid, as for any weakneſs whatever: It is FORGETFULNESS. When I ſee ſtriking examples of the VOLUNTARY loſs of memory, it brings to mind a neat reply to the obſervation which a perſon made on being neglected by a quondam acquaintance—"he appears to have entirely forgot me," ſaid he, the reply was, "no wonder at it, he has FORGOT HIMSELF." It is generally the caſe, I believe, that people of a ſupercilious temper forget their origin, their early proſpects, their former ſentiments of modeſty, diſcretion, charity and urbanity, before they [illegible] diſtant, ſuperior deportment towards their old connections. As nothing has [illegible] powerful influence on the public opinion, than an obliging, condeſcending deportment; in every free government, the candidates for offices, while purſuing their object, diſcover on all occaſions a free, mild, and ſocial diſpoſition—No perſon is beneath their notice, who is of the ſmalleſt conſequence in ſociety; no circumſtance of APPEARANCE, TIME OR PLACE, will prevent the ſmile, the bow, or the friendly ſhake by the hand—their dignity is not in the leaſt LET DOWN by theſe familiarities—But the ſummit of their wiſhes obtained, what a ſtrange alteration often enſues!—the poor unhappy creatures are ſuddenly ſtruck with partial blindneſs; their ſight becomes dim, or ſo limitted that they can ſee nothing but a poſt that happens to come in direct contact with their noſes—a ſad loſs of memory ſucceeds, ſo that they can hardly recollect a ve-

FAC-SIMILE OF PART OF A PAGE.

One of the events of 1789 was the composition of the air "Hail Columbia," by a German named Fayles, leader of the orchestra in John street theater. It was called "Washington's March," and was first played November 24, while the president and his wife (persistently styled Lady Washington) were passing to their box. The air was repeatedly encored, and the well-known song afterward adapted to it.

The illness which had prevented the president from making his appearance at the celebration of Independence Day, 1789, was a dangerous carbuncle. His mother, whom he had visited at Fredericksburg before leaving Virginia, was suffering from a tumor, and was in great anxiety about him. In July the Rev. Mr. Urquhart of that region came to New-York, bringing a letter from the president's sister, Betty Lewis, in which (July 24) she says that although they had heard that he was recovering, and "would shortly be able to ride out," his mother must hear from him. "She will not believe you are well until she has it from under your own hand." News of his mother's death reached him September 1, when he was entertaining Governor St. Clair and Baron Steuben at dinner. Parson Ryan brought a letter from Fredericksburg stating that Mary Washington had died on August 25. The president retired from the table, and remained for some time in his room alone. He wrote a touching letter about his mother to his sister. On October 18 the president left New-York for his tour in the Eastern States, returning November 13. Congress had adjourned on September 29, 1789, after passing twenty-seven acts. The discussions had been heated, the city excited, and the residents enjoyed the repose following the adjournment. The president's appointments to office included some of the strongest New-York men. Alexander Hamilton was made secretary of the treasury, and William Duer assistant secretary. John Jay was appointed chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, Samuel Osgood postmaster-general, and Gouverneur Morris (already in Europe) was intrusted with a sort of undefined mission to negotiate with the British government on various issues. John Lamb was made collector of the port, Benjamin Walker naval officer, and John Lasher surveyor. These local appointments were popular, the three gentlemen being eminent for their public spirit.

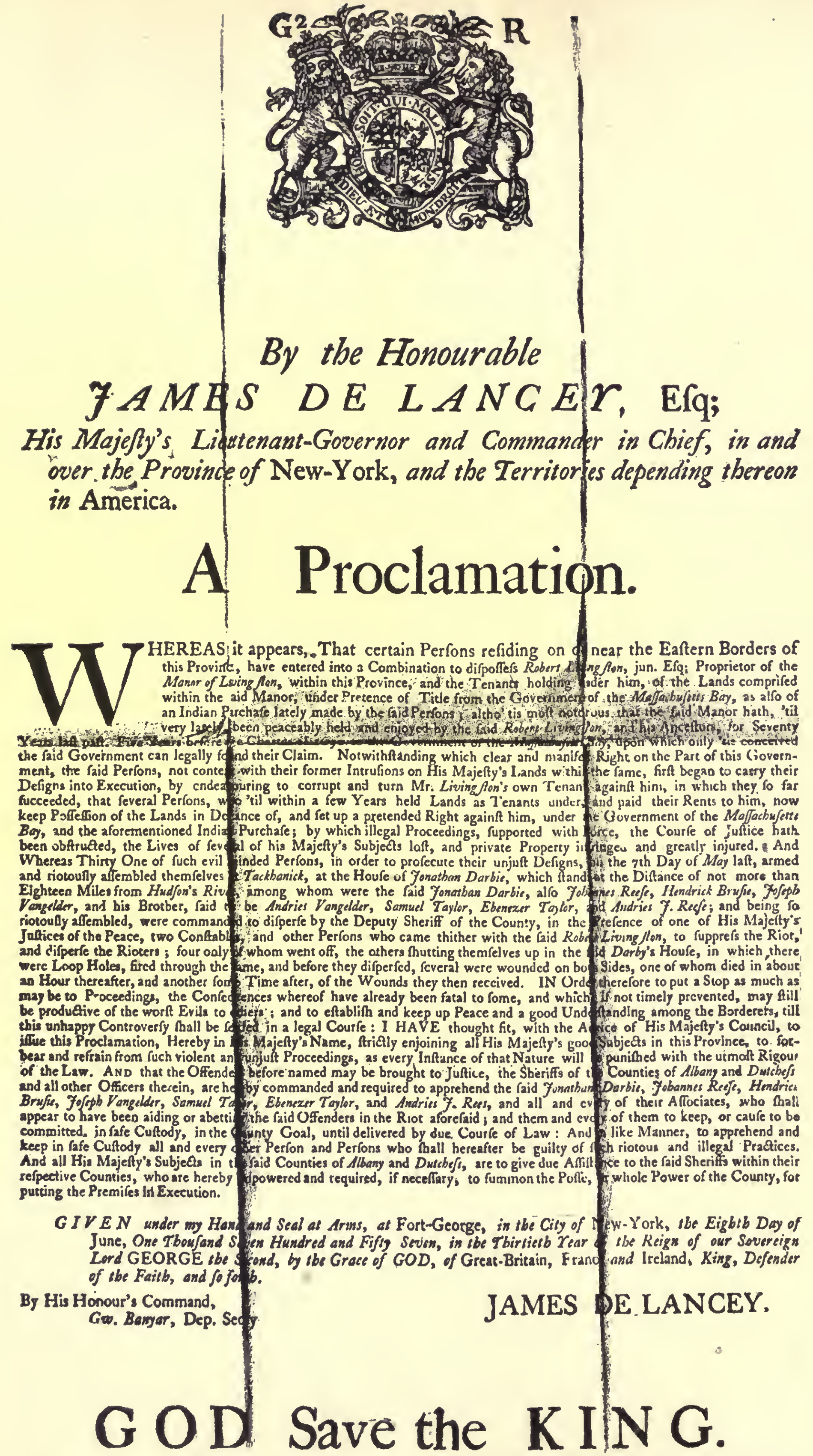
The closing event of the year for the populace was the arrival of the president's coach from England. It was globular, canary-colored, gay with Cupids and nymphs of the seasons, and emblazoned also with the Washington arms. On December 12 the president's diary says: "Exercise in the coach with Mrs. Washington and the two children (Master and Miss Custis) between breakfast and dinner—went the fourteen miles round" (the old Bloomingdale Road, nearly as far as where Grant's tomb now stands; then to Kingsbridge, returning by the Boston Road). Probably the event so briefly entered in Washington's diary was graphically described in many letters. With his four (or sometimes six) bays, his liveried driver, postilion, and outriders, the president seemed to defy both the puritanism and the anti-federalism of the country, even more than with his velvet and purple satin costumes. This celebrated coach, after the president's death, remained an archaic curiosity at Mount Vernon, for it could not move on Virginia roads. Ultimately it was given to the late Bishop Meade to be cut up into little boxes and other relics for sale at church fairs. The seat and steps were made into an ornamental retreat in the garden of the bishop's sister, in Clarke County, Virginia, where it remained until the day of desolation.

Three entries from Washington's diary may be given in closing our account of 1789: "Friday, Dec. 25, Christmas Day. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. The visitors to Mrs. Washington this afternoon were not numerous but respectable. Monday, Dec. 28. Sat all the forenoon for Mr. Savage, who was taking my portrait. Tuesday, Dec. 29. Being very snowing not a single person appeared at the Levee." The days of rubber shoes had not yet come.

On January 8 the president opened Congress in state, proceeding thither in his new English coach, with six horses, preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson, in uniform, mounted on white horses, the cavalcade being followed by Lear and Nelson in a chariot, and Robert Lewis on horseback. The president was conducted by doorkeepers to the Senate, where the representatives were also present. All arose as he entered, and stood while he read his speech. The answers to his speech were received at the president's house on January 14, to which the members proceeded in coaches. After the ceremony the president entertained a number of the members at dinner.

Congress had paid eight thousand dollars for the expenses of Mr. Osgood in repairing and furnishing his house for the president's residence; but early in the following year the owner, who had been living three miles away, desired to resume his city mansion. The president paid rent to Osgood up to May 1, though on February 23 the president had finally removed to the McComb mansion on Broadway, a little below Trinity Church. This house had been occupied by Louis Otto, the French Chargé d'Affaires. It was one story higher than Osgood's house, and in every way more commodious. Washington purchased some of Otto's furniture. This was the finest private building in New-York; during Washington's residence it was called the Mansion House, and it was subsequently known as Bunker's Hotel. It is said that André and Benedict Arnold once met there.

The slavery question again arose in Congress. On February 11, 1790, a petition of Quakers was submitted to the house, praying that it would exert its endeavors to the full extent of its powers against slavery, and especially against the slave-trade. On the following day a similar memorial was presented from the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery," signed by Franklin, and supposed to be written by him,— the last thing he ever wrote. He died April 17. Tucker of South Carolina and Jackson of Georgia were


G2 R
SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT

By the Honourable
JAMES DE LANCEY, Eſq;
His Majeſty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of New-York, *and the Territories depending thereon in* America.

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS it appears, That certain Perſons reſiding on or near the Eaſtern Borders of this Province, have entered into a Combination to diſpoſſeſs *Robert Living ſton*, jun. Eſq; Proprietor of the *Manor of Living ſton*, within this Province, and the Tenants holding under him, of the Lands compriſed within the ſaid Manor, under Pretence of Title from the Government of the *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, as alſo of an Indian Purchaſe lately made by the ſaid Perſons; altho' 'tis moſt notorous that the ſaid Manor hath, 'til very lately, been peaceably held and enjoyed by the ſaid *Robert Living ſton*, and his Anceſtors, for Seventy Years laſt paſt. Five Years before [illegible] Government of the [illegible] Bay, upon which only 'tis conceived the ſaid Government can legally found their Claim. Notwithſtanding which clear and manifeſt Right on the Part of this Government, the ſaid Perſons, not content with their former Intruſions on His Majeſty's Lands within the ſame, firſt began to carry their Deſigns into Execution, by endeavouring to corrupt and turn Mr. *Living ſton's* own Tenants againſt him, in which they ſo far ſucceeded, that ſeveral Perſons, who 'til within a few Years held Lands as Tenants under, and paid their Rents to him, now keep Poſſeſſion of the Lands in Defiance of, and ſet up a pretended Right againſt him, under the Government of the *Maſſachuſette Bay*, and the aforementioned Indian Purchaſe; by which illegal Proceedings, ſupported with Force, the Courſe of Juſtice hath been obſtructed, the Lives of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Subjects loſt, and private Property infringed and greatly injured. And Whereas Thirty One of ſuch evil minded Perſons, in order to proſecute their unjuſt Deſigns, on the 7th Day of *May* laſt, armed and riotouſly aſſembled themſelves at *Tackhanick*, at the Houſe of *Jonathan Darbie*, which ſtands at the Diſtance of not more than Eighteen Miles from *Hudſon's* River, among whom were the ſaid *Jonathan Darbie*, alſo *Johannes Reeſe*, *Hendrick Bruſie*, *Joſeph Vangelder*, and his Brother, ſaid to be *Andries Vangelder*, *Samuel Taylor*, *Ebenezer Taylor*, and *Andries J. Reeſe*; and being ſo riotouſly aſſembled, were commanded to diſperſe by the Deputy Sheriff of the County, in the Preſence of one of His Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, two Conſtables, and other Perſons who came thither with the ſaid *Robert Living ſton*, to ſuppreſs the Riot, and diſperſe the Rioters; four only of whom went off, the others ſhutting themſelves up in the ſaid *Darby's* Houſe, in which there were Loop Holes, fired through the ſame, and before they diſperſed, ſeveral were wounded on both Sides, one of whom died in about an Hour thereafter, and another ſome Time after, of the Wounds they then received. IN Order therefore to put a Stop as much as may be to Proceedings, the Conſequences whereof have already been fatal to ſome, and which if not timely prevented, may ſtill be productive of the worſt Evils to others; and to eſtabliſh and keep up Peace and a good Underſtanding among the Borderers, till this unhappy Controverſy ſhall be ſettled in a legal Courſe: I HAVE thought fit, with the Advice of His Majeſty's Council, to iſſue this Proclamation, Hereby in His Majeſty's Name, ſtrictly enjoining all His Majeſty's good Subjects in this Province, to forbear and refrain from ſuch violent and unjuſt Proceedings, as every Inſtance of that Nature will be puniſhed with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. AND that the Offenders before named may be brought to Juſtice, the Sheriffs of the Counties of *Albany* and *Dutcheſs* and all other Officers therein, are hereby commanded and required to apprehend the ſaid *Jonathan Darbie*, *Johannes Reeſe*, *Hendrick Bruſie*, *Joſeph Vangelder*, *Samuel Taylor*, *Ebenezer Taylor*, and *Andries J. Rees*, and all and every of their Aſſociates, who ſhall appear to have been aiding or abetting the ſaid Offenders in the Riot aforeſaid; and them and every of them to keep, or cauſe to be committed, in ſafe Cuſtody, in the County Goal, until delivered by due Courſe of Law: And in like Manner, to apprehend and keep in ſafe Cuſtody all and every other Perſon and Perſons who ſhall hereafter be guilty of ſuch riotous and illegal Practices. And all His Majeſty's Subjects in the ſaid Counties of *Albany* and *Dutcheſs*, are to give due Aſſiſtance to the ſaid Sheriffs within their reſpective Counties, who are hereby impowered and required, if neceſſary, to ſummon the Poſſe, or whole Power of the County, for putting the Premiſes in Execution.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Fort-George, *in the City of* New-York, *the Eighth Day of* June, *One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Fifty Seven, in the Thirtieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* GEORGE *the Second, by the Grace of GOD, of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith, and ſo forth.*

JAMES DE LANCEY.

By His Honour's Command,
Gw. Banyar, Dep. Secry.

GOD Save the KING.

Fac-simile of proclamation warning rioters off Livingston Manor; issued by Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey. From the original in the possession of Edwin Brockholst Livingston, Esq., of London, author of "The Livingstons of Callendar, and their principal Cadets," London, 1890. EDITOR.

acrimonious in opposition, the latter going into the Biblical argument in support of slavery which became so familiar at a later day. Scott of Pennsylvania said that if he were a federal judge in the South he would go as far as he could to emancipate them. Jackson retorted that "perhaps even the existence of such a judge would be of short duration." This memorable debate ended, on March 23, in the assertion of congressional power over the subject, but postponing action,—the ultimate action being little foreseen by the first Congress.

New-York was anxious to remain the national capital. On March 25, 1790, Trinity Church, rebuilt, was consecrated, and a canopied pew set apart for the president. On March 10 the State assembly provided for greater cleanliness and sanitary care about the city wharves. On March 16 it was enacted "that all that part of Fort George, in the City of New York, and the lands adjoining thereabouts, belonging to the people of this State [limits here defined], shall be and hereby are declared to be forever reserved for the purpose of erecting public buildings, and such works of defence as the Legislature shall from time to time direct; and further, that the same shall not at any time or times hereafter be sold or appropriated to or for any private use or purpose whatever." It was further ordered that the mayor and corporation demolish Fort George and level the grounds, and erect a new bulkhead at the Battery. It is then intrusted to Gerard Bancker, Richard Varick, and John Watts (the last royal mayor of New-York) to cause new buildings to be erected for the State government, "and to be applied to the temporary use of the President of the United States of America, during such time as the Congress of the United States shall hold their session in the City of New-York." For these purposes the commission may draw on the State treasurer for eight thousand pounds. Further provisions were made for improving the road to Harlem, where Lewis Morris is authorized (March 31) to bridge Harlem River, without suffering any competition from ferries.

The work of clearing away Fort George was begun, and the presidential mansion was rapidly rising, when New-York's famous citizen, Alexander Hamilton, was bargaining away for a national object the city's chances of remaining the capital. There had been from the first a keen competition among various sections for this advantage, and the contest had gradually become one between New-York, Pennsylvania, and the banks of the Potomac. The Southern States were vehement for the Potomac location, and the name of the president was freely used in promoting this project. Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, regarded it as a financial necessity that the national government should assume the debts of the several States to England. This, however, was naturally opposed by the States which had paid a portion of their debts, but which, by "assumption," would be compelled to share the burden of States that had not so paid. The quarrel in Congress on these two points—assumption, and the location of the national capital—became extreme, and menaces of disunion had already become familiar in Federal Hall. When the discord was at its height, Hamilton met Jefferson on his way to the president's house, and the two walked up and down before that house for a half-hour conversing about the situation. This talk ended with the arrangement of a small dinner company at Jefferson's house on the following day, at which Alexander White, of North Carolina, and Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia, agreed to vote for assumption, though before they had voted against it, on condition that Hamilton would secure votes enough to locate the capital where it now stands. At one time (June 28) the senatorial vote had gone in favor of New-York as the permanent residence by 13 to 12. On July 16, the act for the removal to Philadelphia, and afterward to the Potomac, was signed by the president. But the work on the mansion in New-York continued with unabated vigor.[1]

An act of assembly of March 31, "for the further encouragement of literature," set apart Governor's Island, and some lands in Clinton County, for the benefit of Columbia College, and one thousand pounds in money. The general paving of streets, ordered in the spring of 1789, was coming to something like completeness. Little "Oister Pasty Street" was altered (Exchange Alley, now called Tin-pot Alley); Barclay, Little Dock, Front, William, George, Water, Chatham, Greenwich, Murray, Beekman streets, began to be paved in whole or in part. The Bowling Green, which had been a sort of lumber place, and had held the wrecked federal ship "Hamilton," had been cleared away and fenced in July of the previous year. The common lands had been industriously sold, and new houses and gardens appeared in the suburbs.

On June 2, 1790, occurred the first funeral of a member of Congress—the Hon. Theodoric Bland, of Virginia, who died June 1, in his forty-ninth year. It was attended by Congress and by the State and city authorities, also by the Cincinnati. The occasion was especially memorable for the manifestation of friendliness between the Protestant Episcopal and the Dutch Reformed churches. After Trinity Church was burned the Dutch Reformed Church invited the congregation to use its edifice. At the funeral of Theodoric Bland, which was held in Trinity Church, Bishop Provoost conducted the services, the sermon being delivered by the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Rev. Dr. William Linn, who enjoyed celebrity as an orator.

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[1] "We then walked to view the demolition of Fort George; the leaden coffin and remains of Lord and Lady Bellamont, now exposed to the sun after an interment of about ninety years. They and many more have been deposited in vaults in a chapel which once stood in the fort. The chapel was burned down about fifty years ago and never re-built. The leveling of the fort and digging away the foundations have uncovered the vaults." Maclay's Diary, June 19, 1790.

Independence Day, 1790, was celebrated on Monday, July 5. Congress, the Cincinnati, and the State and municipal authorities waited on the president, after they had all listened to an oration in St. Paul's Church by Brockholst Livingston. "The Grand Sachem," says a paper, "and Fathers of the St. Tammany Society were honored with an invitation to dinner by the members of the Cincinnati, and the evening was spent with that mutual good humor and joy which it is hoped will ever be the concomitants of a day so remarkable in the annals of America." Tammany had thus rapidly become a power to be reckoned with. Probably Jefferson, who had assumed his duties as secretary of state on March 21, had something to do with the rapid development of the society. The sagamore was a vigorous Jeffersonian. This was John Pintard, the Tammanyite of highest social position; also a scholar. Pintard was editor of the "Daily Advertiser," assistant assessor of the city council, and assemblyman. Under his leadership the society could lose no opportunity, and one presently offered, for making a fine impression on the public mind. Colonel Marinus Willett had gone in March, 1790, on a mission to the Creek Indians in the South, and early in July news came that he was on his way to New-York with the chief (McGillvray) of the hostile tribe, and twenty-eight warriors, who would make a treaty of peace. This important company traveled northward at the public expense, greeted at every stage by vast crowds, and were met by the Sons of St. Tammany dressed in aboriginal style. The Sons of St. Tammany had charge of them, conducted them to the houses of the president and secretary of war, and showed them the sights of New-York. At a grand entertainment (August 3) Grand Sachem Hoffman addressed the Indians in glowing terms, which were duly translated for them. "The Spirits," he said, "of two great Chiefs are supposed to walk backwards and forwards in this Great Wigwam,—Tammany and Columbus. Tradition has brought us the memory of the first. He

CITY AND MANHATTAN BANKS AND THE McEVERS HOUSE.

was a great and good Indian Chief, a strong warrior, a swift hunter, but, what is greater than all, he loved his country. We call ourselves his Sons." The sagamore Pintard produced the richly ornamented calumet, which was smoked by all in turns. The Indian chief conferred on the grand sachem of Tammany a title which did not seem to be included in the society's general hatred of titles—"Taliva Mico" (Chief of the White Town). The President of the United States was toasted as "The Beloved Chieftain of the Thirteen Fires."

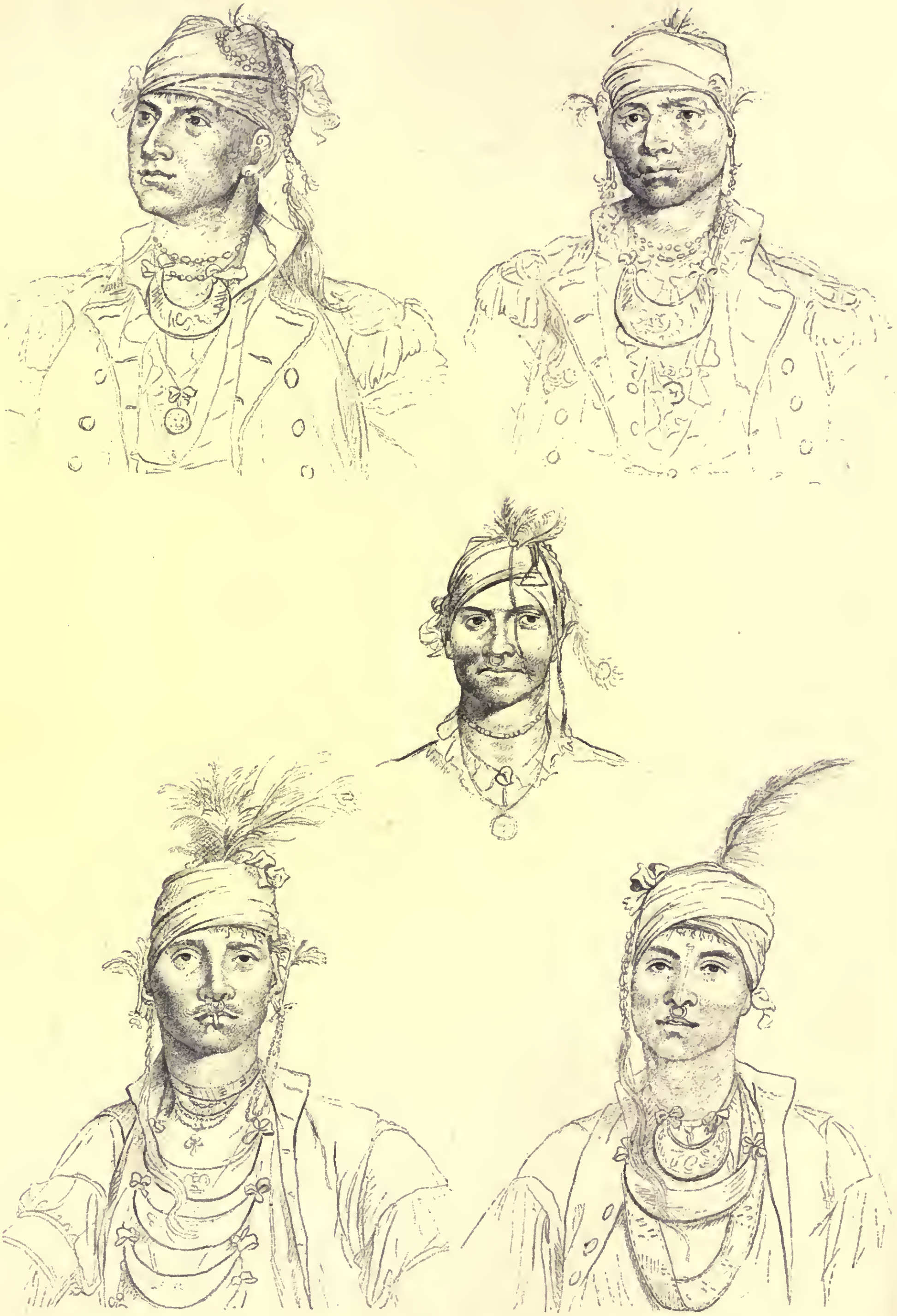
The president was deeply interested in all this; for the Indians in the Carolinas, Florida, and Georgia, instigated, it was thought, by the Spaniards, had given much trouble to the whites, and probably received as much. Chief McGillvray was made a member of the St. Andrew Society. On July 27 the chiefs were present with Washington at a grand military review, and on another occasion he gave them a dinner. The president's last visit to Federal Hall was to sign a treaty with these Indians. He rode in his coach-and-six, with all pomp—even the horses' hoofs painted. Addresses were interchanged between the president and Chief McGillvray, who received a present of wampum and a symbolical package of tobacco—Washington's substitute for the calumet. The ceremony ended with a song of peace, in which all, including the president, joined. The Sons of St. Tammany, in costume, managed the business, and the society had made its mark.

In November, 1789, Colonel John Trumbull, who had been studying with Benjamin West in Europe, returned to America, and soon after became the artistic "lion" in New-York. On February 10, 1790, he began his studies of Washington for his battle-pieces of Trenton and Princeton. On March 1 the president's diary says: "Exercised on horseback this afternoon, attended by Mr. John Trumbull, who wanted to see me mounted." The sittings ended on March 4. In November, 1789, and January, 1790, Washington also sat to Edward Savage for the portrait now at Harvard College. On July 19, 1790, the common council requested the president to permit Trumbull to paint his portrait, "to be placed in the City Hall as a Monument of the Respect which the inhabitants of this City bear towards him." To this the president responded favorably, and the work is now in the City Hall. A similar request was made of Governor Clinton, August 16, and consented to. For the president's portrait Trumbull was paid, in September, 1790, £186 13*s.* 4*d.*, and in May of the following year the same amount for Governor Clinton's portrait—thought by some his finest work. While Trumbull was engaged on the president's portrait, Washington brought some of the Creek chiefs to see it. One of them looked behind, and was amazed to find the surface flat. "I had been desirous," says Trumbull, "of obtaining portraits of some of their principal men, who possessed a dignity of manner, form, countenance, and expression worthy of the Roman senators; but after this I found it impracticable; they had received the impression that there must be magic in an art which could render a smooth flat surface so like to a real man. I, however, succeeded in obtaining drawings of several by stealth." These drawings are given in Trumbull's autobiography, with the various significant names of the chieftains.

Congress adjourned August 12, to meet in Philadelphia for a ten years' residence. Senator Maclay writes in his diary: "The citizens of Philadelphia (such is the strange infatuation of self-love) believe that ten years is eternity to them with respect to the residence, and that Congress will in that time be so enamored of them as never to leave them; and all this with the recent example of New-York before their eyes, whose allurements are more than ten to two compared with Philadelphia." There is no doubt that, when it came to the point, the members of Congress felt rather gloomy in leaving the only large city which at that time had a good theater or anything in the way of fashionable life.

Toward the latter part of their residence in New-York the president and his family had enjoyed life more freely than before. The president had a pleasant outing of a week on Long Island, revisiting the old battle-field, and Mrs. Washington made a pleasant excursion with her grandchildren, accompanied by Mrs. Jay, to Morrisania, where they breakfasted with General Lewis Morris. On another occasion, in July, there was a sort of picnic to Fort Washington. The party consisted of the president and his wife, the vice-president and his wife, their son, and Mrs. Smith, Secretaries Hamilton and Knox and their wives, Secretary Jefferson, Tobias Lear, Robert Lewis, and one or two others. Washington surveyed the old grounds with keen interest. A dinner was prepared and brought out to them by Mr. Mariner, a farmer occupying the Roger Morris mansion (now better known as Jumel House, near 161st street), where they alighted on their return drive. The repast was enjoyed in the open air.

On August 28 the president gave his last state dinner, the guests being Governor Clinton and the mayor and corporation. On this occasion he expressed his great reluctance at leaving New-York, and Mrs. Washington uttered expressions of the same kind. They told their guests that they would leave on the 30th, but desired that it should not be made known. Such, at any rate, is the traditional explanation of the comparative smallness of the crowd that witnessed his departure. A procession of the State and municipal officers conducted the president and his family to McComb's Wharf, North River. They stepped on the same barge that had brought them; a



CHIEFS OF THE CREEK INDIANS.

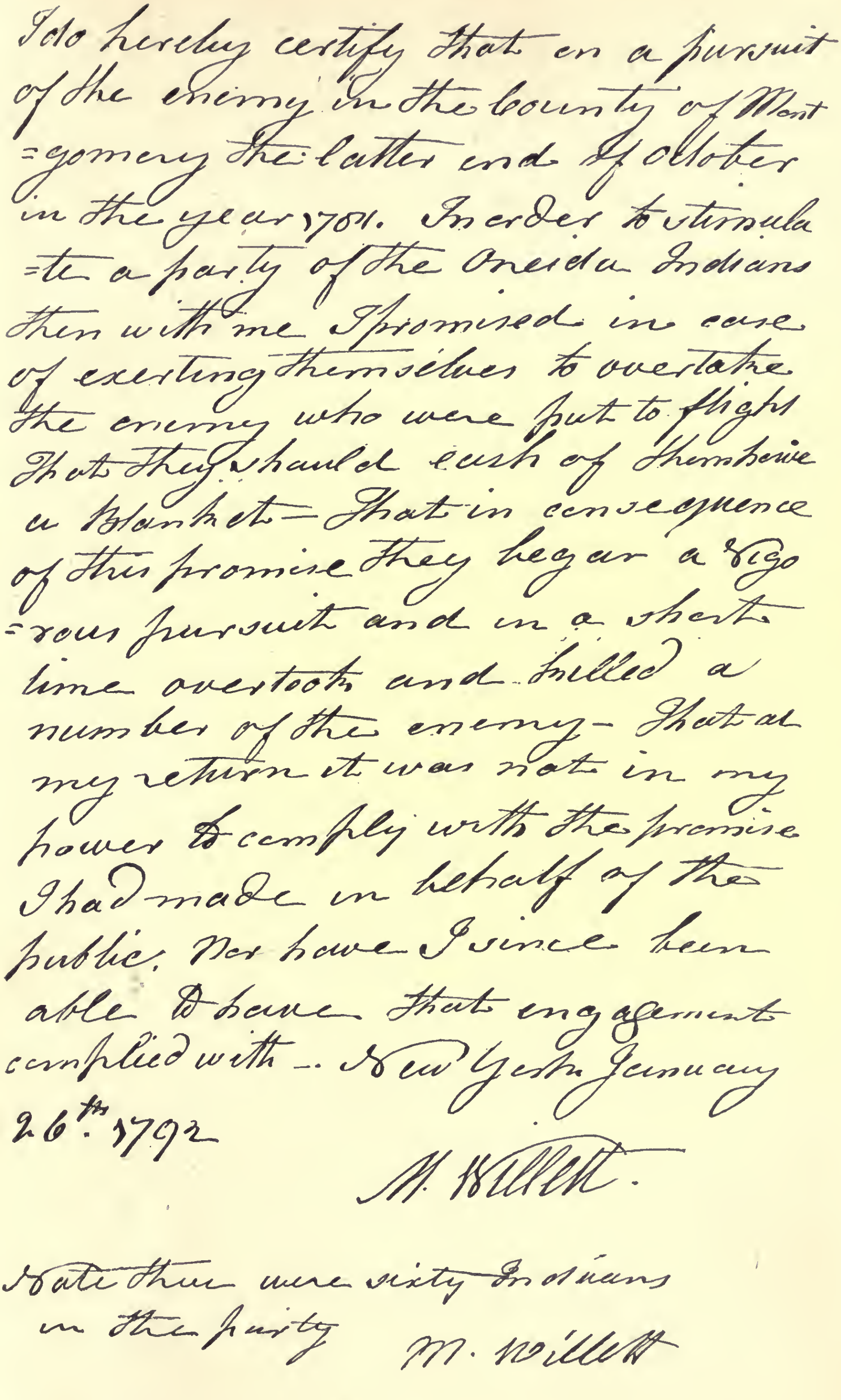
salute of thirteen guns was fired. The president, in response to the cheers of the people, waved his hat, and said, "Farewell." He never saw New-York again.

On August 12 Mayor Varick presented to the city council a letter from Vice-President Adams conveying an order of the Senate that the furniture of their chamber should remain for the use of the corporation, with an expression of their thanks "for the elegant and convenient accommodation provided for Congress." An exactly similar note from Speaker Muhlenberg was presented on behalf of the House of Representatives. The letters seem to have been received in silence. Possibly the council expected more substantial reward, which, however, the youngest of them did not live to see. On October 5 the mayor informed the council that the gentlemen who provided the president's barge proposed to present it to the corporation. The mayor was "requested to thank the gentlemen for their intention, and to inform them that as this Board can have no use for the said Barge, they decline the acceptance of her." The vacated rooms of the City Hall were eagerly sought for. On September 10, 1790, St. Tammany petitioned for and obtained the use of a room for an American museum. On October 14 the Medical Society was allowed to use the council-chamber; Dr. Nicholas Romaine gave medical lectures there a year or so later. The St. Cæcilia Society, and the Uranian Society were assigned certain evenings. The city clerk's office was eventually removed to the building, for the better preservation of the public records, to which the common council was fortunately wise enough to pay special attention.

On December 11, 1790, the aldermen and assessors who had charge of the census of "Electors and Inhabitants" were paid at the rate of 14*s.* per one hundred inhabitants in Harlem, 12*s.* in the Bowery, 10*s.* in other wards. The number of inhabitants given were: South ward, 1756; Dock ward, 1854; East ward, 3622; West ward, 6054; North ward, 4596; Montgomerie ward, 6702; Bowery ward, 4819; Harlem division, 503. The year 1790 had proved prosperous for the city. There had been 410 tavern licenses, bringing in £779, and the market fees had largely increased. So Mayor Varick, in addition to his modest salary (six hundred pounds, diminished by his consent from Duane's eight hundred pounds), had seven hundred pounds in fees.

The ball was over, the prince vanished; for a time it had seemed as if the city, like Cinderella, would return to its ashes. But this was not to be the case. For the remainder of the year 1790 it enjoyed the blessing of having no history; but early in January there were indications that New-York was to be a center of political excitement. The State assembly met here on January 3. John Watts was elected speaker. The governor addressed the assembly in person. Straight-way a keen contest for the senatorship took place between Aaron Burr and Philip Schuyler. Burr was chosen by a majority of ten in the senate, and five in the house. General Schuyler's loss of the seat he had held in the first Congress was felt as a terrible blow to the federal party, the result having been partly brought about by the defection from that party of Chancellor Livingston and his brother-in-law Morgan Lewis. Morgan Lewis was elected State attorney-general in Burr's place. It very soon appeared that John Pintard, the Tammanyite radical, had become a popular leader in the legislature. Melancthon Smith, a Tammanyite of the same type, was also in the assembly. There are indications in the public press that in 1791 there was a good deal of agitation on the slavery question. Greenleaf's paper published several letters against emancipation, and one of these complains of the free negroes,—"the vices and promiscuous number of these black republicans." On Washington's birthday there was again cordiality between the Sons of Tammany (Grand Sachem Josiah Ogden Hoffman) and the Cincinnati, which had sent committees to congratulate each other. Nevertheless, this politeness preceded a duel between the federal and the democratic parties,—the latter name having come into use as a kind of epithet for enthusiasts of the rising revolution in France. The newspaper combat, which had lasting effects, was caused by the publication of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man." This work was printed in London, with a dedication to Washington. It was published in America with a preliminary note of high approval written by the secretary of state. Its publication raised a storm of replies from the federalists, in which Jefferson was severely handled. John Pintard published the whole of Paine's work in the "Daily Advertiser" (May 6–27), and also the celebrated letters in reply by "Publicola." These letters, written by young John Quincy Adams, were attributed to the vice-president.

It is pleasant to find that amid this raging controversy Tammany had time to establish an American museum, the basis of our Historical Society. In the "Daily Advertiser" for May 25, 1791, a full statement of the project, begun in September, was given. "The intention of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, in establishing an American Museum being for the sole purpose of collecting and preserving whatever may relate to the history of our country, and serve to perpetuate the same, as also all American curiosities of nature and art." It is stated that the corporation had granted a room in the City Hall, which would be open at all times to the Sons of Tammany, and to the public on Tuesdays and Fridays. Any article for exhibition sent there, or to John Pintard, 57 King street, will be taken care of. The trustees are: William Pitt Smith, chairman; James Tylee, John R. B. Rodgers, Jacob Morton, Effingham Embree; William W. Gil-



I do hereby certify that on a pursuit of the enemy in the County of Montgomery the latter end of October in the year 1781. In order to stimulate a party of the Oneida Indians then with me I promised in case of exerting themselves to overtake the enemy who were put to flight That they should each of them have a Blanket — That in consequence of this promise they began a Vigorous pursuit and in a short time overtook and killed a number of the enemy — That at my return it was not in my power to comply with the promise I had made in behalf of the public. Nor have I since been able to have that engagement complied with — New York January 26th 1792

M. Willett.

Note there were sixty Indians in the party

M. Willett

bert, treasurer; Gardner Baker, keeper. It seems that Pintard had moved eminent personages in Boston in the same direction, the result being the establishment of the Massachusetts Historical Society somewhat earlier in 1791. "To Pintard is due the honor of originating both; indeed, he may with justice be pronounced the Father of Historical Societies in this country."[1]

A number of acts interesting to the city were passed by the legislature in 1791. March 21, 1791, the Bank of New-York was incorporated, under the temporary directors: Isaac Roosevelt, William Maxwell, Thomas Randall, Daniel McCormick, Nicholas Low, William Constable, Joshua Waddington, Samuel Franklin, Comfort Sands, Robert Bowne, Gulian Verplanck, John Murray, and William Edgar. There was to be a ballot for directors on the second Monday in May. The total amount of the debts of the said corporation must not exceed three times the sum of the capital stock subscribed,— for this the directors being held responsible in "their natural and private capacities." On May 18 Verplanck was elected president, Rufus King being added to the directors, who were elected as previously appointed. On March 24 the regents of Columbia College were empowered to establish a College of Physicians and Surgeons. This new college was never to hold property of more than sixty thousand pounds value (New-York currency). The regents were to appoint professors and confer degrees. An act was passed for erecting a building for the preservation of the records and public papers of the State.

Despite severe newspaper attacks on the lottery system, the city continued to raise money in this way. At the same time it was severe on private citizens who engaged in similar enterprises. At the April term of the Supreme Court of Judicature for the State, William Thompson (city) was fined £94 14*s.* and costs, and Gabriel Leggett £510 and costs, for attempting to dispose of goods and wares by lottery. The common council also sometimes made mistakes. On May 20 it ordered all bow-windows, displays of goods, and trees, in front of houses, which impeded the view of the streets, to be removed; one week later, after an outcry from the city, the order was repealed as regarded trees.

The corporation had to deal with a riotous element. On February 17, 1791, Robert J. Livingston reported for the grand jury that they had inquired into a recent mob. Thirty foreign sailors had with bludgeons attacked Captain Culbertson and eight other watchmen, who, "though scarcely one-fourth of the number of the armed mob, not only faced them with intrepidity, but gallantly conducted six of the rioters to confinement and put the rest to flight." On February 25 the city council conferred the freedom of the city on the "Honorable Horatio Gates, Esq.," who had just become a resident, for which, May 2, General Gates returned thanks. On October 4 the seven city wards were more equally divided, and numbered. The winter was severe, and firewood was generously given to the poor. The year 1791 was prosperous. The exports of New-York amounted to $2,505,465. The city had raised seven thousand five hundred pounds by a lottery, and was starting another. Bedlow's Island was let for twenty-three years at ten pounds per annum. One hundred lots on and near Broadway, each one hundred feet by twenty-five, sold for twenty-five pounds each. The council ordered disbursement for the poor, the bridewell, and criminals, repairing roads and improving and cleaning streets, eight thousand pounds; for improvements at the Battery and in front of the Government House, three thousand pounds; for the watch and lamp departments, four thousand pounds. In August the Bowery was taken in hand, and an order issued for its "regulation" from the head of Catherine street to St. Nicholas street.

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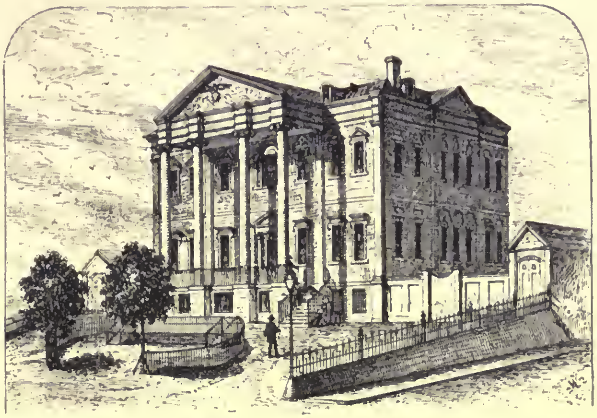
[1] Mrs. Lamb's "History of the City of New-York," 2:508.

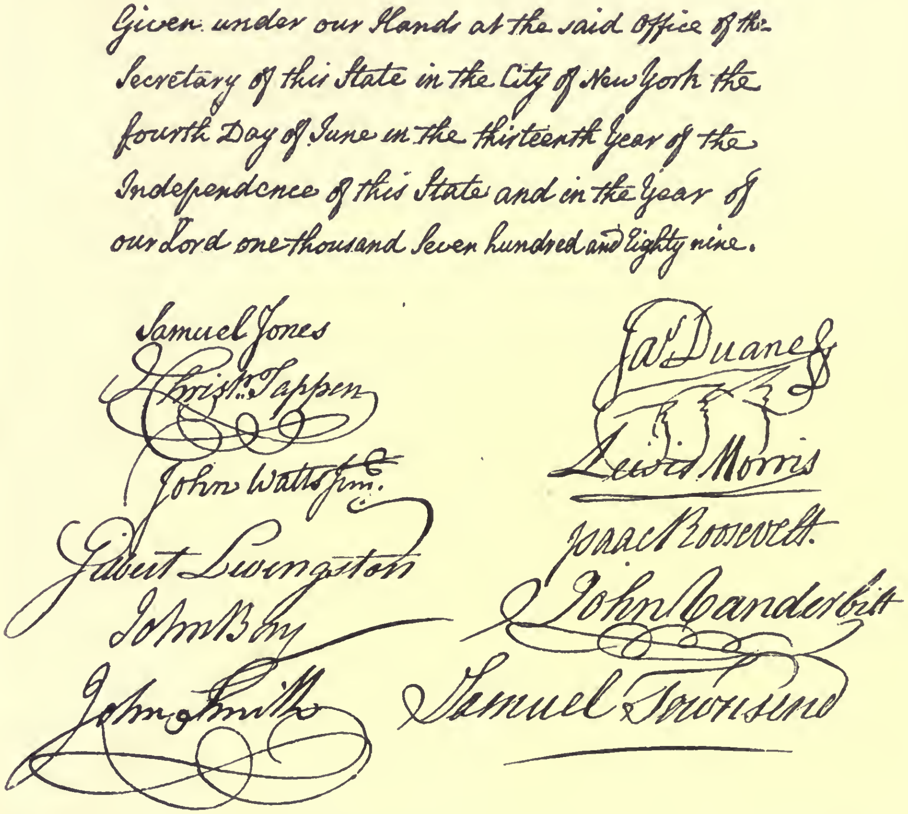

THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

The conservatism of the corporation was illustrated in October, 1791. At the aldermanic elections of September 29, William S. Livingston, chosen an assistant assessor, was said to be neither a freeman nor a freeholder. Summoned before the board (October 12), Livingston urged that though he was not a freeman he ought to be, as his father and grandfather were; and that he had served a regular clerkship in the city as attorney-at-law. He also expressed the opinion "that this Board could not legally enter into the consideration or determination of any question with respect to the qualification of a member elect whose time of service did not commence until the fourteenth inst., when he supposed the present Board would die a political death." The board overruling these pleas, Livingston declared that he was a freeholder, but could not prove it except by his oath. The board unanimously declared that the unsupported oath was insufficient, and Livingston's name was dropped. The seat was awarded to John Van Dyke, who had the largest number of votes next to Livingston. Colonel Livingston was a municipal reformer, and introduced into the legislature a bill for making the office of mayor elective. In the same month (March 14, 1792) he secured the incorporation of the "General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New-York"—the delay of which, since the foundation of the society in 1785, had angered its members.

The commencement of Columbia College took place on May 7, 1791, and there is found among the speeches of the young graduates some reflection of public issues. Pierre E. Fleming speaks on "Arbitrary Power"; William T. Broome on "The Late Revolution in France"; John W. Milligan on "Faction"; Thomas L. Ogden on "The Rising Glory of America." All of these were of New-York city. The provincial youth seem to have maintained the old commencement themes, among which are found on this occasion, "The Improvement of Time," "Sympathy," "The Beauties of Nature," "On the Importance of the Fair Sex."

Among the notable institutions of this period was the Tontine Association—a sort of mutual insurance and loan company formed by the merchants. On March 12 John Watts and others petitioned for the privilege of adding to the Tontine Coffee House (corner of Wall and Water streets) a piazza, which must extend over the sidewalk. This was refused, but on May 11 permission was given for a piazza to extend six feet over Wall street sidewalk. The leading citizens appear to have been generous. Abijah Hammond presented the council with a well-boring machine, which he had imported from Boston. The council was much concerned about wells, and had announced that it would contribute for every well sunk by its consent at the rate of one dollar per foot. It accepted Hammond's gift, and ordered that sixty pounds should be advanced to try the apparatus in sinking a well near the City Hall. The Hon. John Jay presented the city council with the free right to regulate streets through his land on Great George street, and offered to release any part of his land that might be encroached on in cutting a canal from Fresh Water Pond to the North River.

Washington's Birthday, 1792, witnessed a revolution in a branch of Columbia College, which now had one hundred and fifty-six students, besides fifty-six medical students. The medical students offered their resignation in a body, because they were not "protected and cherished in the prosecution of their studies." The trustees refused to accept their resignation, but were notified by the students that they no longer considered themselves connected with the college, and if interfered with would appeal to the justice of their country. Dr. Samuel Bard was dean of the medical college, of which, indeed, he was the founder. The trouble may have been due to some enthusiasm for Dr. Nicholas Romaine, who, for some reason (perhaps his religious liberalism), had been left out of the faculty. This physician appears to have founded a school of his own. On April 30 the city council granted the use of a room in the City Hall to Dr. Romaine for medical lectures, though a similar request of Dr. Micheau (May 16) was refused. Of Micheau, a French refugee who came to New-York in 1791, a lively account is given in Dr. Francis's "Old New-York."



Given under our Hands at the said Office of the
Secretary of this State in the City of New York the
fourth Day of June in the thirteenth Year of the
Independence of this State and in the Year of
our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty nine.

Samuel Jones
Christr. Tappen
John Watts Jun.
Gilbert Livingston
John Bay
John Smith

Jas. Duane
Lewis Morris
Isaac Roosevelt
John Vanderbilt
Samuel Townsend

He seems to have been unpopular among the doctors, one of whom persuaded Dunlap to have him caricatured on the stage, for which that dramatist received a severe personal assault.

The great event of the city in 1792 was the celebration of the third centenary of the discovery of America. The following is from a contemporary report:

> The 12th inst. (October, 1792), being the commencement of the IVth Columbian Centuary, was observed as a Centuary Festival by the Tammany Society, and celebrated in that style of sentiment which distinguishes this social and patriotic institution. . . . An elegant oration was delivered by Mr. J. B. Johnson, in which several of the principal events of the life of this remarkable man were pathetically described, and the

The above fac-simile is that of a part of the certificate of election of George Clinton as governor, Pierre Van Cortlandt as lieutenant-governor, and of the various State senators in 1789. The gentlemen whose names are appended were a joint committee of the senate and assembly to canvass and count the votes. The original is in the possession of General J. Watts De Peyster. EDITOR.

interesting consequences to which his great achievement had already and must still conduct the affairs of mankind, were pointed out in a manner extremely satisfactory. During the evening's entertainment, a variety of national amusement was enjoyed. The following toasts were drank:

1. The memory of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of the new world. 2. May the new world never experience the vices and miseries of the old; and be a happy asylum for the oppressed of all nations and of all religions. 3. May peace and liberty ever pervade the United Columbian States. 4. May this be the last Centuary Festival of the Columbian Order that finds a slave on this globe. 5. Thomas Paine. 6. The Rights of Man. 7. May the IVth Centuary be as remarkable for the improvement and knowledge of the rights of man as the first was for discovery and the improvement of nautic science. 8. Lafayette and the French nation. 9. May the liberty of the French rise superior to all the efforts of Austrian despotism. 10. A Burgoyning to the Duke of Brunswick. 11. May the deliverers of America never experience that ingratitude from their Country which Columbus experienced from his King. 12. May the Genius of Liberty, as she has conducted the sons of Columbia with glory to the commencement of the IVth Centuary, guard their fame to the end of time. 13. The Day. 14. Washington, the deliverer of the new world.

Among the patriotic songs was an ode composed for the occasion, —beginning:

Ye sons of freedom, hail the day
  That brought a second world to view;
To Great Columbus' mem'ry pay
  The praise and honor justly due.

Chorus—Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

There was set up in the hall an illuminated obelisk. At the base a globe, emerging from clouds and chaos, presented a rude sketch of America as a wilderness. At the top stood History drawing up a curtain and revealing: 1. A commercial port, and Columbus instructed by Science, who presents him with a compass and points to the setting sun. 2. The landing of Columbus, the natives prostrate around him. 3. Columbus at the court of Spain, pointing out on a map his discovery to Ferdinand and Isabella. 4. Columbus in chains; Liberty appears to him, the emblems of despotism and superstition crushed under her feet. She intimates the gratitude of posterity by pointing out the monument set up by the Sons of Tammany, or the Columbian Order. On its pedestal Nature is seen caressing her various progeny. The Indians are seen mourning over the urn of Columbus. Near the chained Columbus is seen the inscription, "The Ingratitude of Kings." On two sides the eagle is seen prone, supporting the arms of Isabella and the arms of Genoa. But above the eagle soars, grasping in its talons a scroll inscribed "The Rights of Man." A year later this transparency was announced for display in Bowen's Museum and Wax Works, at the Exchange, where it was "surrounded with four beautiful female figures." [1]

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[1] Dr. George H. Moore, in the "Magazine of American History," October, 1889.

It will be observed by the large place given in the Columbian "Centuary" toasts to Paine and the "Rights of Man," that Tammany had become enthusiastic for democracy. The radicalism of Jefferson — afterward entitled Great Grand Sachem — was represented by Governor George Clinton. In the year 1792 occurred the famous contest for the governorship between Clinton and Chief Justice Jay. One of the principal polling-places was Trinity Church, and it is probable that the sacred edifice was never before or since surrounded by so many raging citizens as in that conflict. Although the "democracy," as the republicans were called by enemies, said much about the rights of man, one of the points urged against Jay was his anti-slavery sentiments; his adherents had to protest against the slander that he wished to liberate the slaves in New-York. It was also circulated that he had said there ought to be two classes — the rich and the poor. Another point against Jay was that he still held on to his place on the supreme bench while running for governor. The acrimonious character of the contest was intensified by its result in a disputed election. It turned on the question whether an annually appointed sheriff could continue to fulfil his functions as protector and deliverer of the ballot-box and votes after his term of office had ended, his successor having not yet qualified. It was agreed to refer the question to the New-York senators, Aaron Burr and Rufus King, who were to choose a third if they could not agree. They selected the attorney-general of the United States, Edmund Randolph, who decided that, as the office of sheriff was governed by English law, it would have to be determined by English precedents. These were against Jay. The canvassers were thus compelled to throw out the votes of Otsego County, and Clinton was declared the governor. The federalists were furious, and New-York city was on the verge of civil war. Public meetings were held in the City Hall, — where they were allowed between twelve and four in the afternoons only, — but

Jos. Brant[1]

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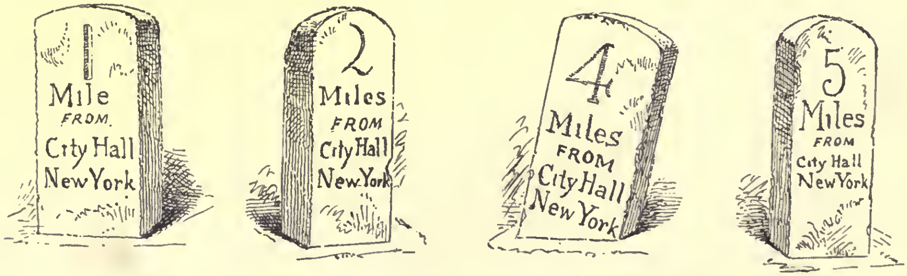
[1] Joseph Brant's Indian name was Thayendanegea. He fought vigorously against the Americans during the Revolution, but afterward was largely instrumental in pacifying his Indian brethren. In 1793, at Washington's earnest solicitation, he used his influence to effect a treaty with the Miamis. EDITOR.

they overflowed into the streets. A great dinner was given to Jay. It was generally felt that Jay's presidential aspirations depended on the result of this election, and a determined effort to unseat Clinton was made by his opponents in the legislature. But Clinton was believed to have been ill used, and carried the entire vote of the State for the vice-presidency, which he nearly gained. Hamilton had during the summer of 1792 written in Fenno's paper (the "Gazette") terribly severe attacks on Jefferson and Madison. They were anonymous, but their authorship was well known. They were replied to by (as is now known) Edmund Randolph. At the center of this exciting controversy was the struggle between France and England to gain the support of the United States administration. New-York was in ferment. Secret political clubs were formed by the republicans (called "Jacobin" by the federalists), and the democratic party reached an organization it has never lost.

But meanwhile the city council seemed to incline to intrench itself anew in virtue and piety. It ordered in the beginning of 1793 that the current expenses, fifteen thousand pounds, should be raised by taxation (not lottery), and that the law of Sabbath observance should be published in the papers, and the police admonished to take care that it should be more strictly enforced. This may have been partly due to the large number of Frenchmen who had come to New-York since the disturbances in their country, and brought with them new customs. These new inhabitants greatly influenced the politics of the city. But it is due to the corporation to say that during this agitated period of the city's history, which reached a frantic pitch with the triumphal reception of the French ambassador, Citizen Genêt, the mayor and council maintained their creditable traditions for industry and justice.



MILE-STONES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

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[1] These mile-stones remind us of a past century, when the Bowery and Third Avenue were the Boston Post Road. Strange to say, these relics of an earlier period still remain. The one-mile stone is in the Bowery opposite Rivington street; the two-mile stone stands near Sixteenth street; the four-mile stone, near Fifty-seventh street; and the five-mile stone, near Seventy-seventh street. They are all of granite, and the inscriptions are faint on some, but still legible. EDITOR.

THE FRANKLIN FAMILY.

The interest that attaches to the Franklin House, the first official residence of President Washington, and which was thus the earliest executive mansion, justifies some curiosity as to its inmates or owners, before it was honored by this distinguished occupancy. We quote, therefore, an extract from the personal reminiscences recorded by Mrs. Mary Robinson Hunter, the wife of the United States minister to Brazil, written at Rio de Janeiro in 1845. Mrs. Hunter was the daughter of Sarah Franklin (who married William T. Robinson), a daughter of Samuel Franklin, one of the brothers of Walter Franklin, who built the house named after him:

"My mother's grandfather on her father's side [the father of Walter Franklin] was a wealthy farmer of the State of New-York, born of an English father and a Dutch mother. They had a large family of sons of whom my grandfather [Samuel] was the youngest, and two daughters. Of five sons I can speak, having known them all as a child, and all treating me with overweening love and indulgence. James, the eldest, followed the occupation of his father, and inherited the homestead. He married a lady of high breeding, who used to come down from the country once a year to visit the families of her husband's brothers, who were settled as merchants, three in New-York, and one in Philadelphia. I well remember the awe her presence inspired among us children; the rustling of her silk, and her high-heeled shoes making her figure more commanding, and the reproach her never-ending knitting cast upon us idle and indulged children.

"Walter, John, and Samuel resided in New-York. They inherited large fortunes from their parents, which they put into trade, and the produce of China and other countries was wafted to our shores in their ships. Walter retired with an immense fortune from the firm, lived in the style of a nobleman, and drove an elegant chariot. On an excursion to Long Island, driving by a country house, he saw, milking in the barnyard, where thirty cows had just been driven in at sunset, a beautiful young Quaker girl. He stopped, beckoned her, and asked who occupied the house. With great simplicity, and without embarrassment, she replied, 'My father, Daniel Bowne. Wilt thou not alight and take tea with him?' My uncle accepted the invitation, introduced himself, was well known by reputation. He conversed with the farmer on the appearance of the farm, on his fine cows, etc., but not a word about the fair milkmaid. Presently the door opened, and she came in to make tea for the 'city friend,' when her father said, 'Hannah, this is friend Walter Franklin, from New-York.' She blushed deeply, finding he made no allusion to having seen her before. The blush heightened her loveliness. She had smoothed her hair, and a fine lawn kerchief covered her neck and bosom. After three visits he asked her in marriage, and the fair milkmaid was seated by his side in the chariot on her way to take possession as mistress of the most elegant house in the city, in Cherry street, near the corner of Pearl. She had a numerous family of beautiful daughters. They swerved from the simplicity of Quakerism, and became worldly and fashionable belles. The eldest, Sally, married a very wealthy man of the name of Norton, I believe of English birth, who was heir to an immense fortune, left him by a Mr. Lake, who lived near New-York. The second, Maria, was the wife of De Witt Clinton. The third, Hannah, married his brother, George Clinton. They all had children. Their mother was left a widow just before the third daughter was born,—my uncle Walter dying and leaving a rich young widow and twenty thousand pounds to each of his daughters. His widow afterwards married a very respectable Presbyterian named [Samuel] Osgood, who held some post under government [postmaster-general]—commissary of the army in Washington's time, I believe. She had a number of children by Osgood. The eldest, Martha, married a brother of the famous Genet [minister from the French Republic]. My uncle Walter's house is now [1845] the Franklin Bank, named after its builder and owner."

It is a matter of regret that there is no vestige of the house left to-day. The only link to connect this historic mansion with the present is the name of the triangular space formed by the junction of Pearl and Cherry streets. This is the well-known "Franklin Square," made famous by Harper and Brothers' publishing house, and is overshadowed by the lofty and vast structure of the Brooklyn Bridge.

EDITOR.

Sarah Jay.—

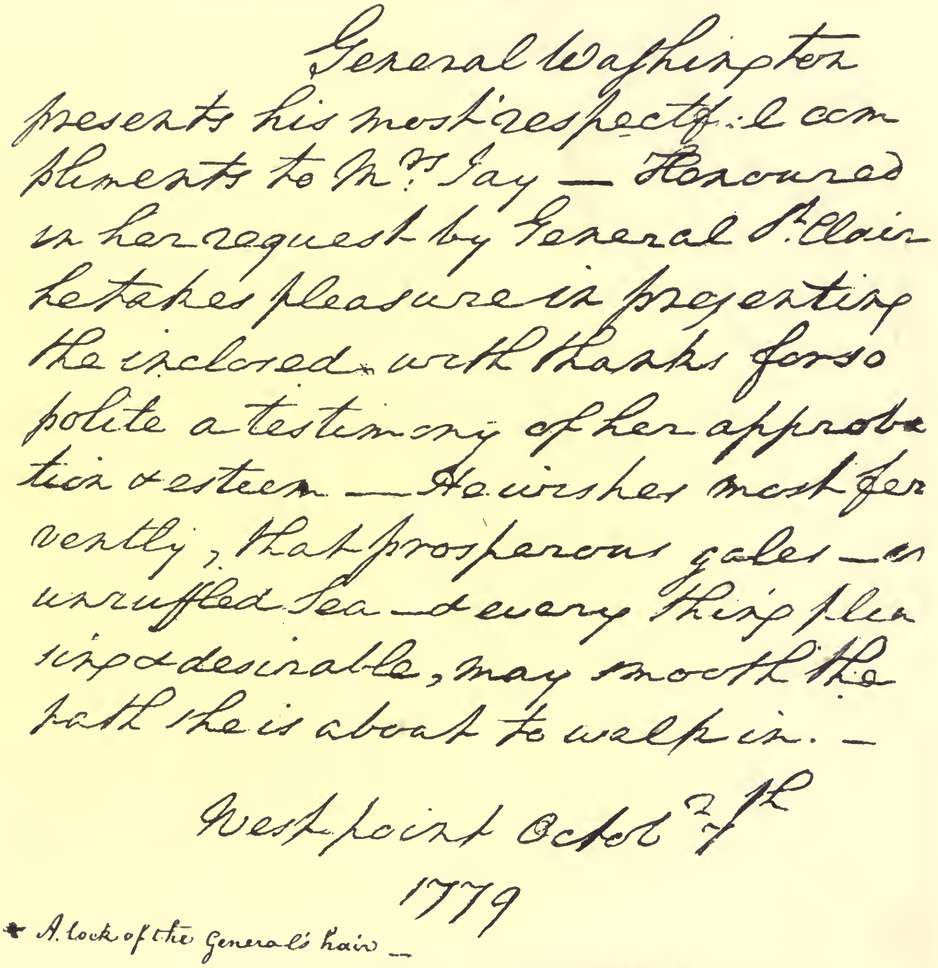
CHAPTER III

SOCIETY IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC

THE choice of New-York for the sittings of Congress gave to that old home of the Dutch and Huguenots, hardly recovered from the war, a new dignity, and enlarged opportunities for social intercourse with senators, members, and high officials coming from the various States of the American Union, whose differing colonial antecedents were associated with the best blood and the eventful history of Europe.

There is within reach an opportunity of gaining an exact and minute acquaintance with social events, and the personages who made them what they were, in the early days of our republic. By a happy chance there has been preserved Mrs. John Jay's "Dinner and Supper List for 1787 and '8"—a period when her husband was secretary for foreign affairs for the Continental Congress. The names which the list furnishes, together with the memoranda afforded by occasional private correspondence, and the published notes of European travelers touching that interesting period, contribute to give a picture, that already possesses an historic interest, of the social circles of New-York during its brief existence as the national capital under the articles of confederation, and for two sessions of the first Congress under the constitution. Armed with this list, and some concomitant documentary or printed aids, we can look in upon the banquet-halls of the substantial, spacious mansions of that day,—owned or occupied by magnates of the republic, of the State, of the city, of the diplomatic circles, and of society itself,—and people them again with those who were accustomed to gather there. We can glance along the festive boards, and observe who of note at home or abroad met in those days around them.

The society of New-York at that time, despite the comparative insignificance of the city in extent and population, and all that it had suffered during the war, presented more strikingly than in after years, when domestic and foreign immigration had made it a common center, those distinguished characteristics, derived from its blended ancestry and colonial history, that are still discernible in the circles of the Knickerbockers, and which recall alike to Americans and to Europeans the earlier traditions of the national metropolis. While here and there might be found members of a family which, misled by mistaken convictions, had during the war sided with the mother-country, or had timidly endeavored to preserve an inglorious neutrality, the tone of society was eminently patriotic, and worthy of the antecedents of an ancestry representing, in the words of an English historian, "the best stock of Europe who had sought homes in the Western world, and in whose forms of government, charter, provincial and even proprietary, may be discerned the germs of a national liberty." With the culture and refinement of a class thus happily descended and fortunately situated was blended that love of country which lends dignity to wealth, and respectability to fashion.



General Washington presents his most respectful compliments to Mrs Jay — Honoured in her request by General St. Clair he takes pleasure in presenting the inclosed* with thanks for so polite a testimony of her approbation & esteem — He wishes most fervently, that prosperous gales — an unruffled Sea — & every thing pleasing & desirable, may smooth the path she is about to walk in. —

West point Octob. 7th
1779

* A lock of the General's hair —

WASHINGTON'S NOTE TO MRS. JAY ON HER DEPARTURE FOR SPAIN.

As host and hostess at the dinners and suppers for which the list before mentioned was composed, Mr. and Mrs. John Jay would deserve to be singled out for notice before we devote attention to the other social luminaries. But there was another reason why they figured so centrally in the social events of that day. John Jay was now secretary for foreign affairs. To relate his previous services as patriot, chief justice of the State, minister to Spain, and commissioner for peace, would be superfluous in this chapter. But it is worth while to emphasize the significance of his position as foreign secretary. In the inchoate condition of continental government, when Congress was at the head, but was itself without very clearly defined powers; when there was not any one person endowed with the chief executive functions—the secretary for foreign affairs was really the only concrete expression of the government by, of, and for the people, which had just been wrested from Great Britain, to which other nations could at all clearly address themselves. He, too, was the person to whom the several States must look as the link for communication between themselves and that delusive thing—the general government. Hence, John Jay's position made him in effect the chief of state. It was not very unlike that of John of Barneveld or John De Witt in the days of the Dutch republic, whose various members would not resign their sovereignty to a chief or president, whose stad-holder mainly led the national armies, but whose land's advocate or grand pensionary—*i. e.*, the principal civil functionary—was the man who received the ambassadors of foreign princes and instructed the republic's ministers at foreign courts, and thus to all the world abroad was conspicuously first among all her citizens. Being thus similarly placed, it became John Jay's duty to do the honors for his country, and his wife was eminently fitted to assist him in the performance of that duty. As there has been no occasion in previous chapters to give an account of her, it will be proper to do so here.

Her maiden name was Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, her father being William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, and he the grandson of Robert Livingston, the founder of the family in America. Her mother was Susanna French, the granddaughter of Philip French, mayor of New-York in 1702, and who joined Colonel Nicholas Bayard in that address which caused the latter's conviction of high treason. Sarah was the fourth daughter, born in August, 1757. She inherited some of her father's finest traits, intellectual and moral, which were developed by a very careful education. But with the father's stern patriotism and resolution she blended features of gentleness, grace, and beauty peculiarly her own. The delicate sensibility occasionally exhibited in her letters seems to have come from her mother. Her marriage to John Jay took place on April 28, 1774, in the midst of the agitations that foreboded the shock of the Revolution, and almost exactly one year before the battle of Lexington. She was then not quite eighteen years old, while Mr. Jay was twenty-eight. Up to this time he had held no public office, excepting that of secretary to the royal commission for settling the boundary between New-York and New Jersey. But now, before the honeymoon was complete, in May, 1774, Jay was called to take part in the first movements of the Revolution. His public duties as member of the New-York provincial congress, of the New-York committee of safety, and of the Continental Congress, kept him constantly separated from his young wife. But finally a post of honor, yet of difficulty and danger, was given him, which enabled the youthful pair to be more constantly together, although far distant from friends and country, and which at the same time was to furnish Mrs. Jay with excellent opportunities for training to successfully occupy the position of first lady in the land during the decade following the declaration of peace.

On October 10, 1779, Mr. Jay, having been appointed minister to Spain, sailed in the congressional frigate, the Confederacy, accompanied by Mrs. Jay, by her brother, Colonel Brockholst Livingston, afterward a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, as his private secretary, and by Mr. William Carmichael, a member of Congress, as his public secretary. After a rather quiet life in Spain came a residence of several years at or in the vicinity of Paris, while her husband was engaged with Franklin and Adams in negotiating the peace which confirmed American independence. Did space or scope here permit, we should be tempted to blend with this sketch something more than a mere glance at the historic memories of the period connected with the peace negotiations, in which Mrs. Jay was almost a participant, from her intimate association with the negotiators, who frequently met at her apartments. There is no page certainly in our foreign diplomacy to which the intelligent American reader will ever recur with more national pride and interest than that which records the progress and result of these negotiations. Meanwhile, the scenes and the society amid which Mrs. Jay lived for nearly two years presented a brilliant contrast to the trials and hardships to which she had been subjected by the war at home, as well as to her more retired life during their residence at Madrid. As Mr. Jay declined to accept the courtesies of the Spanish court except as the minister of an independent nation, and as Spain would not recognize him as such, it is probable that Mrs. Jay never appeared at the royal assemblies. At Paris everything was different. History has made us familiar with the Paris of that period, so interesting as presenting the last pictures of the pride and splendor that were still unconscious of the impending revolution.

Marie Antoinette, now in her twenty-ninth year, but four years the senior of Mrs. Jay, still justified by her grace and beauty the enthusiastic encomiums of her contemporaries. Mrs. Jay wrote of her: "She is so handsome, and her manners are so engaging, that almost forgetful of Republican principles, I was ready, while in her presence, to declare her born to be a queen."

I remain very truly yours
M. King[1]

The fantasies of fashion, says a court historian, revealed the spirit of France as capricious and changeable. The queen and her intimate friends, especially the Comtesse Diane de Polignac and the Marquise de Vaudrienne, changed the mode day by day. The women wore the hair most fantastically raised in a pyramid, and this high edifice was crowned with flowers, as if it were a garden. It is both apt and important, in this connection, to get a view of the Parisian mode from Mrs. Jay's own hand: "At present the prevailing fashions are very decent and very plain; the gowns most worn are the robes à l'Anglaise, which are exactly like the Italian habits that were in fashion in America when I left it; the Sultana is also à la mode, but it is not expected that it will long remain so. Every lady makes them of slight silk. There is so great a variety of hats, caps, cuffs, that it is impossible to describe them. I forgot that the robe à l'Anglaise, if trimmed either with the same or gauze, is dress; but if untrimmed must be worn with an apron and is undress."

The two circles of society where Mrs. Jay was entirely at home in Paris were those which were to be found in the hotels of La Fayette and Franklin. Among the first to congratulate her on her arrival there were the Marquis and Marquise. If the circle she met at the Hotel de Noailles was marked by its aristocracy of rank, that which surrounded the venerable philosopher at Passy was no less celebrated for happily blending the choicest and the most opposite elements of the world of learning, wit, and fashion. Among the more intimate friends of Franklin were Turgot, the Abbé Raynal, Rochefoucauld, Cabanis, Le Roy, Mably, Mirabeau, D'Holbach, Marmontel, Neckar, Malesherbes, Watelet, and Mesdames de Genlis, Denis, Helvetius, Brillon, and La Reillard. Thus among men and women of wit, wisdom, and beauty, amid the smiles of royalty and the ceremonious conventionalities of the court and courtly circles, Mrs. Jay was being prepared at the capital of the world of fashion for her prominent part in the capital of the nascent republic. On July 24, 1784, after an absence of more than four years and a half, she arrived in New-York with her husband and children. Before their arrival Jay had already been appointed secretary for foreign affairs. As was stated on a preceding page, there being then no president of the United States, and the secretary having charge of the whole foreign correspondence, as well as of that between the general and the State governments, his position has been well described by some one as "unquestionably the most prominent and responsible civil office under the Confederation." The entertaining of the foreign ministers, officers of government, members of Congress, and persons of distinction, was an important incident, and Mrs. Jay's domestic duties assumed something of an official character. But her long residence near European courts, and her recent association with the brilliant circles of the French capital, assisted her to fill with ease the place she was now to occupy, and to perform its graceful duties in a manner becoming the dignity of the republic, to whose fortunes she had been so devoted.

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[1] Mrs. King was the only daughter of John Alsop, a prominent New-York merchant. She was remarkable for her beauty, gentleness, and the grace of her manners; her mind, too, was highly cultivated, and she was among those who adorned American society. EDITOR.

LIBERTY HALL, BIRTHPLACE OF MRS. JOHN JAY.

The house which was thus made the center of the social world in New-York deserves a moment's attention. The home of the Jays for one or two generations had been in Westchester County. At the age of forty the father of John Jay, having already acquired a competency in mercantile pursuits, retired from business and from New-York to settle in comfort at a country house and farm at Rye. Jay's mother was a Van Cortlandt, through whom the estate at Bedford fell into his possession. At Rye he was born and brought up. On his marriage the occupations and duties to which the troubled times called him, as has been noted, prevented the youthful pair from establishing a home of their own. Mrs. Jay, during the almost continuous separation from her husband, passed the greater part of the time at the residence of her father, the governor, at Liberty Hall, Elizabeth-town, New Jersey. But occasional visits were made also to her husband's parents at Rye, in Westchester County, New-York. There was no opportunity for setting up a permanent establishment until the return from Europe in 1784, when Jay's official duties required his presence in New-York city. He then built or rented a house in Broadway, which in the directory for 1789 is marked No. 133; but it is somewhat difficult to identify the exact location, since there was then no regularity about the numbers of houses. "Thus No. 33 was at one of the corners of Cortlandt Street; No. 29 was near Maiden Lane; and No. 58 was nearly opposite to it; No. 62 was at the corner of Liberty Street; No. 76 was nearly opposite the City Tavern, which was between the present numbers 113 and 119; and No. 85 was nearly opposite to Trinity Church. Odd and even numbers were given to houses without regard to the side of the street upon which they stood, and in some cases two houses bore the same number."[1] The present location of No. 133 Broadway, if there were such a number,[3] should be between Cedar and Liberty streets, then respectively known as Little Queen and Crown streets. The only Jay house in Broadway which I know of was of granite—I think a double house with plain exterior on the east side of Broadway, below Wall street, which by Jay's will (he died in 1829) was left to his son Peter Augustus Jay, who sold it. The purchaser erected upon the premises three or four stores, which were used for the storage of government supplies.

J Livingston[2]

The names that are preserved in so interesting a manner upon Mrs. Jay's lists fall naturally into groups, and are to be studied to the best advantage as thus arranged. The bar of New-York shall be noticed first. It gave to the salons of the day an array of names never since surpassed in our juridical history: James Duane, Richard Harrison, Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton, Morgan Lewis, Robert Troup, Robert R. Livingston, Egbert Benson, John Watts, Gouverneur Morris, Richard Varick, John Lansing, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and

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[1] Thomas E.V. Smith, "New-York City in 1789."

[2] John Livingston, a Scottish Presbyterian divine, was a member of the General Assemblies, and in 1650, one of the commissioners from the Church of Scotland to Charles II., then at Breda. Banished in 1663 for non-conformity, he died at Rotterdam. He was the father of Robert Livingston, founder of the American family. The vignette is from a painting in the possession of Mrs. Robert Ralston Crosby of New-York, a daughter of Col. Henry Livingston of Po'keepsie. EDITOR.

[3] The number next to 119 in Broadway is 135.

James Kent. At various times they appeared under the hospitable roof of the Jays, and in turn met at the tables of other dignitaries of their own or other professions; and it will be proper to take a more particular glance at each of those named in the group above. James Duane was at this time fifty-six years old, and in the full vigor of his powers. He had been mayor of the city since 1784, a position which he yielded in the year 1789 to his colleague in the profession, Richard Varick, now city recorder. His wife was a daughter of Colonel Robert Livingston. He had been diligent in the cause of the republic, but withal conservative in his temperament, of exactly the position in all the Revolutionary movements that John Jay, his frequent host, occupied throughout. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress when it first met, and remained a member of it all through its existence. He was elected a member of the senate of the State for the terms 1782 to 1785, and again in 1789 to 1790. He was appointed United States judge for the district of New-York in 1789, serving till 1794, and in 1797 he died. His residence was at No. 17 Nassau street, and therefore within a short distance of Mr. Jay's. His presence lent dignity to every gathering of celebrity of that day, either as mayor, United States judge, or State senator, which honors were all upon him in the year 1789, and some of them in 1788, the period to which the list has reference. Richard Harrison was not quite forty years of age when he was wont to meet his friends at Secretary Jay's table, and he remained a prominent figure in the government, which was then yet to be initiated, until far into the present century. He was made auditor of the treasury by Washington in 1791, held that position until 1836, and died in Washington in July, 1841, at the age of ninety-one. He owned an estate in New-York which was then far from the heart of the city, but which can be roughly described as corresponding to-day to the block between Eighth and Ninth avenues and Thirtieth and Thirty-first streets. His residence in 1789 was at 11 Queen (or Pearl) street, above Hanover Square. In the profession of the law he greatly distinguished himself, and on the strength of that distinction he was invited to prominent houses in 1788 and 1789, as his official life had not then begun.

The two names that next claim attention naturally fill one with a mingled sensation of pleased and painful surprise—pleased to observe that these two brilliant minds could meet together in friendship and brighten a gay company with their undoubted talents; painful because of that future fatal day, which was mercifully veiled from their view, but which posterity can never forget when their names are mentioned. They were the leading lawyers of their day, often opposed, sometimes united, on cases; but with a generous rivalry between them, we may be sure. It was not on professional grounds that antagonism arose.

It was the baneful influence of politics, and the lines that finally divided them had not yet begun to be drawn, or not very distinctly at least, when they met in Jay's drawing-rooms, for the federal government had then not yet started upon its career. We are concerned, therefore, with their social qualities just here. Burr's were eminent: his engaging manners made him a power when his legitimate political life had suffered a hopeless shipwreck. And M. Brissot de Warville, who met him frequently in the salons of the day, records with enthusiasm his favorable impressions. The wife of Burr, ten years his senior, whom he called "the best woman and the finest lady I have ever known," does not appear upon the dinner-list. It is not likely either that she received at her own house, as the dread disease (cancer) that carried her off five or six years later may have been already at work. The more celebrated daughter, Theodosia, whose brilliant gifts made her a "queen of American society" later, was then but a child.

JAMES KENT IN YOUTH.

Of Hamilton little need here be said. The vivacity of his French blood would make him a welcome guest at every social gathering, and the wit and wisdom of his conversation would flow with equal readiness there, as on the more serious occasions of the public debate before popular assemblies or in senatorial halls. As a bit of gossip, no doubt picked up in just such drawing-room circles, M. de Rochefoucauld Liancourt (afterward the Duc de Rochefoucauld) mentions the following concerning Hamilton: "Disinterestedness in regard to money, rare everywhere, very rare in America, is one of the most generally recognized traits of Mr. Hamilton; and although his actual practice might be very lucrative, I learn from his clients that their sole complaint against him is the smallness of the fees which he asks of them."[1] It is also well known that Mrs. Hamilton was a daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of Albany, and thus in her veins flowed the blood of one of the noblest colonial families, distinguished in the history of the province for more than a century. From a letter of one lady to another—from Miss Kitty Livingston to her sister, Mrs. Jay, while the latter was in Madrid—we obtain a pleasant glance into the incipiency of this happy union. It is dated at Trenton, May 23, 1780, and contains this passage: "General and Mrs. Schuyler are at Morristown. The general is one of three that compose a Committee from Congress. They expect to be with the army all summer. Mrs.

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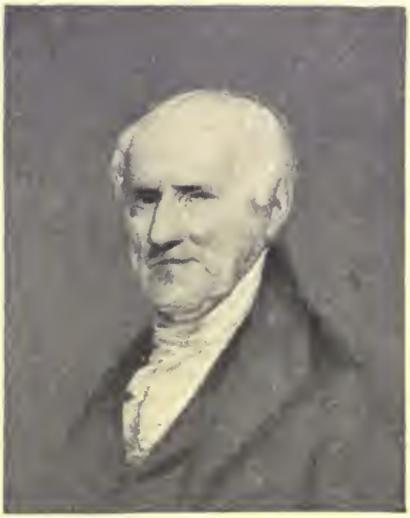
[1] "Voyage dans les Etats Unis d'Amérique, 1795, 1796, 1797" (8 vols., Paris), 7 : 150.

Schuyler returns to Albany when the campaign opens. Apropos, Betsey Schuyler is engaged to our friend Colonel Hamilton. She has been at Morristown, at Dr. Cochrane's, since last February." A contemporary account of Mrs. Hamilton, at the very time when her name was put down on the dinner-list, occurs in the pages of M. Brissot de Warville: "A charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candor and simplicity of an American wife." Her own hospitalities were dispensed at her house, located on the corner of Broad and Wall streets. Burr's residence at this time was scarce a stone's throw distant, at 10 Nassau street. Richmond Hill had either not as yet come into his possession, or was used only in summer as a country-seat. In 1789 it was occupied by Vice-President John Adams.

E. Hamilton

Continuing to cast the eye along the list of legal celebrities given above, we are reminded that then the city of New-York, besides being the federal capital, was also the capital of the State. Here, therefore, resided the chancellor, Robert R. Livingston, of the Clermont branch of that numerous family. His residence was No. 3 Broadway. It fell to his share to administer the oath of office to President Washington; and after he had represented our nation at the court of the great Napoleon, winning the latter's admiration, and doing signal service to his native land in negotiating the purchase of Louisiana, he immortalized his name above all these other causes by actively pushing to success Fulton's invention for navigating vessels by steam, the Clermont bearing the name of his estate on the Hudson. Egbert Benson, another member of the group of lawyers, was the first attorney-general of the State, holding the office from 1777 to 1789. After that he was a judge of the Supreme Court of New-York, and, living to a good old age, became the first president of the New-York Historical Society. Another name high in the annals of the State government is that of Morgan Lewis. After an honorable career as soldier, no sooner were actual hostilities over than he resigned from the army and began his civil career. "He was so impatient," observes his granddaughter, Mrs. Delafield, "to resume the study of the law that he returned to New-York before the British troops had vacated the town." There was some risk in this proceeding, for on the eve of the departure of the British there appeared good reason to expect a conflagration. But the danger blew over, and Lewis, as well as Hamilton and other young lawyers, soon had his hands full of business. Morgan Lewis was married to a sister of Chancellor Livingston. He became attorney-general of the State in 1791, then chief justice, and in 1804 defeated Burr as candidate for governor. Though Lewis was no longer of Hamilton's party, it was through Hamilton's efforts that no part of the broken federalist ranks went over to Burr; and out of this gubernatorial contest grew the quarrel that terminated so disastrously to both men.

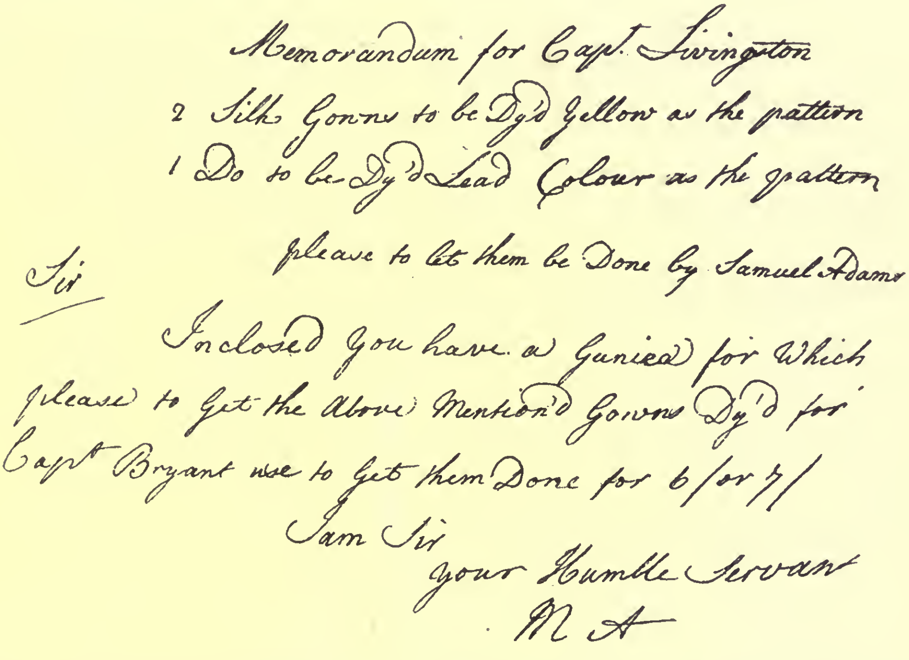


Egbt Benson

An honored place in the circles of New-York society was due also to John Lansing, who had been mayor of Albany, and was still a resident of that town, but who was in New-York as speaker of the State assembly. He succeeded Livingston as chancellor, and was in turn succeeded by James Kent. Gouverneur Morris, too, a lawyer, but preëminently a financier, the colaborer in the difficult and desperate days of republican finances with his namesake (but not kinsman) Robert Morris, would ride into town from Morrisania, which he had just purchased, and be welcomed for his patriotic services, as well as for his descent from some of the oldest colonial families — from Gouverneur, the son-in-law of Jacob Leisler, and from the chief justice of the province when it was still a royal possession. In December, 1788, however, he went to England; and while there was appointed minister to France, serving in that post at the beginning of the Reign of Terror. It was also something deeper than the amenities of social life which brought Gouverneur Morris under the roof of Secretary Jay. Once, while the latter was in Europe, Morris hastily despatched this note, speaking volumes for the affection which prompted it: "Dear Sir,—It is now within a few minutes of the time when the mail is made up and sent off. I can not, therefore, do more than just to assure you of the continuance of my love. Adieu." Of the remaining names we need only note that Robert Troup was a lifelong friend, from college days, of Hamilton, and born in the same year; that John Watts had received back the estate which his father's "loyalty" had forfeited; and that

Richard Varick, at first recorder, succeeded James Duane as mayor of the city. Josiah Ogden Hoffman and James Kent were both in their youthful vigor; the latter admitted to the bar in 1785, and thus just commencing the career that gave him, while yet living, a world-wide reputation as advocate and jurist.

Pursuing our review of the contributions from professional life to dinner-tables and social circles, a glance may be taken at the ministers and physicians eminent in those days. Of the Reformed (Dutch) Church the pastors were Dr. John Henry Livingston and Dr. William Linn; these preached exclusively in English, and were themselves not even of Dutch extraction. But in the old Garden Street Church there worshiped a remnant who still loved to hear the mother-tongue, and Dr. Gerardus Kuypers ministered to them; but he made no practice of mingling with high society. Dr. Livingston, however, was intimately connected, as his name indicates, with the most prominent official and social circles, Mrs. Jay herself being a Livingston. He had also married a Livingston, the daughter of Philip, the "signer" of the Declaration, who had a house on Brooklyn Heights at the beginning of the war. The doctor's tall and dignified figure and high breeding would make him a notable addition to any company; his colleague, Dr. Linn, too, was a man of note, having the reputation of being by far the most eloquent preacher in New-York and even in



Memorandum for Capt. Livingston
2 Silks Gowns to be Dy'd Yellow as the pattern
1 Do to be Dy'd Lead Colour as the pattern
please to let them be Done by Samuel Adams

Sir
Inclosed You have a Guniea for Which please to Get the Above Mention'd Gowns Dy'd for Capt Bryant use to Get them Done for 6/or 7/
I am Sir
your Humble Servant
M A

The above is a fac-simile of an order written by Mary Alexander, wife of James Alexander, and mother of Lord Stirling. The original is in the possession of Miss Jay.

the United States. In 1789 he was elected chaplain to the House of Representatives, the first to occupy that office.

John Rodgers

Both the Presbyterian ministers, Drs. John Rodgers and John Mason, appear on the dinner-list. Dr. Rodgers was pastor of the Wall Street and "Brick Meeting" churches, which were united under one government. The latter church stood on the site of the "New-York Times" and the Potter buildings, or the triangular block bounded by Beekman and Nassau streets and Park Row. Dr. Rodgers was a native of Boston, an ardent patriot during the war, and having served as brigade chaplain, he must have been on terms of familiar acquaintance with most of the officers of the Revolutionary army who were now prominent in civil life. He would be welcomed in society, therefore, and also for the reason that he felt entirely at home in such surroundings. "He was elegant in manners but formal to such a degree that there is a tradition that the last thing which he and his wife always did before retiring for the night was to salute each other with a bow and a courtesy." As to his personal appearance, "he is described as a stout man of medium height who wore a white wig, was extremely careful in his dress, and walked with the most majestic dignity." Dr. Mason was pastor of the Scotch or Covenanter Presbyterian Church, located on the south side of Cedar street, between Nassau and Broadway, now represented by the church on Fourteenth street, near Sixth avenue. He, too, had been a zealous patriot, and served for some years as chaplain at West Point. He was a near neighbor of Dr. Linn's, living at 63 Cortlandt street, while the latter's number was 66. He was of medium stature, earnest and solid in his pulpit efforts rather than eloquent, born and educated in Scotland, and a stout opponent there of state interference with the choice of ministers by congregations. His manners were polished, as of a man who had mingled much with people of distinction on both sides of the ocean.

Of the Episcopal clergy we find on the list the name of Dr. Benjamin Moore, who was now rector of Trinity, but had at one time been removed from the position because Tory votes had put him into it. He lived not far from the church, at 46 Broadway. But chief among them as a social figure, by reason of his office as well as because of his social qualities and undoubted patriotic sympathies, was the "easy, good-tempered, gentlemanly, and scholarly Dr. Provoost, Bishop of New-York,— a chaplain of Congress, and a welcome guest at the dinner table of his friends." The doctor had been devoted to the American cause, was a native of the city, and of Dutch or combined Dutch and Huguenot descent. For even then the city presented the curious "contradiction in circumstances," so often repeated since and seen to-day, that in the Dutch pulpits stood men without a particle of Dutch blood in their veins, while in the Episcopal churches the purest Knickerbockers led the devotions of the people. The bishop was in every respect a most estimable and agreeable person; and, in addition to his Hebrew, classic, and ecclesiastical lore, he is said to have been familiar with French, German, and Italian. It is even affirmed that as a literary recreation — and the circumstance seems more significant in view alike of his Episcopal duties and the times — he had made a new poetical translation of Tasso. He was in a position, therefore, to flavor his conversation at social gatherings with the elegancies of modern literature, as well as to edify men with "the weightier matters of the law." He was a neighbor of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers, who lived at 7 Nassau street, while the bishop resided at No. 2. In person it is recorded of him that he had a round, full face, was rather above the medium in stature, of portly figure, and very dignified in demeanor.[1] He was a public-spirited man, hospitable, and so liberal to the poor as to infringe rather too deeply upon his moderate salary of seven hundred pounds per annum, with house rent-free; the pound in America then being of the value of but about two and a half dollars.

Saml Provoost

The medical profession was represented at that day by Dr. John Charlton, Drs. John and Samuel Bard (father and son, who operated at the lancing of a carbuncle from which Washington suffered during his residence in the Franklin house), Dr. Wright Post, Dr. Richard Bailey, Dr. Benjamin Kissam, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Jones, Dr. Nicholas Romaine, Dr. Charles McKnight, Dr. James Tillery, and several others. The whole membership of the Medical Society in 1789 amounted to twenty-eight. On the dinner-list appear only the names of Drs. Charlton, Kissam, and Johnson. Dr. Charlton lived at 100

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[1] Wilson's "Centennial History of the Diocese of New-York," p. 127.

Broadway, and thus within easy call of Jay's house, and he may have been the family physician.[1] Under one date on the list, the only guests for dinner are Dr. and Mrs. Charlton, and this little repast, almost *en famille*, would lend support to the theory. But the name most frequently occurring is that of Dr. Johnson. Dr. Benjamin Kissam may have been the father of the more celebrated Dr. Richard Sharpe Kissam, who graduated at Edinburgh in 1789 and began practice in New-York in 1791. The former resided at 156 Queen (now Pearl) street; to judge from the number — counting above Hanover Square — the doctor's house must have been a few blocks above Franklin Square. It is surprising that some of the greater lights of the profession — so eminent a surgeon as Dr. Wright Post, for one — were not found more frequently at the social gatherings of the day. It would be singular if they appeared elsewhere and were not among the honored guests at Secretary Jay's.

Cornelia Van Rensselaer

Prominent upon Mrs. Jay's list are, of course, the names of the old New-York families — the Bayards, the Beekmans, the Crugers, the De Peysters, the Livingstons, the Morrises, the Schuylers, the Van Hornes, the Van Cortlandts, the Van Rensselaers, the Verplancks, the Wattses. While some of these furnished men for high positions in the service of the nation, the State, or the city, their position in society was assured, independently of that, by the descent from those who bore these names with honor from the earliest colonial times, as well as by the possession of ample wealth and the refinement which several generations of affluence will naturally bestow. Hence the majority of the names just mentioned owed their prominence solely to social distinction. But now that New-York was the capital of the Confederacy, the social sphere comprised names of honor and fame from other parts of the country. By the presence of the Congress in the city some of the most eminent of the statesmen and generals of "the old thirteen" who had helped to vindicate the independence and lay deep the foundation of the republic, mingled with her sons and daughters. Among the names of Mrs. Jay's list, therefore, may be found those of John Langdon and Paine Wingate, from New Hampshire: the former to be the first president of the United States Senate in 1789, biding the arrival of John Adams; the latter destined to reach the extraordinary age of ninety-nine years, having been born in 1739 and dying in 1838;—Roger Sherman and Benjamin Huntington, of Connecticut; Elias Boudinot and John Cadwallader, of New Jersey; Robert Morris and George Read, of Pennsylvania; Charles Carroll, of Maryland; William Grayson, Theodoric Bland, and James Madison, of Virginia; Pierce Butler, Ralph Izard, Daniel Huger, and Thomas Tudor Tucker, of South Carolina; and William Few, of Georgia. Truly a brilliant galaxy of names, well known, just fresh from the political and military fields of contest, and adding now, or soon to add, new laurels to their fame in the more subtle conflicts which were to construct and perpetuate a strong federal republic out of the feeble and incoherent materials of the Confederation.[1]

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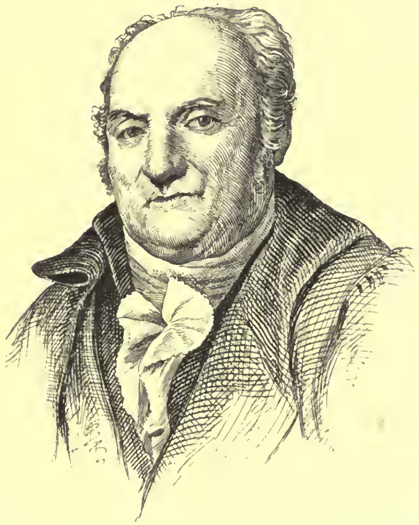
[1] His portrait in crayon, of life-size, representing a handsome, portly gentleman, hangs in the Jay house at Bedford.



Elias Boudinot

These gentlemen were, in many cases, accompanied by their families, representing in part the higher circles of New England, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the south. The letters of the day which have been preserved, both of Americans and Frenchmen, allude frequently to the grace, beauty, and attractiveness of many women then in society. Among them were Lady Mary Watts and Lady Kitty Duer—in reality, and according to a more republican nomenclature, Mrs. John Watts and Mrs. William Duer. They were the daughters of William Alexander, real, or at least titular, Earl of Stirling; and there was enough of old-time courtliness left in the States to defer to English usage and apply to them the title of "Lady," as above. So there was also Lady Christiana Griffin, the wife of Cyrus Griffin of Virginia, the president of the

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[1] Among the prominent members of the Continental Congress of this period who were well known in New-York society were John Hancock, Theodore Sedgwick, and Rufus King, of Massachusetts; John L. Lawrence, Melancthon Smith, and Peter W. Yates, of New-York; Lambert Cadwallader, John Cleve Symmes, and Josiah Hornblower, of New Jersey; Colonel John Bayard, William Henry, General Arthur St. Clair, and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; James Monroe and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina. EDITOR.

Continental Congress; she belonged to a noble Scottish family. Mrs. Ralph Izard, though from South Carolina, was at home in New-York society, where she had many relatives, for her maiden name was Alice De Lancey, and she was the niece of the whilom chief justice and lieutenant-governor. Soon after her marriage her husband took her to Europe, where he was engaged to some extent in the diplomatic service of the Confederation. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton has already been referred to. We may mention briefly Mrs. James Beekman, who was Miss Janet Keteltas; Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick, formerly Miss Pamela Dwight; and Miss Wolcott of Connecticut, who afterward became Mrs. Chauncey Goodrich.

Jno Bayard[1]

To the groups already presented there must be added one that formed a very essential element of social life in that day, namely, the small circle of diplomats accredited to the United States, among whom may be logically counted also the occasional European travelers who were attracted by the rising greatness of the young republic, and from whose memoirs may be gathered so vivid a picture of the social events at which they assisted and the "society people" whom they met. We are enabled to look in upon one of these events by means of the dinner-list and of a letter written by a lady who was a participant. Mrs. William S. Smith, the daughter of John Adams, writes to her mother and tells her that Mrs. Jay gives a dinner to the diplomatic corps on Tuesday evening of every week. On May 20, 1788, this lady attended one of these dinners, and on the next day discourses of it in the following style: "Yesterday we dined at Mrs. Jay's in company with the whole *corps diplomatique*. Mr. Jay is a most pleasing man, plain in his manners, but kind, affectionate, and attentive; benevolence is stamped in every feature. Mrs. Jay dresses showily, but is very pleasing on a first acquaintance. The dinner was *à la Française*, and exhibited more of European taste than I expected to find."

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[1] Colonel John Bayard was born in 1738, and died in 1807. He distinguished himself during the Revolution, and in 1785 was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He was descended from Stuyvesant's sister, and was the representative of the oldest branch of the Bayard family.

Now let us observe who were actually present at this dinner. Attention is due first of all to the president of Congress, Cyrus Griffin. On the list he is often merely referred to as President, or Mr. President, so that, if dates are not watched closely, we are apt to think of the great Washington. His position in the country, as well as in society, deserves a moment's consideration. He was undoubtedly the first citizen. Brissot de Warville, the stanch French republican, happy to be in a country where his fond ideals were in actual operation, says of the office: "A president of Congress is far from being surrounded with the splendor of European monarchs; and so much the better. He is not durable in his station; and so much the better. He never forgets that he is a simple citizen, and will soon return to the station of one. He does not give pompous dinners; and so much the better. He has fewer parasites, and less means of corruption." The vivacious Frenchman might have added another *tant mieux* to the last item. But although one of these characteristic comments was attached to the lack of pompous dinners, still Mr. Griffin felt called upon to give dinners of some kind. At one of these Brissot was present, and he has recorded that fact with some circumstantiality. "I should still be wanting in gratitude," he says, "should I neglect to mention the politeness and attention showed me by the President of Congress, Mr. Griffin. He is a Virginian, of very good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable and polite. . . . I remarked that his table was freed from many usages observed elsewhere; no fatiguing presentations, no toasts, so despairing in a numerous society. Little wine was drank after the women had retired. These traits will give you an idea of the temperance of this country: temperance, the leading virtue of republicans."

MRS. JAMES BEEKMAN.

The president was, of course, accompanied by his lady, sometimes playfully called the "presidentess" in the correspondence of those days. Passing now to the American guests before we single out the diplomats, we notice that, besides Mrs. Colonel Smith and her husband, there are General James Armstrong, the defender of Germantown in 1777; Mr. Arthur Lee, active in diplomatic work abroad during the Revolution; Mr. and Lady Mary Watts; their son and daughter-in-law; Mr. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, reputed the richest man in Pennsylvania, and celebrated for the magnificent hospitality dispensed by him and his beautiful wife at their own home; Mr. Daniel McCormick; and Mr. John Kean, delegate to the Continental Congress since 1785 from South Carolina, yet voting against the extension of slavery to the northwestern territory.

First among the diplomats on the list, and presumably at the dinner on this 20th of May, appears the minister of France, the Marquis de Moustier. Eléonore François Elie, Marquis de Moustier, was sent to America in 1787. Throughout his career he was a devoted and self-sacrificing adherent of the Bourbons, and suffered greatly on that account. But it led him into the mistake of making himself disagreeable in his official capacity here, inasmuch as he gave too much evidence of despising the republic which his own master had helped to establish. Yet, whether a welcome guest or not, as a member of the diplomatic corps he could not well be left out of the invitations. Quite different was the case with Don Diego de Gardoqui. "In the summer of 1785 the Court of Spain appointed practically a resident minister to the United States, though under the modest title of *encargado de negocios*, with a view to settle the controversy about the navigation of the Mississippi, which had been guaranteed to the United States by the treaty of peace; also to arrange a commercial treaty."[1] Though representing a more intense despotism, and a government which had diligently shunned all intercourse with our country during the war, De Gardoqui became exceedingly popular in New-York, and his departure in 1789 was greatly regretted. He resided at No. 1 Broadway, and De Moustier was a near neighbor, his house also facing the Bowling Green.

The Spanish diplomat seems to have been unaccompanied by a lady, but with the French minister came his sister, the Marquise de Brehan; a near relative of hers must have been the Comte de Brehan, who also appears on the list for this date, unless it is in error about the title; perhaps the "comte" was really the Marquis de Brehan and the brother-in-law of De Moustier; or the marquise was only a comtesse. Besides the minister, France had a *chargé d'affaires* to represent her, M. Louis G. Otto. He had come to America in 1779, and evidently liked republican ways and people, for he married a Miss Livingston, a relative of Mrs. Jay's. He afterward became Count de Mosloy. A sister republic was among the first to recognize the American commonwealth, and the ink was hardly dry upon the treaty of 1783 when Francis P. Van Berckel presented his credentials as minister plenipotentiary from the United Netherlands to the United States. He was a widower, but the honors of his domestic establishment were borne by his daughter, Miss Van Berckel. There was as yet no minister from England, but the nearest in rank and functions to that position was that of consul-general, and Sir John Temple held that office at this time. He had been lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire from 1761 to 1774, and, strangely enough, in view of his present post, was removed for too great an "inclination toward the American cause." He was a native of this country, and had married a daughter of Governor James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts. They were both at the dinner of May 20.

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[1] George Pellew's "John Jay," p. 232.

J. Temple.[1]

Among the distinguished foreigners on Mrs. Jay's list is found the name of M. Brissot de Warville, from whose well-known work on America we have already quoted more than once. It was written on his return to Europe; and while the first volume (in the English translation) is devoted to an interesting account of his voyage to and experiences in this country, the second treats almost exclusively of commercial matters. He had come over especially to make a study of these, in order to establish, if possible, improved mercantile relations between France and America. Brissot had been bred to the profession of the law, but in the stirring times preceding the Revolution had drifted into journalism. When the outbreak finally occurred he was on the side of conservative patriotism, and of the party of the Girondists. He opposed the execution of the king, and in consequence he, together with several other Girondists, was arrested on October 3, 1793, and guillotined on the 31st. Brissot had brought to Mr. Jay from La Fayette a letter commending him as a writer on the side of liberty, and as one of the founders of the society in behalf of the blacks; for Jay was well known to be an antislavery man. On September 2, 1788, he dined at the secretary's table.

A marked influence was wrought upon the social world in New-York by the inauguration of the federal government, and the residence here of the president of the United States. With the latter's advent, the prominence of Jay, especially as regards diplomatic connections, gave way to the distinctive, as well as distinguished, head of the republic. And from the social standpoint it is interesting to consider, first of all, the discussion which took place about the title, or mode of address, proper to the president. Some suggested "Most Serene Highness," or "Serene Highness," thinking it a safe appellation inasmuch as none of the rulers in Europe bore it. Madison gave it as his opinion that the chief magistrate should be spoken of simply as the president. General Muhlenberg, with an eye to the high-sounding title assumed by the States General of the Dutch republic, suggested "High Mightiness"; but Washington was never quite certain whether Muhlenberg was in jest or in earnest. Speaking on the subject at the president's table, Muhlenberg remarked aptly: "If the office could always be held by men as large as yourself, it would be appropriate; but if by chance a president as small as my opposite neighbor were elected [he might have referred to Hamilton] it would be ridiculous." Bancroft informs us that when the style, "The President of the United States of America," was determined on, "the clause that his title should be 'His Excellency' was still suffered to linger in the draft."[1] This unwritten and therefore extra-constitutional title, however, was the one finally fixed upon. In the furor of French sympathy excited by the first outburst of the Revolution, the adherents of the democratic clubs inveighed against this title.

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[1] The portrait of Sir John has been copied from a photograph, made in 1890, of the original painting in the possession of his grandson, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, Mass. That of Lady Temple was made in like manner from a photograph of the original in the possession of her grandson, the late Grenville Temple Winthrop, now in the keeping of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. These paintings are from the hand of the celebrated portrait-painter, Gilbert Stuart. The death of Sir John occurred in 1798. Lady Temple died in 1809. See also note on p. 124

E: Temple.

Their republican wrath rose also to a high pitch of fervor against the president's receptions, which society, at his own instance, called "levees," smacking thus most unsavorily of monarchical institutions in Europe. The stately and majestic president loved these courtly manners. When he had a message to deliver to Congress, he did not intrust it to a page or a messenger, but rode to Federal Hall in a coach and six, with outriders besides. Yet he could be plain in his own house, as befitting the American Cincinnatus. Mr. Paine Wingate tells of a dinner the day after Mrs. Washington had arrived in New-York: "The chief said grace, and dined on boiled leg of mutton. After dessert, one glass of wine was offered to each guest, and when it had been drunk, the President rose and led the way to the drawing-room." The president's "levees" were held on Tuesday afternoon; Mrs. Washington received on Friday evening, from eight to ten o'clock. At the levees, we are told, "there were no places for the intrusion of the rabble in crowds, or for the mere coarse and boisterous partisan, the vulgar electioneerer, or the impudent place-hunter, with boots, frock-coats, or roundabouts, or with patched knees and holes at both elbows. On the contrary, they were select and more courtly than have been given by any of the President's successors. None were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by official station, or by established merit and character; and full dress was required of all."

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[1] "History of the United States," 6: 342 (ed. 1883).

It need not be said here that President Washington resided at first in the Franklin house, on the present Franklin Square, corner of Cherry street. The huge bridge now has one of its piers standing on or near the spot, and the house has disappeared. Later, he occupied the Macomb house, at 39 Broadway, because the other was inconveniently "far out of town." In the appropriate place both of these houses have been described. And we are fortunate in having a minute account of the house of one of the cabinet officers, the secretary of war, Major-General Henry Knox, situated at No. 4 Broadway. It was advertised for sale in 1789, "a four-story brick house on the west side of Broadway [No. 4 at present is on the east side], 31½ feet wide by 60 feet deep, containing two rooms of thirty feet in length, one of twenty-six, three of twenty-three feet." Ample opportunity, therefore, in this generous mansion for the gatherings of the society of a capital; for "fashionable society in New-York in 1789," says Thomas E. V. Smith, "seems to have consisted of about three hundred persons, as that number attended a ball on the 7th of May, at which Washington was present." This number bore a fair proportion to the population of the city at that period, and at the same time represented, not simply the society of the State of New-York, but that of her sister States, in the presence of distinguished statesmen and diplomats, whose names, already conspicuous in the republic, are now identified with its important history.

At these gay assemblies the dress worn by ladies and gentlemen was modeled then, as now, after the fashions prevailing in London and Paris. Brissot de Warville observes: "If there is a town on the American continent where the English luxury displays its follies, it is New-York. You will find here the English fashions. In the dress of the women you will see the most brilliant silks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. The men have more simplicity in their dress." But that France also contributed to set the fashion of that day in New-York we may gather from the "New-York Gazette" of May 15, 1789, describing several costumes imported from Paris. "One was a plain celestial blue satin gown with a white satin petticoat. There was worn with it, on the neck, a very large Italian gauze handkerchief with satin border stripes. The head-dress with this costume was a pouf of gauze in the form of a globe, the creneaux or head-piece of which was made of white satin having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a large wreath of artificial roses which fell from the left at the top to the right at the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of which fell on each side of the neck and were relieved behind by a floating chignon. . . . The newest costume consisted of a perriot and petticoat of gray striped silk trimmed with gauze cut in points. A large gauze handkerchief bordered with four satin stripes was worn with it on the neck, and the head-dress was a plain gauze cap such as was worn by nuns. Shoes were made of celestial blue satin with rose colored rosettes."[2]

PHILIP LIVINGSTON.[1]

As for the gentlemen, they wore very long blue riding-coats, the buttons of which were of steel, the vest, or waistcoat, being at the same time of scarlet color, and the knee-breeches yellow. The shoes were tied with strings, and low; but gaiters were fastened above them, running up nearly to the knee, and made of polished leather. But for evening dress the gaiters were omitted, and the legs (more or less genuine as to shape) were incased in silk stockings. It was not until toward the end of the century that material modifications in the dress of gentlemen occurred. The hair was no longer powdered, nor worn long and tied in a queue at the back. The locks were worn short, or at a length considered proper to-day. For the close-fitting knee-breeches and stockings or gaiters upon the legs, loose pantaloons reaching to the shoe were substituted. "The women in 1800 wore hoops, high-heeled shoes of black stuffs, with silk or thread stockings, and had their hair tortured for hours at a sitting to get the curls properly crisped. The hoops were succeeded by 'bishops' stuffed with horsehair. In the early days ladies who kept their coaches often went to church in check aprons; and Watson mentions a lady in Philadelphia who went to a ball, in full dress, on horseback."[1] About the same time, dark or black cloth took the place of colored stuffs for the dress of gentlemen.

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[1] Philip Livingston, the second Lord of the Manor, was born at Albany, July 9, 1686. Was deputy secretary of Indian affairs, and afterward (in 1722) secretary. Was a member of the provincial assembly from Albany in 1709, and county clerk in 1721–49. He married Catherine Van Brugh of Albany, and during the later years of his life entertained with great magnificence. He died in New-York city, February 4, 1749. EDITOR.

[2] Smith's "New-York in 1789," p. 95.

THE TEMPLE ARMS.

Perhaps it will be of interest to conclude this review of New-York society with two brief glimpses into the actual doings of people in high life, one of a private and familiar nature, the other a celebrated public occasion. While Mr. Jay was absent in England on the special mission, Mrs. Jay wrote to him as follows: "Last Monday the President went to Long Island to pass a week there. On Wednesday, Mrs. Washington called upon me to go with her to wait upon Miss Van Berckel, and on Thursday morning, agreeable to invitation, myself and the little girls took an early breakfast with her, and then went with her and her little grandchildren to breakfast at General Morris's, Morrisania. We passed together a very agreeable day, and on our return dined with her, as she would not take a refusal. After which I came home to dress, and she was so polite as to take coffee with me in the evening." The other picture presents a fashionable ball given by the French ambassador, the Marquis de Moustier, at his residence opposite the Bowling Green, on May 14, 1789. Although a despiser of republics in theory, he could not very well avoid doing the honors of his nation to the great chief of the American commonwealth, who had been inaugurated two weeks before, and his manner of doing it was altogether worthy of France. Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, writing of it to a friend, spoke enthusiastically of his experiences there; and as his description has all the flavor of a contemporary and an eye-witness, we give it as it appeared in Griswold's "Republican Court":

"After the President came, a company of eight couple formed in the other room and entered, two by two, and began a most curious dance called *En Ballet*. Four of the gentlemen were dressed in French regimentals and four in American uniforms; four of the ladies with blue ribbons round their heads and American flowers, and four with red roses and flowers of France. These danced in a very curious manner, sometimes two and two, sometimes four couple and four couple, and then in a moment altogether, which formed great entertainment for the spectators, to show the happy union between the two nations. Three rooms were filled, and the fourth was most elegantly set off as a place for refreshment. A long table crossed this room from wall to wall. The whole wall inside was covered with shelves filled with cakes, oranges, apples, wines of all sorts, ice-creams, etc., and highly lighted up. A number of servants from behind the table supplied the guests with everything they wanted, from time to time, as they came in to refresh themselves, which they did as often as a party had done dancing, and made way for another. We retired about ten o'clock, in the height of the jollity."

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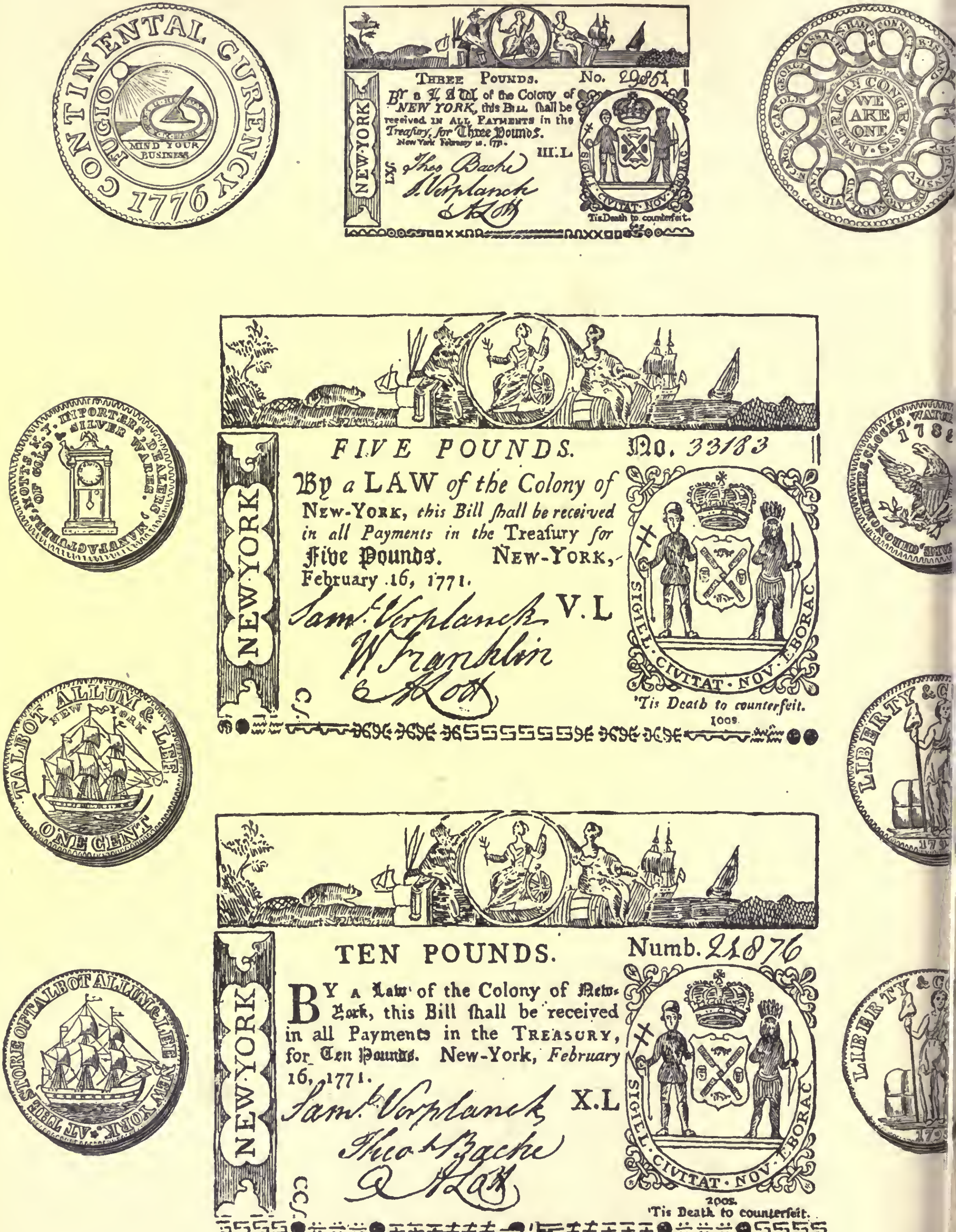
[1] Mrs. Ellet, "Queens of American Society," p. 149.

We may properly take leave of New-York society at a reception, or levee, at the president's house in Broadway. He stands in the midst of a brilliant circle of ladies and gentlemen. As guests are presented, he does not shake hands, but receives them with a dignified bow. He is attired in black velvet coat and knee-breeches, a white or pearl-colored waistcoat showing finely underneath the dark and flowing outer garment. Silver buckles glitter at the knees and upon the shoes. A long sword hangs by his side, bright, with a finely wrought steel hilt. It is the mark of the gentleman of the day, and need not recall the soldier amid these peaceful surroundings. Yellow gloves adorn the hands that struck so bravely for liberty. With a lingering look of affection and admiration upon the noblest American that ever breathed, we pass out of the assembly-room, and the shadowy forms of the past dissolve. The plain present is upon us, a city huge and magnificent, a society possessing a wealth then never dreamed of, and exhibiting more than princely liberality in its contributions to philanthropy, art, science, and learning,—a society in whose extending circles are still conspicuous many of the Dutch, English, and Huguenot names that lent luster to the early days of the republic, when New-York, as the seat of the national government, witnessed the inauguration of Washington and welcomed the illustrious members of the first Congress.

RESIDENCE OF LORD STIRLING.

Sa. Jay


CONTINENTAL CURRENCY 1776
FUGIO
MIND YOUR BUSINESS
AMERICAN CONGRESS
WE ARE ONE
MOTT'S N.Y. IMPORTERS & DEALERS OF GOLD & SILVER WARES, MANUFACTURERS
TALBOT ALLUM & LEE
NEW YORK
ONE CENT
AT THE STORE OF TALBOT ALLUM & LEE NEW YORK
LIBERTY &

NEW·YORK

THREE POUNDS. No. 29851

By a LAW of the Colony of NEW YORK, this BILL shall be received IN ALL PAYMENTS in the Treasury, for Three Pounds.
New York February 16, 1771.

III.L

LXS

Theo Bache
S. Verplanck
A. Lott

SIGILL·CIVITAT·NOV·EBORAC

'Tis Death to counterfeit.

NEW·YORK

FIVE POUNDS. No. 33183

By a LAW of the Colony of New-York, this Bill shall be received in all Payments in the Treasury for Five Pounds. New-York, February 16, 1771.

Saml. Verplanck V.L
W. Franklin
A. Lott

SIGILL·CIVITAT·NOV·EBORAC

'Tis Death to counterfeit.
1008.

NEW·YORK

TEN POUNDS. Numb. 21876

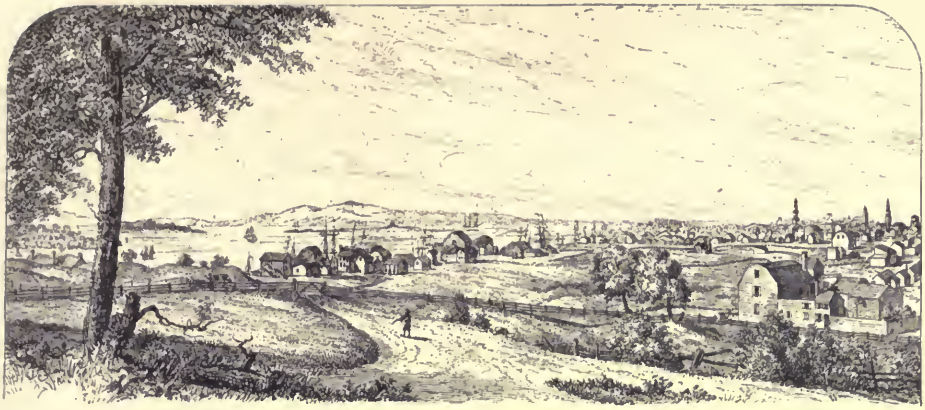
BY a Law of the Colony of New-York, this Bill shall be received in all Payments in the TREASURY, for Ten Pounds. New-York, February 16, 1771.

Saml. Verplanck X.L
Theo Bache
A. Lott

SIGILL·CIVITAT·NOV·EBORAC

2008.
'Tis Death to counterfeit.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COINS AND CURRENCY.



THE CITY OF NEW-YORK, NEAR THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

CHAPTER IV

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1793–1800

THE period in the history of the city that now opens is one that may be designated as "within the memory of men still living." It was the writer's privilege to be on terms of intimate friendship for a number of years with an aged lady who was born more than a year before the close of Washington's first term; she died during Mr. Cleveland's presidency. Again, on the Sunday preceding the centennial celebration of Washington's inauguration in New-York city, the writer was introduced to a lady who on that day attained her one hundredth year. Within the compass of one such lifetime what vast changes have occurred in the condition of our city, as in the aspects of the civilized world! Though apparently so near in the number of the years, at what a great distance in time do men seem to be this day from that closing period of the eighteenth century!

These aged persons in their infancy were actually nearer to a date even centuries before their birth than they were to their dying hour, so far as concerns the mechanical, industrial, and scientific progress of society. When they were yet children they would have had to travel the sea by ships under sail, or the land by the lumbering stage or private carriage drawn by horses, just as men did at the end of the seventeenth, and sixteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Their houses were heated, their homes and the streets of the cities where they and their contemporaries lived were lighted (if at all), in much the same way as people had done in the middle ages or in the days of the Roman republic. It is superfluous to expatiate on the advances in these simple matters of every-day necessity, made ere these venerable women had attained their half-century, their threescore and ten, their fourscore years. Yet how great an alteration in the very face of the world, in the intercourse of nations, in the conduct of business, in the comforts of existence, have the advances in these matter-of-fact affairs brought about! Measured by circumstances and not by years, how vast the distance, as was said, between the beginning and the end of one such human lifetime; between the New-York of 1892 and that of 1793! It will be our task in this chapter to span that formidable gap, and seek to reproduce to the imagination conditions in our city of just a century ago.

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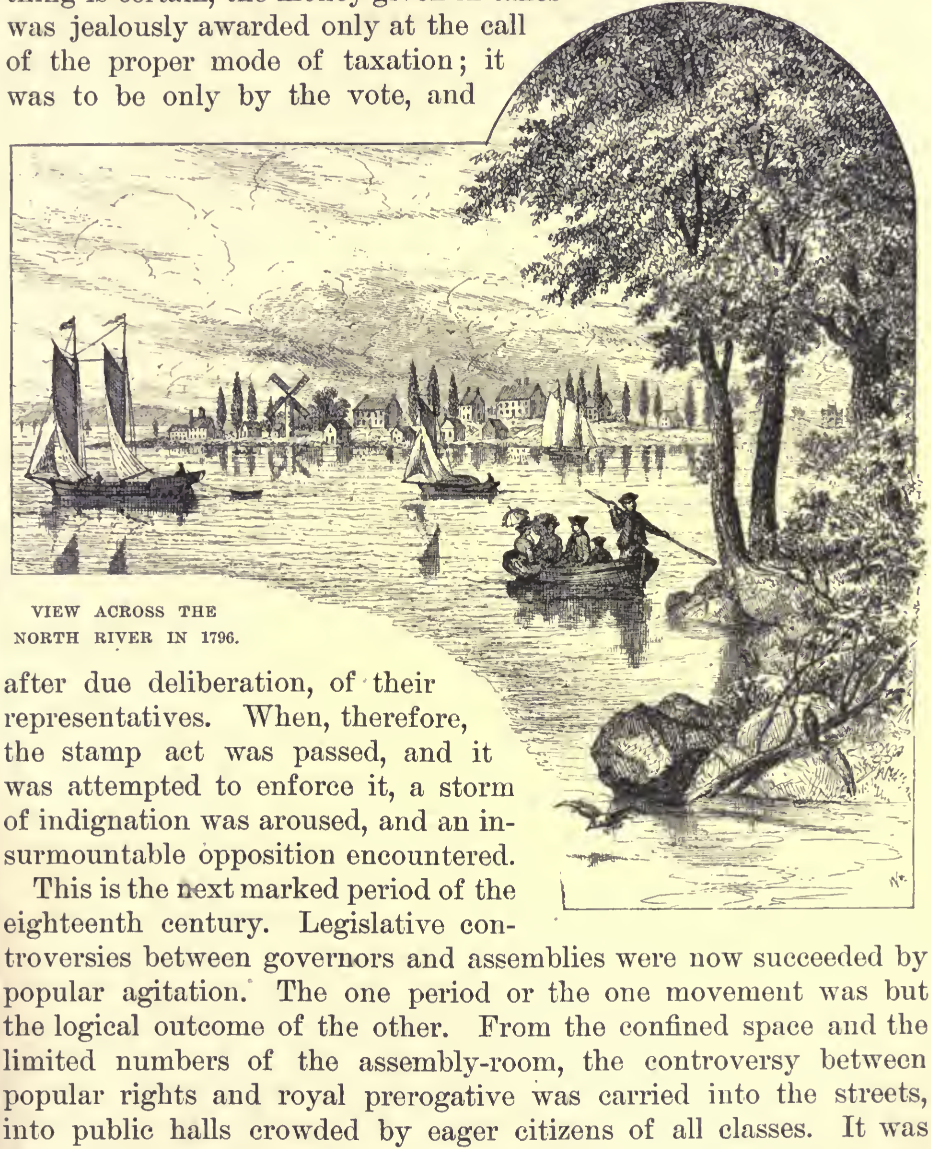
[1] This view was drawn by an officer of the French fleet, which took refuge in New-York Harbor when pursued by an English fleet. The house whose roof is barely seen to rise above the hill on the left is the Rutgers Mansion, owned by Colonel Henry Rutgers, and bequeathed to William B. Crosby, grandson of his sister, Catherine Bedlow, and the father of Dr. Howard Crosby.

The history of the eighteenth century, for the American colonies, divides itself into five clearly marked periods. The first may be called that of legislative controversy, of the struggle between royal governors and provincial assemblies, which served to deepen the consciousness of the colonists not only that they were possessed of rights, but that they had it within their power to assert those rights. The misconduct of one governor of New-York led to a practice on the part of the assembly of that province which had in it the germ of self-government. Too late was it seen by the English ministry what was the significance of granting supplies from year to year and for specific objects. When they saw it and wished to remedy their mistake, the representatives of the people, equally alive to its advantages for themselves, would not abandon it. Then the great English principle of the power of precedent, which is quite as potent as a written constitution, riveted the practice upon the province, and it remained intact in the face of the most strenuous efforts to overthrow it by the governors, spurred on by peremptory instructions from king and ministry. It was but a step from these annual grants for specific purposes to the naming (if it were a salary) of the men who were to receive the money, and hence the legislature even learned to encroach upon the executive branch of the government. This contest, which, as Bancroft remarks, led ultimately to independence, is dated by him from the first assembly that met Lord Lovelace, Cornbury's immediate successor, in 1709.

It lasted with varying success, and with varying degrees of acrimony, through all the later colonial administrations. It had taught the people of this colony (and under similar circumstances the same lesson had been learned by the colonists generally) to have some very decided feelings about taxation. Whether they must be accused of niggardliness, or may be credited with generosity, in the matter of grants for the support of the French and Indian or other wars,—one thing is certain, the money given in taxes was jealously awarded only at the call of the proper mode of taxation; it was to be only by the vote, and after due deliberation, of their representatives. When, therefore, the stamp act was passed, and it was attempted to enforce it, a storm of indignation was aroused, and an insurmountable opposition encountered.



VIEW ACROSS THE NORTH RIVER IN 1796.

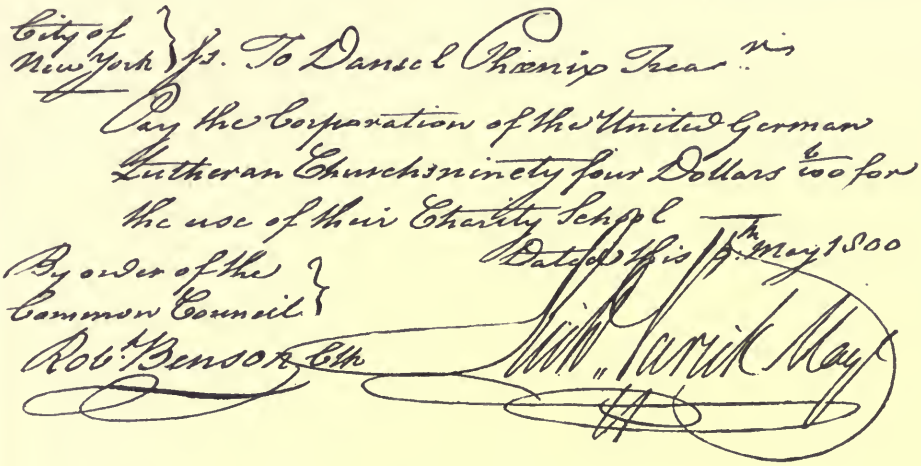
This is the next marked period of the eighteenth century. Legislative controversies between governors and assemblies were now succeeded by popular agitation. The one period or the one movement was but the logical outcome of the other. From the confined space and the limited numbers of the assembly-room, the controversy between popular rights and royal prerogative was carried into the streets, into public halls crowded by eager citizens of all classes. It was dangerous to brave such a tide of antagonism to the ministerial policy. It would have been wiser to heed the steady remonstrances of a people who had long studied political principles, and who had an intelligent conception of the correctness of their political standpoint in opposing the attempt to tax them without representation. The tax itself was nothing to them, no more than Hampden's ship-money was to him. But they had not so scrupulously guarded their grants of money through nearly two generations without having acquired a keen sense of the principles at stake now. The British ministry, however, persisted with obstinacy in their course, no doubt equally convinced that they were right; the tide of indignation and agitation was resisted, with the inevitable result of adding to its force, and precipitating a rupture.

Thus the stamp-act agitation led on to the Revolutionary period. Political controversy, confined first to legislative chambers, and then conducted in the presence of the masses or by organized actions of a civil nature for brief moments and on special occasions (as in the case of non-importation agreements and the boarding of tea-ships), had now brought both parties to such a heat in their friction against each other that the flames of war necessarily broke forth. The Revolutionary period occupied but a few years of the century's history, but they were momentous years. Distress deep and depressing often hung like a low cloud over all the land, but there was discipline in the affliction:

> In such a forge and such a heat
> Were shaped the anchors of her hope.

And there were hours of glory and of pride, which witnessed to the strength and solidity born of the days of darkness. Despair could not possess the heart of a people who could thus suffer and thus triumph, and victory was theirs at last. The independence which was prophesied in 1709, which was shaping itself unconsciously and gradually through many colonial administrations, which began to acquire consciousness, albeit even yet with hesitancy and awe, during the stamp-act agitation, was now declared, fought for, won, and acknowledged. Out of the brief but fierce struggle the thirteen British colonies came forth free and independent States.

But they were not as yet a nation; and thus there opened another period in this eventful eighteenth century which, in the estimation of thoughtful students of our history, has been denominated "the critical period" by preëminence. It covered but one year less than that required for the conduct of the Revolutionary war. The task of yielding to one another was a hard one; the sacrifice of certain individual rights long enjoyed and exercised while still in the tutelary condition of colonies, was difficult to make now that they had just attained the condition of emancipated manhood. So for six years the trial lasted, and the future remained uncertain amid the perils of the present—perils growing out of disunion, jealousies between States, actual infringements by the stronger upon the rights of the weaker. But at last light came; the constitution was framed—"the most wonderful work," as Gladstone has said, "ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." It was also the most conspicuous application—which the continuance of our republic has made but the more emphatic and illustrious—of the Golden Rule to human government. It was one State doing to another State what it would have the other do unto itself. Without this mutual sacrifice of rights and property for the common good, without this political loving of one's neighbor as one's self, federal union, and the strong nation which it created and still perpetuates, would have been impossible. It is at the exceedingly interesting juncture when this great feat had been accomplished not only, but when one complete term of its actual working under all the appointed forms of its administration—executive, legislative, and judicial—had been concluded, confirming the excellence and wisdom of its plan, that this chapter takes up the current of our city's history. It had been privileged to see take place within its borders the inauguration of President Washington. In the old City Hall—converted into a Federal Hall—the Congress had begun its sessions; and the Supreme Court of the United States had not only erected its august bench here, but upon it had been placed John Jay, one of New-York's noblest sons.



City of New York } ss. To Daniel Phœnix Treas^{r}:

Pay the Corporation of the United German Lutheran Church ninety four Dollars $\frac{6}{100}$ for the use of their Charity School

Dated this 15th May 1800

By order of the Common Council }

Rob^{t} Benson Clk

Rich^{d} Varick May^{r}

In the same year that Washington was inaugurated, Richard Varick received the appointment as mayor of New-York from the governor of the State. He held the position till 1801, and thus his mayoralty extended throughout the whole of the period now under consideration. He succeeded James Duane, and was therefore the second mayor under the new order of affairs. As early as 1685 we find the Rev. Rudolphus Van Varick ministering to the five Dutch congregations of King's County, on Long Island, who then and for many years after could only unitedly support a preacher. In the course of time, and as a result of the Anglicizing influences necessarily predominant in the colony, the unmistakable Dutch prefix, Van, had been dropped, and the mayor was content with a plain Varick. For some years he had occupied the office of recorder, so that he was well equipped by experience as well as legal knowledge for the place to which he had been promoted. In the war of the Revolution he had risen to the rank of colonel, and had formed part of Washington's official family, as his private secretary, after Hamilton had somewhat hastily resigned. He had doubtless shared in the increase of legal business since the evacuation, Tory lawyers having been disbarred in New-York, so that he had accumulated a comfortable fortune. At least his house in Broadway, where he resided, is put down on the tax-list for 1799 as valued at three thousand pounds, or nearly eight thousand dollars, as the pound then counted.

Ja. Fairlie[1]

When his administration began (1789), the population of the city reached twenty-three thousand; it had doubled before the end of his term. The City Hall, for a short season devoted to federal uses and subjected to important alterations and embellishments, in order to fit it for the occupancy of Congress, had now once more reverted to its original purposes. Yet, while ceasing to be the capital of the republic in the autumn of 1790, New-York continued to be the capital of the State till January, 1798, and the legislature must have utilized the halls set apart for the upper and lower houses of the national parliament. But it was not until early in the next century that the third (and present) City Hall was erected; so that here, on the spot opposite Broad street, in Wall, still centered the direction of the municipal government. And, fortunately, there can be gained an accurate idea of the extent of the responsibilities that rested on the shoulders of the city officials at this time, from an estimate of the amount of funds necessary for the support of the city's institutions for the year 1800. For the almshouse the sum of thirty thousand dollars was required, while for the bridewell or workhouse five thousand were needed, and for the support — presumably the subsistence — of the prisoners the amount of three thousand was set apart. The maintenance of a watch, the forerunner of the metropolitan police force, cost twenty-five thousand dollars. For streets occurs the item five thousand dollars; but this is independent of several other items that would seem to belong properly under this heading — such as lamps, to cost fifteen thousand dollars for being kept in order and lighted on nights when there was no "light moon," and wells and pumps for fire and domestic uses, which required only twenty-five hundred dollars. The roads about the city demanded an outlay of over seventy-five hundred dollars.

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[1] Major James Fairlie was the son of a New-York merchant, and the grandson of a Scotch midshipman who settled in America early in the eighteenth century. He became aide to Baron Steuben, served with that officer through the war, and shared his home on the land grant in western New-York. He held various public positions, and was a delightful companion; his sallies of wit often caused outbursts of laughter from General Washington himself. He married a daughter of Chief Justice Yates. Their daughter Mary was a favorite with Halleck and Irving, and, like her father, noted for her wit. EDITOR.

Amid these clearly defined particulars, some of them obviously useful, yet requiring only moderate sums, it is somewhat surprising to observe two very vague items, yet with large sums opposite to them: these are "contingencies," twenty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty dollars, and "city contingencies," seventy-five hundred dollars. The question naturally arises, What could these large contingencies have been? Tammany was then in existence; was already eleven years old, in fact. But it had not developed into the Tammany of these later decades of the nineteenth century. If it had, we should not be at a loss to understand why thirty-seven thousand dollars should have been voted for purposes so curiously unexpressed. Still, this sum cannot alarm the New-York mind of the present day. The whole city budget, as just enumerated, reached only one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. With an addition of but ten or fifteen thousand to this amount the city to-day maintains one institution — its pride and boast — the College of the City of New-York.

At the time that is now under notice events of the most exciting nature had been and were transpiring abroad,— across the Atlantic Ocean,— which had an influence upon opinions and passions within our republic so great and powerful as to shake our government to its very foundations. New-York city shared in these agitations, and became the scene of many outbreaks of sympathy with or antagonism against the European nations with whom the republic came most closely into contact. It will be remembered that the year of the inauguration of Washington was that also of the beginning of the French Revolution. In adopting the policy of aiding the American colonies, the French king and ministry had, figuratively speaking, unwittingly seized hold of that curious Australasian implement, the boomerang. Popular rights could not be sustained in America without awaking attention to their reality in principle; and this would emphasize the glaring lack of their application to the population of France. No remedy could finally suggest itself to French statesmen to allay the distress of their nation but the calling of the States General of the kingdom, a body which it had not been thought necessary to call together for nearly two hundred years. Less than a week after Washington's inauguration, or on May 4, 1789, this body met at Versailles. After this first step events moved with great rapidity; the Bastille fell on July 14 of this same year, and in the next month were abolished the unjust exemptions and privileges by which the nobility and clergy, holding most of the wealth of the nation, escaped the burdens of taxation and cast their crushing weight upon the poor and the untitled classes. An avalanche had been set in motion which no power could stop. Soon came the Reign of Terror, and, in January, 1793, or about six weeks before the end of Washington's first term, Louis XVI. was led, like a common felon, to the guillotine.

The republic of France was now a fact, and this filled with extreme delight many people on this side of the Atlantic, who only remembered that the French armies had aided to establish our own, and who did not regard what were the fundamental principles of this new republic as compared with that of the United States. It was forgotten that license and cruelty and ferocious tyranny of the worst kind had established the French republic; it was enough that it was a republic at all. But many here were wiser than this. Washington and Hamilton and Jay, and men of that stamp, with just as much gratitude for what France had done for the United States in the past, could only look with abhorrence upon the wrong she was doing to herself and to the cause of human liberty at present. Unhappily, these sentiments, so diametrically opposed, were now made to enforce differences bitter and radical upon questions of home government. The federalists, the supporters of the administration, being known to be out of sympathy with the movements in France, the anti-federalists, or republicans, with the greater zest threw their sympathies headlong and recklessly on the side of the most violent red-republicanism.

After the death of the king it became a serious diplomatic question what should be done about recognizing a minister sent out by the new government. But, almost while Washington and his cabinet were considering how to act, Edmond Charles Genêt, the new French minister, was landing at Charleston, South Carolina. If the president and his party were hesitating, their opponents had fully made up their minds. They hailed "Citizen" Genêt, scorning to employ any other title, with demonstrations of extravagant joy; his progress from his place of arrival to Philadelphia was that of a conquering hero. Cavalcades of gentlemen went forth for miles out of the towns through which he was expected to pass, to escort him. As the minister representing the monarchical régime was duly recalled, and as there was no government in France except that represented by Genêt, there was no objection to receiving his credentials. But the citizen seemed to look upon this simple and entirely non-committal act of international comity as a complete surrender of the American republic to the cause of her sister across the sea; as if a league offensive and defensive was thereby concluded against all the latter's enemies, which then meant a large portion of the European world. Genêt proceeded to issue letters of marque and reprisal for privateers, and undertook not only to convert American vessels with their American crews into French vessels of war, but he forthwith encouraged attacks on British vessels actually within our waters, and claimed them as prizes of war. When Washington indignantly objected, the French minister insolently replied to his strictures, and continued his outrageous work. He dared to appeal to the people against their president. But now came a reaction. Misled by the senseless adulation of himself as the representative of the bleeding republic of France, Genêt had allowed himself to go to the extent of defying Washington. Genêt's most violent admirers then began to open their eyes to the falsity of their position. Washington demanded his recall, and the request was acceded to. But, while Genêt the minister was no more, Genêt the man remained, and settled in New-York. He had married a daughter of Governor Clinton, who, as a republican, was of course one of his partizans. As he had been sent out by the Girondist faction, who in 1794 were exterminated by the Jacobins of the Mountain, it was not quite safe for him to return to France. In retirement and obscurity, he passed his days in his adopted country, residing in this city, and dying here in 1836.

E C Genet

It was to be expected that amid this ferment of feeling, prevalent throughout the country, in regard to events in France and the actions of the French minister in America, some striking episodes would occur in New-York city, the principal harbor of the Union. The ship that had conveyed Genêt to these shores, the frigate L'Ambuscade, left Charleston soon after landing him there, and proceeded northward. She varied the monotony of her coastwise passage by chasing British merchant vessels. Entering the Delaware, she found a British ship, the Grange, lying far up the bay, waiting for a favorable wind to put to sea. The Frenchman sent a solid shot into her rigging, which induced the English captain to strike his colors, and the Grange was taken as a prize to Philadelphia. The government promptly ordered her to be restored. L'Ambuscade, after spending some weeks at Philadelphia, went to New-York, arriving there in June, 1794. The citizens here had had no opportunity as yet of manifesting their esteem for Minister Genêt; but now all their pent-up enthusiasm for the French republic was devoted to a warm reception of Citizen Bompard, the captain of L'Ambuscade, and his officers and crew. At the same time it fanned into fresh flames the antagonism between the political parties. As the one became ultra-French in the presence of the Frenchmen, the other became more than reasonably excited against the license of republicanism. "The peace of the coffee-houses was destroyed," is the sententious and significant observation of a recent historian.

MME. EDMOND C. GENÊT.

At the Tontine Coffee-house in Wall street, near Water, a liberty-cap made of crimson silk was displayed, bearing the inscription "Sacred to Liberty." This in itself was a sufficiently innocent action; but there went a defiance with it. The "democrats," as the French party called themselves, dared the "aristocrats" to take it down; the aristocrats, by the way, being such no further than that they upheld the administration, and wished it continued under the guidance of the "best men," instead of a Jacobin rabble. This party were not slow to respond with a declaration that down the cap would have to come. The threat and the defiance produced no actual altercations; but the two parties closely watched each other, and crowds of men, hundreds at a time, kept constantly near or in front of the building. Doubtless it would have taken but a slight spark to ignite the magazine.[1] In fact, though violence was avoided in the present instance, the newspapers of the day record frequent brawls at other occasions and times. The sailor element of New-York had always been a turbulent one, from the good old days of the "protected" pirates down; and amid these stirring times they were not likely to be more quiet than usual. One day, at the Tontine, a British naval officer, who had doubtless taken something stronger than coffee, launched out into a tirade against the French and their republic. The dignified merchants, who most did congregate there, took decided umbrage, and the offending Englishman was "hustled into the street." A little later, on a Sunday morning, a company of British tars, off on furlough, encountered a number of French man-of-war's-men, also on recreation bent. A conflict was inevitable, and there might have been some fatalities had not the bystanders interfered.

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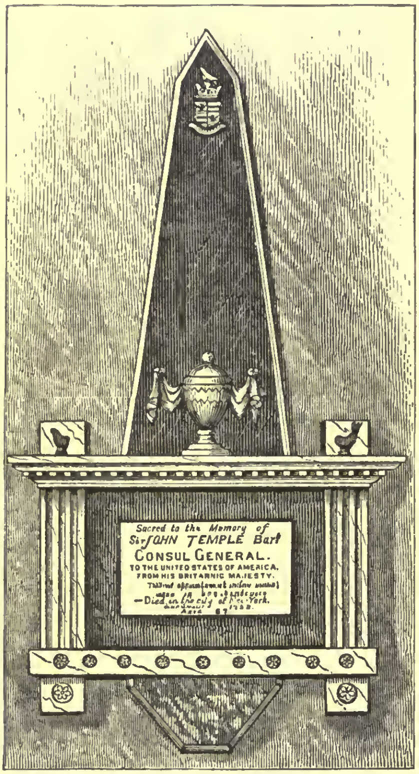
[1] "History of the People of the United States," John B. McMaster, 2: 105, 106.

The French frigate L'Ambuscade figures once more in an episode that has a great deal of the chivalrous and dashing about it, such as we naturally associate with men who follow the sea. While she lay at anchor in the bay, a report came that a man-of-war had come to an anchorage off Sandy Hook. Ere long the bulletin-boards of the Tontine Coffee-house bore words of warlike import. The French republicans, as is well known, then scorned all titles of distinction. The royal family were now merely Capets. Even "monsieur" or "madame" was an insult to the perfect equality now established among all men. The absurdity was carried even into the army and navy. Minister Genêt was only Citizen Genêt, and Captain Bompard repudiated that distinctive epithet, which one would think almost indispensable on board ship, and called himself Citizen Bompard. The practice had been caught up by the enthusiasts of the republican party in the United States, and there were serious discussions as to what should constitute the feminine counterpart to citizen, as Mr. and Mrs. were no longer to be tolerated. With fine irony the captain of the English frigate lying at Sandy Hook, adopting the mode of address now in vogue, announced that he—neither Captain nor Citizen, but Subject Courtney—would be glad to meet Citizen Bompard outside the legal limit of three leagues at sea within ten days. The challenge was, of course, accepted. People flocked to the shores of Long Island, Staten Island, and New Jersey to observe the combat, which took place beyond the range of vision, but not beyond that of hearing. The French frigate remained the victor; Courtney was killed, but his vessel, outsailing L'Ambuscade, escaped capture. It may be imagined that the result highly excited the friends of France in the city. To add to their enthusiasm, a French fleet of fifteen sail entered the harbor while L'Ambuscade was still in pursuit of her defeated antagonist. Thereupon for many days there were fêting and the singing of the many stirring patriotic songs of republican France, some of which were now sung also to English words.

International relations at this period furnished another cause for excitement, agitation, and partizan bitterness. The love of France involved the hatred of England. That antipathy to the old mother-country was, of course, a legacy also of the Revolution; and it was not strange that friction growing out of mutual misunderstanding or partial violation of treaty obligations should have kept alive hostile feelings. Yet it is obvious that, in the very nature of things, success for the government and prosperity for the people lay in the direction of English methods and English commerce far more than in the direction of those of France. At heart, essentially, the daughter could not repudiate her origin and expect to live as a nation. The friends of strong government, the federalists, knew this very well; and whatever dislike of England may have possessed them, they were not blind to the advantages of her political principles, or of a well-established commercial connection with her. This entirely consistent position afforded a fine field for the demagogues, and to call the federalists the friends of England was their common custom, and the easiest as well as surest way of exciting the anger of an unthinking multitude against them. This charge would be especially calculated to arouse popular fury in the midst of the excitements produced by the actions of Minister Genêt.


Sacred to the Memory of
Sir JOHN TEMPLE Bart
CONSUL GENERAL.
TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
FROM HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.
—Died in the city of New-York.

THE TEMPLE MONUMENT.

Just at this juncture, in the spring of 1794, President Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay as special envoy to England, to negotiate a treaty of commerce. A special mission was a necessary expedient, as complete diplomatic relations with our republic had not yet been assumed on the part of England. Her official representative in America was still Sir John Temple, consul-general at New-York.[1]

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[1] Sir John died in 1798, and was buried in St. Paul's Church on Broadway, where was also erected the monument of which an illustration appears in the text. His father was Captain Robert Temple, of the English army, who came to New England in 1717, married Mehitabel Nelson, of Boston, and at his death in 1754 left three sons, of whom John was the second. The latter was born in Boston in 1732, became surveyor-general of the customs and lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and just before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War was recalled because of his sympathy with the colonists. His marriage with Governor Bowdoin's daughter has been noticed in the previous chapter. In 1786 he succeeded a distant kinsman in the ancient baronetcy of his family. Sir John left four children, of whom the second, Elizabeth Bowdoin, married the Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop. Of her numerous children, the only survivor at present is the well-known patriot and statesman, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston.

The task before Jay was a difficult and delicate one; it would have been so under any circumstances, but knowing what was the state of feeling in his own country, the work intrusted to him was peculiarly trying. But perhaps no better man could have been chosen to do it than he; his purity of motive so transparent, his patriotism so lofty and unselfish, his judgment so clear and just, his desire to promote the good of his country so completely absorbing any meaner or narrower ambitions of a personal nature, that these qualities irresistibly impressed even English statesmen with the conviction that what he felt to be just and advantageous for both countries must in reality be so. Indeed, the marvel was that Jay obtained so many concessions, which were really of more immediate advantage to the United States, although, in the end, the profit of them to both countries would become apparent. But the mortal offense had been committed of retaining the friendship of England, of having conciliated instead of exasperating her by a useless display of impotent anger. France, the ancient ally, had been deserted; and England, the oppressor and foe, had been courted.

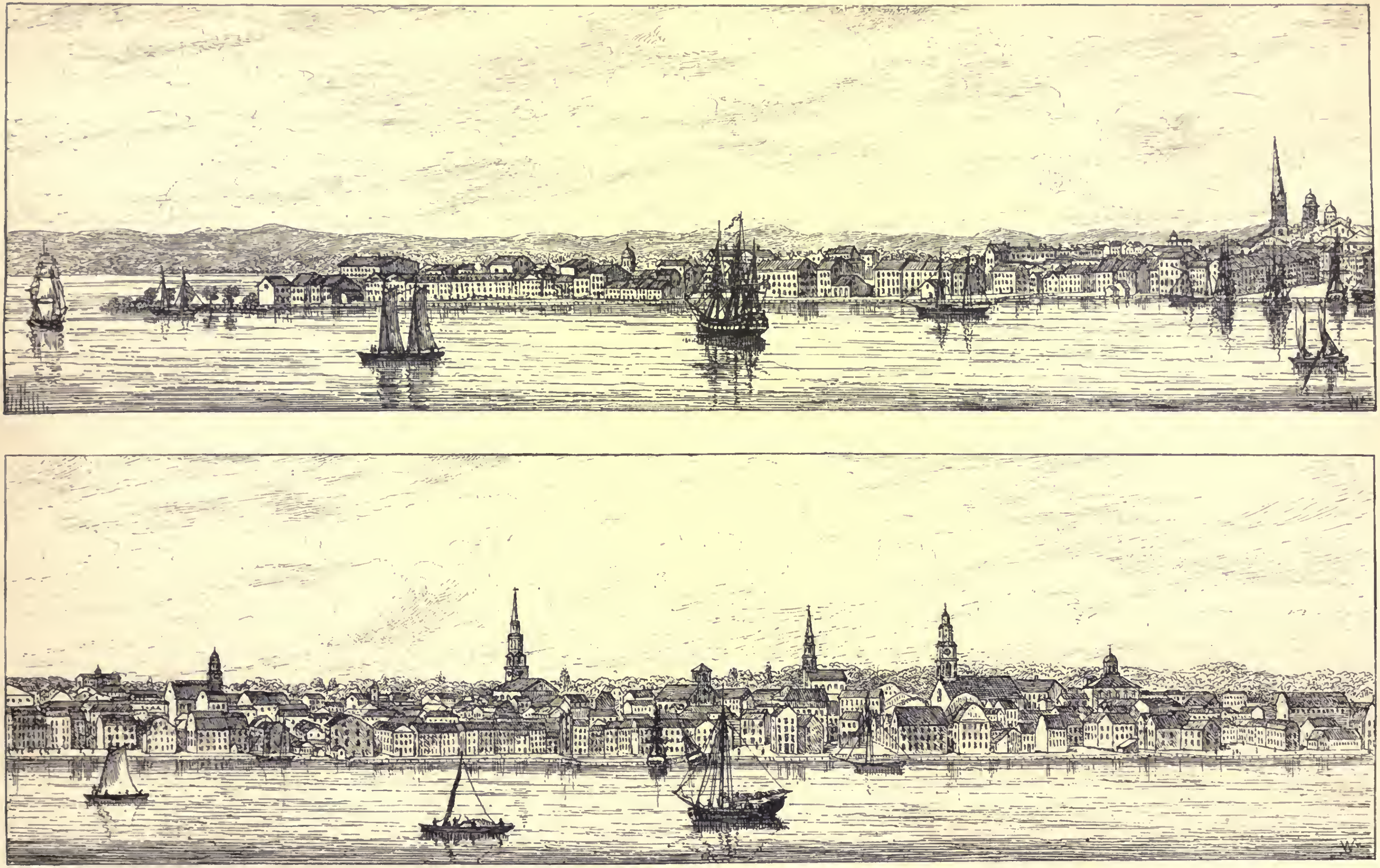
A storm of indignant abuse rewarded the distinguished and high-minded negotiator for his pains, and met him on his arrival in New-York in the summer of 1795. He was accused—it was hardly possible to conceive a man more incorruptible by gold than he—of having sold his country. He was represented in caricatures, and burned in effigy at Philadelphia and New-York. In New-York and Boston mass-meetings were held and resolutions passed condemning the treaty before those presuming to sit in judgment had even had an opportunity to read it. The mass-meeting in New-York was held in front of the City Hall, and both Mayor Varick and Secretary Hamilton attempted to control it, or bring it to reason. Edward Livingston, afterward mayor, was called to preside. When there was offered a motion for adjournment, the wildest confusion prevailed. Hamilton, who had never failed to command attention or to sway a crowd by his eloquence, attempted to address the people from the front steps of his own house, on the corner of Wall and Broad streets. But the populace was too greatly excited to listen to him; stones began to fly, and

The above is an illustration of a stone found in digging a trench along the north wall of the City Hall, on July 19, 1892. It is about two feet long, eighteen inches wide, and about one foot deep. Its significance is doubtful. The inscription "R. Varick, Esqr., Mayor, 1796," cannot be meant for a tombstone, as he did not die till 1831. Nor was this site even thought of for a City Hall till after 1801, when he yielded the chair to a successor. It may have formed part of a wall of one of the buildings near this spot, such as the Bridewell, which was taken down later.

as one struck the immovable secretary on the forehead, he quietly observed: "If you use such striking arguments, I must retire." And retire he did, the mob also soon hastening away from the spot to the Bowling Green, where they burned copies of the treaty and unfurled the French flag. But Hamilton was not so easily overcome; in a characteristic manner he set himself to the task of arguing down this senseless opposition. "Publius," once of the "Federalist," was transformed into "Camillus" four days after the unruly mass-meeting; and the essays that came from his powerful brain soon brought the nation back to reason.

The treaty was ratified by the senate. Then the president was assailed by petitions from all parts of the land not to sign it. Washington, however, was not to be confused by the noise, nor to be moved by the violence of this storm of thoughtless opposition, any more than he was wont to be by the noise and fury of a battle. He saw the country's good clearly before him; he knew that this treaty, with whatever imperfections it might be burdened, would certainly secure that good, and his duty thus standing out undimmed before him, he was not the man to swerve from it. And reason, too, began to reassert herself among the people. The merchants of the country, laying aside political prejudice and perceiving the great advantages to American commerce which the terms of the treaty secured, everywhere expressed their approval, and their petitions, sent in to the president, served to offset the previous condemnation. The New-York Chamber of Commerce was among the first to place itself on record in favor of the measure. A special meeting was called for July 21, 1795, to consider that "which particularly agitated the public mind, the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain." In the minute-book the meeting is described as "the most respectable ever held in the Chamber of Commerce (upwards of seventy members being present). After the treaty was read, resolutions approving thereof were adopted with only ten dissenting voices." The president, as is well known, finally signed the treaty, and its provisions became law, with some important modifications, and the omission of the article on West India trade.

In the midst of the violent discussions about the treaty, Jay was nominated and elected governor of the State; this important event taking place before his return from England. On May 28, 1795, he arrived in the city, and on July 1 he was duly inaugurated. On July 2, by a breach of senatorial etiquette, or the violation of his oath of secrecy by one of the senators of the United States, the text of the treaty was published in the newspapers. But Jay was now secure in his seat of honor; and it is doubtful whether the knowledge of the actual text would have injured him more than the misrepresentations



NEW-YORK IN 1798.[1]

based on mere rumors in regard to its provisions. Perhaps one reason why the election went against Governor Clinton was the shameful counting out of Jay in 1792. It is a trite saying that history repeats itself. Is it of the fall of 1891, or the spring of 1792, that we read: "At the election it was soon discovered that the votes for Jay outnumbered those for Clinton. But a returning board, a joint committee of the legislature of whom the majority were Clintonians, found the returns from three counties, which notoriously had gone Federalist, were technically defective"?[1] The majority thus secured for Clinton showed but a paltry figure of one hundred and eight votes. In 1795 Jay's majority over Robert Yates was nearly sixteen hundred; and on his reëlection in 1798 he was victorious over Robert R. Livingston by nearly twenty-four hundred.

These gubernatorial contests and their results were of much more consequence to New-York city as a part of its history then than now, because it was still the State capital. It involved no change of residence to the governor now elected, therefore, except from one end of the same street to another. In the directory for 1789, Jay's house is placed at 133 Broadway, the last or highest number on that thoroughfare then. As governor he would be obliged to transfer his household gods to the government mansion opposite the Bowling Green, whose noble proportions closed the pleasing vista as one looked down Broadway toward the bay, and from whose windows in turn a view would be gained up that street, terminated by the green fields and spreading shade-trees of the common or the park. During the whole of Jay's first term he occupied this mansion. The headquarters of the federal government had been removed to Philadelphia toward the close of 1790, even before this building intended for the use of the chief of the nation was completed. Therefore the governor and Mrs. Jay reassumed the leading position in the social life of New-York which had been theirs while Jay was secretary for foreign affairs under the Continental Congress, which made him the chief entertainer of the diplomatic corps. But even the subordinate glory — if it were a glory — of being the capital city of a State was taken away from New-York, and in January, 1798, the seat of government was removed to the more centrally located city of Albany.

Some matters enacted by the governor and legislature during this period are of such profound interest or vital importance that no apology will be needed for a brief reference to them in this history. Treating them cumulatively from less to greater, it is to be noted that the proclamation of a Thanksgiving Day was initiated for this State by Governor Jay. It was announced as an expression of gratitude for the cessation of the yellow-fever plague of 1795, of which more anon, and appointed for Thursday, November 26. Political opponents, on the alert for faultfinding, bitterly censured this act of Jay's. It was deemed of a piece with his aristocratic or federalist notions of government—much in excess of his prerogatives as an executive officer. Perhaps it was; perhaps it is such on the part of the president from year to year. It may be an infringement upon the rights of conscience of those who believe in no God. But as long as we are not a nation of atheists, public sentiment will sustain the proclamation, though it be extra-constitutional. There is no record that the political cavil of 1795 interfered with its hearty observance by the people.

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[1] "John Jay," by George Pellew, p. 276.

Another singular instance of the repetition of history, even in our own city, is furnished by the following citation: "The governor incurred still further odium by refusing to order the flags to be hoisted on Governor's Island and the Battery on the anniversary of the Tammany Society; the reason he gave was, that 'if such a compliment be paid to the Tammany, it ought not to be refused to any other of the numerous societies in this city and State.'"[1] Yet Tammany was then still an American society, insisting upon the display of no foreign flag. In spite of the federalist governor of 1796, and a Democratic mayor nearly a hundred years later, the very last St. Patrick's Day proved the futility of common sense and fairness in the face of influences that govern votes to-day. In this same year (1796) was built a penitentiary in this city, on the model of that in Philadelphia; while, equally under the directing thoughtfulness of the governor, the idea was given shape of establishing a safe retreat for sufferers from contagious disease. Bedlow's Island was deemed a favorable spot for establishing a hospital for such. But what was of a more permanent influence upon morals and manners—a change was made in the penal code. Governor Clinton had suggested a reduction in the number of offenses that were to have the punishment of death attached to them. Jay took up this good work and pushed it to final action, so that a revision of the code was accomplished.

In the governor's message to the legislature in January, 1796, in which the building of the penitentiary was recommended, there was no recommendation of the abolition of slavery. Jay was known, however, to be in favor of that cause, was identified with men in France who were agitating abolition, and M. Brissot de Warville, the French patriot and journalist, who was guillotined with a number of fellow-Girondists in 1793, came to America in 1789, specially commended to Jay as a friend of the blacks (*ami des noirs*). In the session of January, 1796, a bill was introduced by a near friend of the governor's which called for abolition. It is a remarkable circumstance that it obtained a tie vote in committee of the whole. The chairman's casting-vote was against it, and hence it was lost. But in 1799 the subject was revived, and the cause of emancipation in New-York was carried to success. In April a bill was brought before the legislature providing that all negro children born after July 4 ensuing should be free. They must serve an apprenticeship till a certain age —twenty-eight in the case of males, and twenty-five in that of females. Meantime the exportation of slaves from the State was prohibited. The rock upon which all former efforts of this kind had suffered shipwreck had been the difficult and delicate question of compensation for the dissolution of human chattels with a price into human beings representing no price. But the scheme of gradual emancipation avoided this peril and secured the great and noble end.

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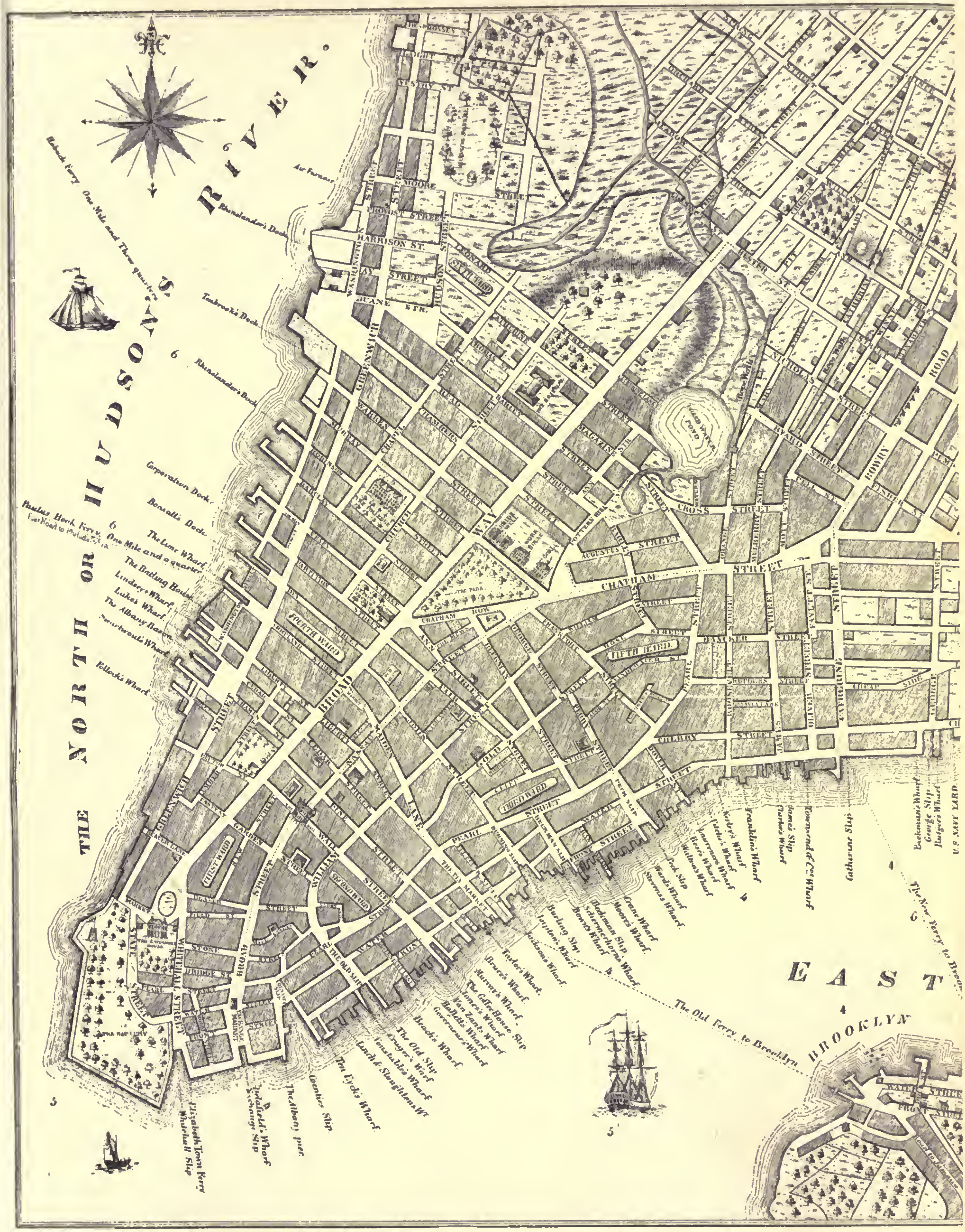
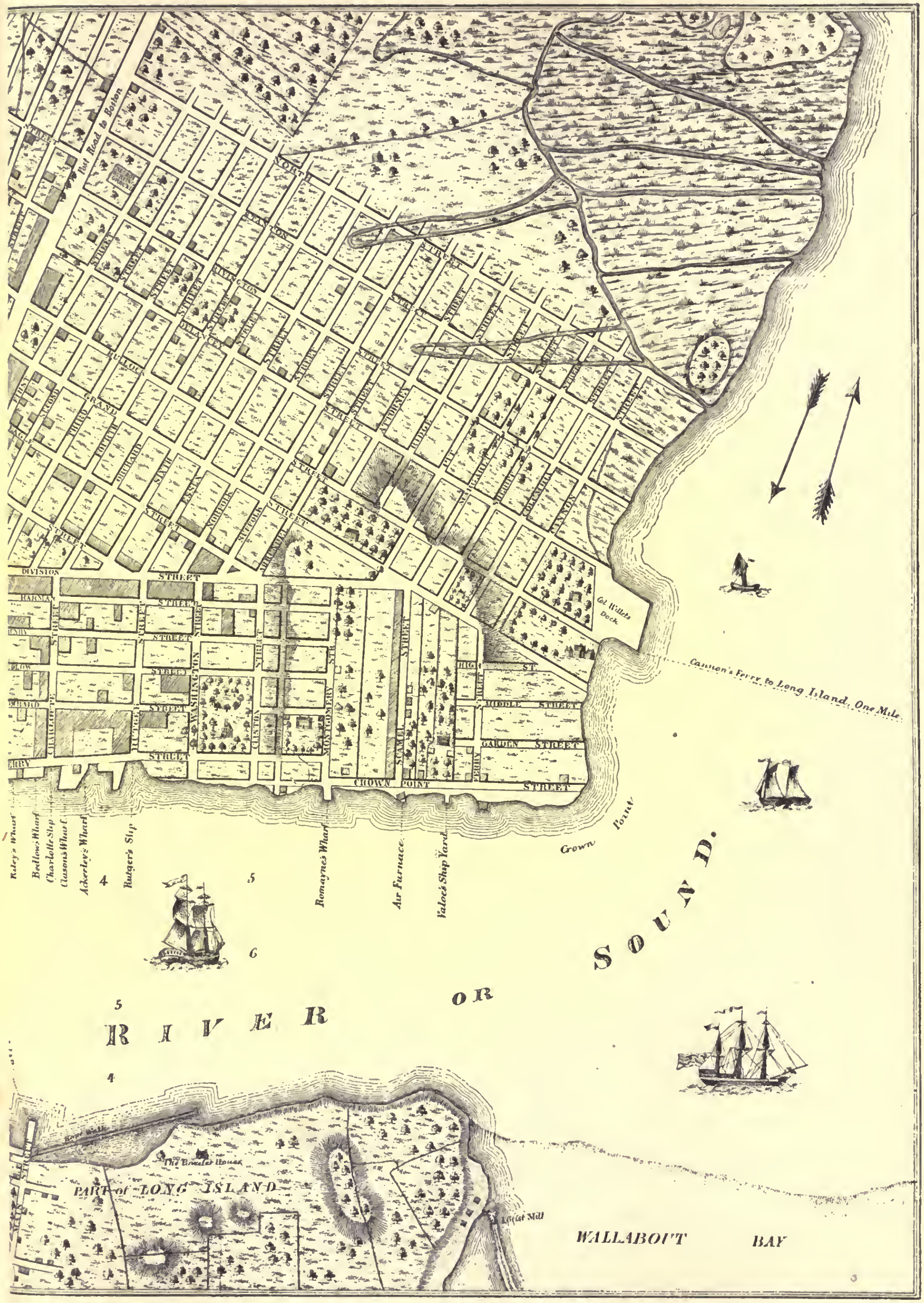
[1] Pellew's "Jay," p. 325.

Washington's first term ended in March, 1793; the close of his second falls within the limit of this chapter. The election of candidates took place in 1796, and the removal of the great name of Washington at once wrought confusion. The federalist candidates, John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, failed together to exceed the votes of the republicans. Adams received only three more votes than Thomas Jefferson, and Pinckney was left out. Thus John Adams, the federalist, became president, and Jefferson, the republican, vice-president. But in all this New-York city bore no part of special significance. It was different with the next presidential election; then some of her most brilliant citizens wrought mightily to turn the scale of events within her borders, and city and State became the pivot on which the results for the nation turned. Now, too, rises into national prominence for the first time the name of Aaron Burr. His father was the Rev. Aaron Burr, president of Princeton College; his mother was a daughter of the famous divine, Dr. Jonathan Edwards. But when scarce three years old death had deprived him of both parents. Somewhere and somehow a wrong moral twist was given to his education. Yet he was a man of brilliant parts and fascinating manners. He had served with distinction in the Revolution, was for a brief period a member of Washington's official family, but resigned from the army in 1779, and devoted himself to the law. He was sent to the State legislature; he was United States senator from 1791 to 1796; now in 1800 he comes forward as a presidential candidate.

Jay, the federalist, had secured the election of governor twice, in 1795 and in 1798. But in the latter year the republicans gained largely in the elections for the legislature, there being a majority of twenty-eight for their side in the assembly, and having reduced the federalist majority in the senate to eight. This result was attributed to the skill and astuteness of Burr. By means of a wide personal acquaintance and a shrewd estimate of men, he knew how to use their very



MAP OF THE CIT


Post Road to Boston
NORTH
STANTON
RIVINGTON
DELANCEY
BULLOCK
GRAND
FIRST
SECOND
THIRD
FOURTH
ORCHARD
SIXTH
ESSEX
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
ATTORNEY
RIDGE
PITT
COLUMBIA
CANNON
DIVISION STREET
HARMAN STREET
WASHINGTON
CHARLOTTE
RUTGER STREET
CLINTON
MONTGOMERY STREET
SCAMMEL STREET
HIGH ST
MIDDLE STREET
GARDEN STREET
CROWN POINT STREET
Col. Willets Dock
Cannon's Ferry to Long Island, One Mile
Rikey's Wharf
Bedlow's Wharf
Charlotte Slip
Clason's Wharf
Ackerley's Wharf
Rutger's Slip
Romayne's Wharf
Air Furnace
Valoe's Ship Yard
Crown Point
4
5
6
5
4
RIVER OR SOUND.
Rope Walk
The Bowler House
PART of LONG ISLAND
Grist Mill
WALLABOUT BAY

Y IN 1797.

peculiarities and temperaments for his purposes. The indifferent he succeeded in placing at work; to the zealous he gave direction in their enthusiasm. The republican victory in the spring foreshadowed a republican victory on national issues in the autumn, and if New-York were gained for the anti-federalists, the federalist candidates were doomed to failure. Hence Burr was rewarded for his energetic conduct of the State campaign by being placed in nomination for the national office of president or vice-president. It was at this time never quite certain who would become president and who vice-president. The intention might be to relegate a man only to the lower dignity; but if a few more of the electors had another purpose in mind, or even another man for president, the intended vice-president would be returned finally as chief magistrate. So real was this danger that Hamilton was at one time afraid that Adams might be elected in place of Washington, and his advice to divert a few votes from Adams to prevent this false step was the ground for the subsequent unhappy differences between these two great men, involving the final overthrow of the federalist power.

MRS. WILLIAM JACKSON.[1]

Burr had his mind set on securing the presidency himself, and to beat Jefferson, and largely to his efforts, questionable and otherwise, the success of the republican party was due. Hamilton exerted himself to the utmost to counteract these efforts; but in Burr's line of action he was more than a match for Hamilton. He was a master of intrigue and quite unscrupulous. Ward politics were bound to play an important part in an election which was to turn upon the vote of the State or city of New-York; and in ward politics Hamilton was helpless and Burr a giant. "Hamilton was no match for his antagonist. . . . With voice and pen Hamilton maintained the conflict.

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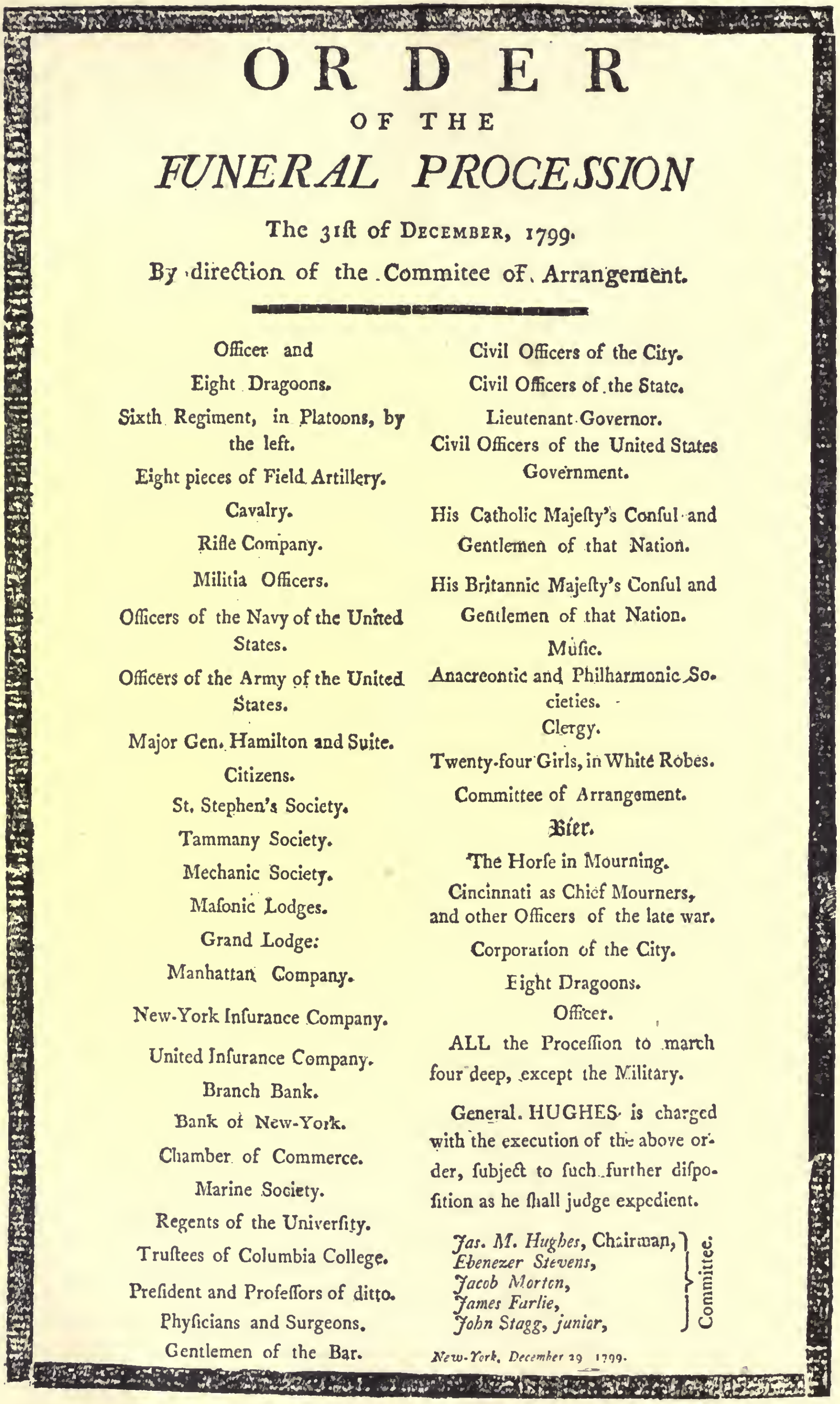
[1] Mrs. William Jackson, *née* Elizabeth Willing, was a sister of Mrs. Bingham, of Philadelphia. Both ladies were distinguished for their beauty and accomplishments. The above picture is copied from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart. Her husband, Major Jackson, was born in England in 1759, came to America; was educated in Charleston, S. C., appointed aide to General Benjamin Lincoln, and fought on the patriot side in the Revolution. He was one of Washington's aides while president, in New-York; and Surveyor of the Port in Philadelphia in 1796. From 1800 till his death he was secretary of the Society of the Cincinnati.



ORDER
OF THE
FUNERAL PROCESSION

The 31ſt of DECEMBER, 1799.

By direction of the Commitee of Arrangement.

Officer and
Eight Dragoons.
Sixth Regiment, in Platoons, by the left.
Eight pieces of Field Artillery.
Cavalry.
Rifle Company.
Militia Officers.
Officers of the Navy of the United States.
Officers of the Army of the United States.
Major Gen. Hamilton and Suite.
Citizens.
St. Stephen's Society.
Tammany Society.
Mechanic Society.
Maſonic Lodges.
Grand Lodge.
Manhattan Company.
New-York Inſurance Company.
United Inſurance Company.
Branch Bank.
Bank of New-York.
Chamber of Commerce.
Marine Society.
Regents of the Univerſity.
Truſtees of Columbia College.
Preſident and Profeſſors of ditto.
Phyſicians and Surgeons.
Gentlemen of the Bar.
Civil Officers of the City.
Civil Officers of the State.
Lieutenant Governor.
Civil Officers of the United States Government.
His Catholic Majeſty's Conſul and Gentlemen of that Nation.
His Britannic Majeſty's Conſul and Gentlemen of that Nation.
Muſic.
Anacreontic and Philharmonic Societies.
Clergy.
Twenty-four Girls, in White Robes.
Committee of Arrangement.
Bier.
The Horſe in Mourning.
Cincinnati as Chief Mourners, and other Officers of the late war.
Corporation of the City.
Eight Dragoons.
Officer.

ALL the Proceſſion to march four deep, except the Military.

General HUGHES is charged with the execution of the above order, ſubject to ſuch further diſpoſition as he ſhall judge expedient.

Jas. M. Hughes, Chairman,
Ebenezer Stevens,
Jacob Morton,
James Farlie,
John Stagg, junior,
Committee.

New-York, December 29 1799.

His eloquence was unrivaled; his arguments, written and spoken, were unanswerable; but Burr had the votes. New-York was lost to the federalists, and ruin stared them in the face."[1]

But there was one special circumstance, of which Burr rightly or wrongly took advantage, whereby Hamilton was made to stultify his own best eloquence and argument. As a culmination of many years of personal embitterment between President Adams and General Hamilton, the latter imprudently allowed himself to be goaded into writing a letter to Adams in which he severely arraigned the president's public conduct. It was intended to be privately printed and judiciously circulated, so that the other federalist candidate, Charles C. Pinckney, might have votes in excess of Adams and thus be made president. Burr resided at 11 Nassau street, and there three gentlemen met with him one day to read over together the proof-sheets of a remarkable production. It had been procured from the printer, so it is charged, by one of these three, Matthew L. Davis, the friend and confidant and later the biographer of Burr. These four friends carefully noted the contents, and made extracts from it for the press; indeed, according to some authorities, reprinted the whole and sowed it broadcast over the land. It was the most effective campaign document in favor of the republicans that could have been desired. Jefferson and Burr came out of the contest far in advance of the federalist candidates. They each had 73 votes in the electoral college; Adams had 65, Pinckney 64, and Jay 1. There was thus a tie between Jefferson and Burr, throwing the election upon the House of Representatives. How this was conducted, and how it resulted in Jefferson being made president and Burr vice-president, belongs to the story of the next century.

The only other matter of national import which specially involved New-York city, was the brief cloud of impending war with France. After bearing with commendable patience numberless indignities, after making every effort to preserve the peace, the crisis at last came, when no more could be borne with honor, and when all parties agreed that arms must be taken up against the former ally. Then Washington was called from retirement, made lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief; and his first thought was to make as a condition of his acceptance that Hamilton be his next in command. Hamilton's genius had already created the treasury of the United States; he now laid the lines along which must be constructed the navy and army, the militia system of the country, and their mobilization in the event of a war. And among the first things which this illustrious citizen of New-York wished to provide for was the fortification of that seaport. There seemed to be nothing of which his fellow-citizens did not deem him capable. Although not quite within his province in the position to which Washington had called him, Hamilton was requested to draft a plan for these defenses and to superintend their construction. But the war-cloud blew over; except for some brilliant achievements by a few of our men-of-war, no actual hostilities were reached.

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[1] Henry Cabot Lodge, "Alexander Hamilton," p. 227.

Mary Morris[1]

Ere the peace was formally restored, the great figure which this warlike episode had once more bidden to the forefront passed away from the midst of his fond and admiring countrymen. On December 14, 1799, Washington expired at his own home, Mount Vernon. The news of the sudden and unlooked-for demise reached New-York on the 19th, and everywhere the signs of mourning became evident. On the day after Christmas the Chamber of Commerce met in special session "to consider of some appropriate mode of testifying regret for the irreparable loss sustained by the nation." A committee of three was appointed to confer with committees of other organizations and arrange for a public demonstration. This took place on the last day of the year. An imposing procession, the order and composition of which are indicated upon the preceding fac-simile of a broadside of that very day, marched to the chapel of St. Paul's. The funeral urn was carried by eight soldiers upon a bier in the form of a palanquin six feet long by four wide. Bishop Provoost read appropriate prayers, and the oration was delivered by Gouverneur Morris. It was in St. Paul's that the religious exercises of the inauguration had been held, and here Washington had taken a pew and regularly worshiped during his stay in the Franklin House. While living in the Macomb House, near Trinity Church, he attended divine service in the latter edifice. In February, when President Adams had appointed a day of devotion and prayer in commemoration of the great life begun in that month in 1732, all business was suspended in the city. The corporation and the members of the Cincinnati Society attended the Dutch Church, and one of the pastors, Dr. William Linn, said to be the most eloquent preacher in the United States at that time, delivered a eulogy on Washington.

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[1] Mary Philipse Morris was the wife of Roger Morris, who served under Generals Braddock and Loudoun during the French and Indian War. She married him in 1758, and shortly after they occupied the well-known Morris or Jumel mansion, Washington's headquarters in 1776. As her husband was a loyalist, this property was confiscated. She went with her husband to England, and died there in 1825, at the age of ninety-five. She was the daughter of Frederick Philipse, the second lord of the manor. Mrs. Morris was possessed of great force of character, as well as of remarkable beauty of person. It has been said, without much foundation, that Washington himself was at one time greatly impressed with her charms. If he had married her, some think she would have made him a loyalist. EDITOR.

And now we are prepared to take a closer look at the city itself. Having glanced at the world and its agitations during this period — and it was one of the epoch-making periods of the world's history; having seen what effects these agitations abroad, and the events which affected more particularly the republic and the State of which our city formed a part, produced upon the denizens of the commercial metropolis; the task must now be to regard the city strictly *per se*, and see what were its appearance, its population, its trials, its triumphs, and what its people were doing in their local sphere of action. In September, 1796, one possessed of the keen sensitiveness of the artist — not of the pencil, but in music — traveling through the United States, recorded his impressions at the first view of the city in this enthusiastic wise: "The city, as you approach it from the Jersey shore, seems like Venice, gradually rising from the sea. The evening was uncommonly pleasant; the sky perfectly clear and serene, and the sun in setting with all that vivid warmth of coloring peculiar to southern latitudes, illuminated some of the most beautiful scenery in nature, on the North River, and adjacent country. For some minutes all my faculties were absorbed in admiration of the surrounding objects! I never enjoyed a prospect more enchanting."[1] However true may have been the comparison of New-York to Venice as one approaches the city from the bay, the resemblance, of course, would have ceased as the traveler landed.

James De Lancey

The record of another traveler (the Rev. W. Winterbotham) of that period remains to us, and it is pleasant to look upon the appearance of things then through these contemporary eyes. Landing at the southern extremity of the island, the view at once would follow Whitehall street and Broadway, "the most agreeable and convenient part of the city." Ere long the pedestrian would behold on his left, where in former days frowned the fort, an elegant brick building, the governor's house. Beyond it the walk from the Battery led into the broad thoroughfare, seventy feet wide, and rising gently to the north. Besides Trinity Church and Grace Chapel, standing near each other, this street possessed "a number of elegant private buildings." Here dwelt cabinet officers in the days of Washington, and foreign embassies had their homes opposite the Bowling Green. In 1794 the

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[1] "Travels in the United States of America," William Priest (London, 1802), p. 150.

City Hotel was in process of building, on the site of the house of Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, and it was remarked that the slate roof upon it was the first in the country. The roofs were in general tiled, as in the mother-country; but otherwise the Dutch custom of presenting the gable to the street had given way pretty universally to the more modern, or the English, mode of construction. The upper extremity of Broadway was then soon reached. "It terminates, to the northward, in a triangular area, fronting the bridewell and almshouse, and commands from any point a view of the bay and narrows." Beyond the termination of Broadway, possibly beginning at the upper end of the common, or about the present Chambers street, a street extended for a few blocks, to near the present Duane or Worth street, which then was called Great George street. Here on the west side stood the hospital. Broadway impressed not only the English writer we have cited; but Rochefoucauld, fresh from the elegant Paris, is also very enthusiastic in its praise: "There is perhaps in no city of the world a handsomer street than Broadway. By far the greater number of houses are of brick, and many extremely fine. Its elevated position, and its situation near the river, and the beauty of its proportions, render it a choice dwelling-place for the richest citizens"; and of the Battery he says: "This promenade might indeed be kept in better order, and made more agreeable for the purposes for which it is set aside, by the planting of some trees; but even such as it is, its situation places it above all comparison with any other promenade whatsoever."[1]

With almost equal commendation Winterbotham mentions Wall street, Hanover Square, Dock street (now Pearl), and William street. This was then the center of the dry-goods trade. Water street and Pearl (only lately Queen) street are complained of as narrow and low in situation; and that which even now lends a flavor of the quaint and antique to this part of the town, was noted by this writer,—the irregularity of most of the streets. Yet soon after the peace of 1783 the corporation had begun to plan the system of parallel streets, crossing each other at right angles, which now covers the whole of Manhattan Island. At this period, too, the ravages of the fires of 1776 and 1778 had nearly disappeared from view, those parts of the city being "almost wholly covered with elegant brick houses." And care had been taken in grading and paving the streets far beyond previous days; they were "raised in the middle under an angle sufficient to carry off the water to the side gutters, and footways of brick made on each side." Pearl street, however, was too narrow in some places to permit this convenience.[2]

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[1] Voyage dans les E. U. d'A., 7: 132.

[2] W. Winterbotham, "Historical, Geographical, etc., View of the United States of America" (New-York, 1796), 2: 314–320.

As for the buildings which then adorned these streets, most of them are familiar to the reader of the previous pages. Trinity's tower lifted its tall spire above the rest, and the modest Grace Chapel was almost beneath its shadow. In Garden street the old Dutch Church still stood, and here the mother-tongue was still employed in the services, Dr. Gerardus Kuypers preaching to a steadily decreasing number of those who clung to the beloved tongue. In 1803 even this arrangement was abandoned, the audiences being too small, and Dr. Kuypers preached in English thereafter until his death in 1833. It is unnecessary to remind the reader of the other Dutch churches—the New (then called the Middle) on Nassau street, and the North Church on the corner of William and Fulton streets. Long before this, too, the Scotch Covenanters had built a church on the south side of Cedar street, near Broadway, almost in a line, therefore, with the earliest Presbyterian Church in Wall street. As an outgrowth of the latter society a new organization was formed which built a church opposite the common, on the spot occupied now by the "New-York Times" building. At the lower end this same open ground was graced by the close proximity of St. Paul's, which, with St. George's in Beekman street, completed the group of "up-town churches" of those days.[2]

CATO'S HOUSE.[1]

The population of the city toward the close of this century was between fifty and sixty thousand. At the close of the previous century the number was scarcely forty-five hundred.[3] In the year 1756 the number of inhabitants had reached over ten thousand; just before the Revolution (1771) the number was nearly twenty-two thousand; three years after the evacuation it had increased by only about two thousand. But then began a rapid increase, so that in

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[1] For nearly half a century Cato Alexander kept a house of entertainment on the old Boston post road, about four miles from the City Hall. It was the fashionable out-of-town resort for the young men of the day. EDITOR.

[2] The pastors of these churches are mentioned with some particularity in the preceding chapter.

[3] Valentine, in the Manual for 1853, places the figure in 1700 at 4,200; but it was more than that. Winterbotham, op. cit., p. 320, says: It is found by a memorandum in one of the old registers that the number of inhabitants in the city, taken by order of the king in the year 1695, was as follows:

WHITES.		
Men	946	
Women	1,018	
Young men and boys	864	
Young women and girls	899	
		3,727
NEGROES.		
Men	209	
Women	205	
Boys and girls	161	
		575
		4,302

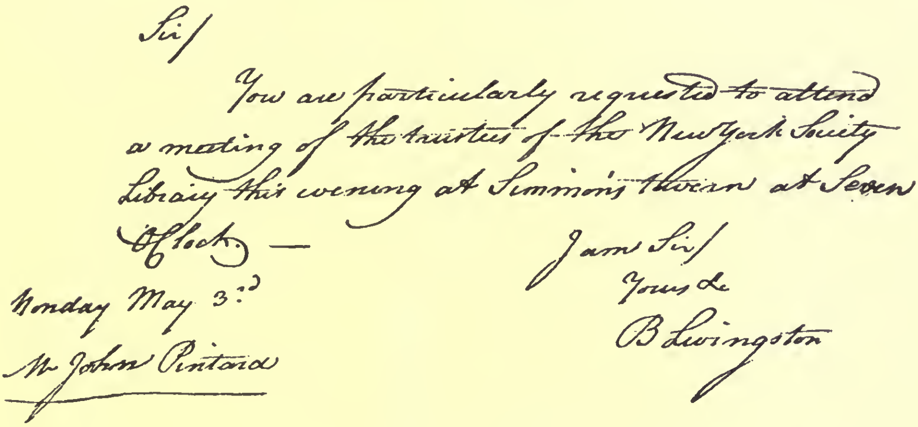
1790 there were over thirty-three thousand; and only ten years later the figures began to approach sixty thousand. This population was compacted together into a space not very extensive. The street farthest up-town was still below Canal street on the west side, and equally so on the east.

The maintenance of sanitary conditions among so many people within so limited a space was ill understood at this time, both in Europe and in America. The better air and less confined conditions on this side of the Atlantic may have prevented, to some extent, the encroachments of a general epidemic. Yet, throughout the eighteenth century, during almost every decade, there was a visitation from that dreadful scourge, the smallpox. If possible, a worse and more fatal plague was that of the yellow fever; and during the last decade of the century New-York was more than once visited by it. It was first present within the city in the year 1791, and carried off General Malcolm and some other prominent citizens; and when Dr. James Tillary described its symptoms to a number of physicians, they declared that they had never heard of it or seen anything like it. Yet, while it did not cause much loss of life, it created sufficient alarm. For when, in 1793, Philadelphia was visited by the fever, the authorities adopted strenuous measures of quarantine against that city. Ships coming thence were forbidden to approach nearer than Bedlow's Island. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed; the proprietors of the stage-coaches were requested to cease running. People were warned against entertaining strangers, or buying bedding at auction.

In the year 1795 the scourge came upon the city, with alarming results. On July 19 the first victim died; he was a cabin-boy aboard a ship coming from Port au Prince, West Indies. The surgeon who attended him died; next the crew of another vessel was attacked, and then a family living on Water street. There arose some doubt afterward as to whether the origin of the infection was to be traced thus; but the fact of its presence was not to be doubted. By October 6 five hundred and twenty-five people had died of the dread disease. In November the appearance of frost caused it to cease; and in gratitude for this Governor Jay appointed Thursday the 26th for a Thanksgiving Day, as already noticed. It would seem that the city was not quite free from the plague, even in the next year, for the musician William Priest, in the book cited above, tells us that, in passing through New Jersey on his way to New-York, he was warned about the yellow fever. "But," he added, "the disease is chiefly confined to one part of the city, and is effectually prevented from spreading at present by the North West wind, which is set in this morning (September 18th) with uncommon severity." As to the efficacy of this wind, he relates a remarkable circumstance occurring while he was at Baltimore during the raging of the same fever. Under date of October 2, 1794, he writes: "A violent cold and penetrating North West wind set in, with uncommon severity, which has entirely stopped the infection." And on October 14: "The inhabitants are returned, and trade is restored to its usual course." It is to be presumed, however, that frost accompanied the wind.

But the climax of calamity from yellow fever was reached in 1798. This was true not only because it raged worse than at any time before in our own city, but because it simultaneously visited Philadelphia, Boston, New London, and seventeen other cities along the Atlantic border, entered Vermont, and infected even the Grand Isles in Lake Champlain. Philadelphia was called upon to mourn over thirty-five hundred victims. It began in New York on July 28 or 29, and the first to succumb was no less a person than the eminent citizen and politician Melancthon Smith, who led the forces of the anti-constitutional party at the ratification convention at Poughkeepsie just ten years before, and who had nobly acknowledged that he was convinced by the arguments of Hamilton. He lived in Front street, near Coenties Slip, on the low made ground which had been rescued from the river. This was, therefore, an unhealthful region generally, and it was no wonder that the fever commenced here. Every one that could fled from the city. Many business men transferred their residences or shops to higher ground, in William street or Broadway, and even this slight change proved of benefit. But as people began to die by the dozen, and two and three dozen, per day, the alarm became wild. The deaths during August amounted to three hundred and twenty-nine. On September 1 twenty-three persons died; on the 19th, sixty-three funerals were counted; for the whole month the death-list ran up to nine hundred and fifty-four. When it was all over, about the middle of November, fifteen hundred and twenty-four people, out of a population of about fifty thousand, had died of the fever; and this did not include those who died after they fled and were attacked outside the borders of city or island.

Out of these evils, however, grew a good: as a result of the scourge in 1795 a system of underground sewerage was at once proposed and speedily carried out. Yet the plague of 1798 was worse than the other, and a yet more frightful visitation was that of 1822. The causes were hard to determine with exactness. No doubt a bilious condition, superinduced by a malarial state of the atmosphere in low places, favored the yellow fever. Hot days, with cool nights and mornings, were thought to favor the spread of the disease. Sudden changes of temperature were deleterious, and these were apt to occur then as well as in these days. Mr. Priest quotes a statement of Jefferson's: "Our changes from heat to cold are sudden and great. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer has been known to descend from 92 to 47 in thirteen hours." And from a New-York newspaper in June, 1796, he made this extract: "Wednesday, the 14th of May, the mercury in Fahrenheit rose to 91 degrees. The Saturday night following there was a severe frost. The next Tuesday and Wednesday the mercury rose to 85 degrees; from the 20th to the 26th it has been nearly stationary, varying only from 60 to 64."[1] Professor MacMaster, after a minute study of contemporary accounts, has presented a most vivid picture of the effect of the prevalence of this epidemic upon the popular mind. Speaking of what was thought a sovereign remedy or preventive against the fever, a certain "vinegar," he remarks: "If the purchaser of the vinegar were a nervous man and tormented with hourly fear of being stricken with the fever, the spectacle he presented as he sallied forth to buy was most pitiable. As he shut his house door he was careful to have a piece of tarred rope in either hand, a sponge wet with camphor at the nose, and in his pocket a handkerchief well soaked with the last preventive of which he had heard. As he hastened along the street he shunned the footwalk, kept in the middle of the horseway, fled down the nearest alley at the sight of a carriage, and thought nothing of going six blocks to avoid passing a house whence a dead body had been taken the week before. If he were so unhappy as to meet a friend on the way, neither shook hands, but, exchanging a few words at a distance, each sought, bowing and scraping, to get to the windward of the other as he passed. When at last the shop was reached,



Sir/

You are particularly requested to attend a meeting of the trustees of the New York Society Library this evening at Simmons's tavern at Seven O'Clock —

I am Sir/
Yours &c
B Livingston

Monday May 3rd
Mr John Pintard

---

[1] William Priest, "Travels," etc., pp. 137, 138.

nothing could induce him to enter while another stood at the counter, or was seen approaching on the street."[1]

In a former chapter mention has been made of the connection between that famous pond or lake, the Collect, and the sanitary condition of the city. Surely the picture drawn by Captain Rutgers in his petition to the king was a dreary one; and when, in 1733, the grant of it and its adjoining lands was conferred upon him, he doubtless proceeded to improve its character as a health resort by the proper drainage, the system of which he had so carefully explained.[2] In 1791 the city purchased whatever title his heirs still claimed to its possession for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, which does not seem a large amount after improving the property and holding it for nearly sixty years. Possibly its reputation for healthfulness had not improved, in spite of the efforts of Captain Rutgers. Indeed, one pitiless historian, mentioning this purchase in 1791, goes on to say: "After becoming an unmitigated nuisance, it was filled up between the years 1800 and 1810." Thus its life would seem to be nearly conterminous with that of the century whose close is under consideration just now. And this now vanished water, made historic by that wanton tragedy which led to the Indian wars, claims in this last decade of the eighteenth century a more than passing notice; for upon its quiet bosom were performed some of the earliest experiments in steam navigation.

William Alexander Duer, the grandson on the mother's side of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, and through her related also to Chancellor Livingston, destined to figure so prominently in a later event of a similar nature, in an address before the St. Nicholas Society on December 1, 1848, gives an interesting account of these experiments, gathered from conversations with eye-witnesses of them. General John Lamb informed him that he saw a trial of a steamboat, with a screw propeller at the stern, in the year 1795. This must have been an early construction of a model carried to greater perfection by John Stevens in 1804. Strange to say, that splendid invention, which has made ocean navigation by steam possible to a degree so astonishing even to-day, was buried in oblivion until 1837, when the idea was once more revived, and then later developed into complete practical efficiency by John Ericsson. In the years 1796 and 1797, Mr. Duer learned that John Fitch also appeared upon the scene and navigated the Collect. He had this information from an old mechanical engineer residing in Williamsburg (Brooklyn). This person was present in the boat and assisted in working the machinery. He recollected that Chancellor Livingston as well as Mr. Stevens were present at the experiments; and also mentioned another gentleman whom he supposed to be Robert Fulton; but, as Mr. Duer properly observes, this could hardly have been possible, as Fulton at this period was studying art under Benjamin West in England. Another statement may be received with caution: namely, that Fitch propelled his boat by means of paddle-wheels at the sides. In some illustrations of this incident such a device appears in the picture of the little steamer. But Fitch did not utilize this means of propulsion. His paddles were huge oars, six on each side, hung upon a cumbersome and lofty framework. At least this was the kind of construction which characterized the boat in which he made a trial upon the Delaware, opposite Philadelphia, at about this same time. Nevertheless, whatever other uncertainties there may be surrounding this subject, the fact seems plain and indisputable that early essays in steam navigation were made on our ancient Collect. It was truly a sufficient distinction that it should have been the scene of such events. First noted in the city's history by a tale of murder, portending greater woes to come, it was a kind fate which associated its closing years with an experiment fraught with such incalculable blessings to humanity, and the final results of which have led more than aught else alone to place this city at the pinnacle of commercial prosperity,—to raise it into the magnificent proportions wherein it now glories.

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[1] "History of the People of the United States," 2: 128.

[2] See page 189 of the previous volume.

In the midst of this material prosperity, already beginning, and in spite of the rise of that commercial spirit of which we sometimes complain in these days, it is pleasant to observe that the citizens of New-York toward the close of the preceding century found time for thinking of the higher needs of man. The countenance given to the invention just noticed is proof of this. It is manifest also, in another way, from the number of societies that were formed at this period for the purpose of advancing the culture of the mind, or the good of unfortunate fellow-men, as well as for mutual aid and encouragement in the pursuit of any particular trade. Thus, besides the Tammany Society, intended to offset the rather aristocratic tendencies of the Society of the Cincinnati, and originally embracing men of opposite parties, there were the Marine Society, the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, the Manufacturing Society: whose designations at once explain their scope and purpose. These were, indeed, closely allied with commerce and trade or the outgrowth of them, yet they marked a disposition toward neighborly helpfulness which kept men from too selfish a pursuit of individual gain, and by so far benefited and ennobled the higher nature. More distinct, however, was the elevation of tone in the creation of such societies as that "for promoting useful knowledge." The members met once a month, and under their auspices numerous lectures were provided on a great variety of subjects,—scientific, historical, literary,—which were largely attended, and, it was noted, particularly so by ladies. Significant is also the fact that thus early there existed a "Society for the Manumission of Slaves and protecting such as have been or may be liberated." It was organized in 1780, and a few years later added to its benevolent operations the establishment of a school for the children of negroes still slaves who had reached the age of nine years. John Jay, to whose heart the subject of abolition was very near, was at one time president of this society.[1]

NEW-YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY, 1795.

Another benevolent object found numerous supporters, with which, however, were mingled again considerations affecting the material progress of the city. In 1794 a society was formed for the purpose of "affording information and assistance to persons emigrating from foreign countries." From this circumstance it appears that a considerable tide of emigration had already begun to set in toward our shores. Young as was the republic, the oppressed multitudes of overcrowded and agitated Europe had already learned to direct their eyes hither as the haven of their hopes, as an asylum of escape from unhappy conditions, and as an arena for the unfettered exercise of noble faculties and useful capacities held in check where

> Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
> And froze the genial current of the soul.

Among these emigrants is to be numbered one whose name now is as widely known as the city to which he came, and whose fortunes indicate the liberal possibilities that lay before these early adventurers. In 1784 John Jacob Astor had come from his little village in Germany, a young man with the world quite shut up against him in his native land, but with the world all before him, with its "open sesame" to pluck and push and skill, in the republic which had but enjoyed its peace for one year. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, or the period of which we now write, he occupied a store or shop at 81 Queen street. This was about midway between Cherry and Monroe, on the east side of Pearl street. Here he sold pianofortes, made by his brother in London, and paid cash for skins of racoons and muskrats. He also sold furs. Not despising the day of small things, greater came to him, and his business and the city grew together.

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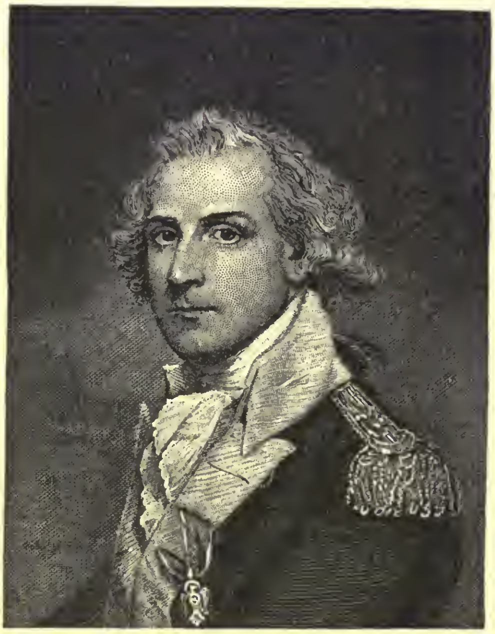
[1] Winterbotham, "View," etc., 2 : 339; T. E. V. Smith, "New-York in 1789," p. 123.



M. Clarkson[1]

Amid the general interest in intellectual culture, it was to be expected that the ancient Society Library would find a promising field for the revival of its operations. Sadly crippled by the ruthless treatment and shameless purloining of its volumes by the British soldiery, it resumed its life after the war by occupying once more its room in Federal Hall, serving then, indeed, as a congressional library also. But in 1795 the association was enabled to erect a neat and handsome building of its own on the corner of Nassau and Cedar streets. Columbia College, showing by its name the transition in affairs which had occurred since it was founded as King's College, was now in a flourishing condition. One hundred students attended its classical curriculum, and there were fifty medical students about this time. The college faculty consisted of a president and three professors. As a central luminary this chief educational institution was attended by several schools, the best among them being the Columbia Grammar School. The Old Dutch Collegiate Church School was in active operation, and over sixty names of teachers appear in the directories of those years.

In this connection it is of great importance to observe that New-York enjoys the honor of having been the place where was published the first novel of America's earliest romance-writer. In 1796 Charles Brockden Brown came from his native city of Philadelphia and settled in New-York. He was perhaps the first American who ventured to adopt literature distinctly as a profession. He married a daughter of the Rev. Dr. William Linn, of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church, and in 1798 published "Wieland; or, the Transformation." It is well to remember this fact, in view of the circumstance that the commercial metropolis is fast becoming also the literary, as it is already the publishing, center of the country. A list of the newspapers issued at this time includes the "New-York Journal," the "Daily Advertiser" (the first daily published in the city), and the "Daily Gazette," also a daily paper, as its name indicates. A few more had been established in former years, but were unsuccessful. Those that remained did not furnish their limited circle of readers with more than a series of advertisements of goods in the shops, or of auction-sales. In the political controversies of the day letters or treatises would be sent in signed by such fanciful names as "Publius," "Camillus" (Hamilton's *noms de plume*), or "William Tell"; but the editors themselves would rarely indulge in leading articles.

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[1] Matthew Clarkson was identified with many notable enterprises of a benevolent or educational character, as appears in the course of the present volume. He enlisted as a private in the war of the Revolution, and served as aide-de-camp in the Burgoyne campaign; and, after the war, became major-general of the State militia. At the period under consideration he was a member of the State legislature sitting in New-York. EDITOR.

Just before the beginning of the last decade of the eighteenth century, Brissot de Warville, the French journalist and traveler, expressed his view of New-York society and manners in these terms: "The presence of Congress with the diplomatic body, and the concourse of strangers, contribute much to extend here the ravages of luxury. The inhabitants are far from complaining at it; they prefer the splendor of wealth and the show of enjoyment to the simplicity of manners and the pure pleasures resulting from it."[1] Another chapter deals with the higher movements of society, in consequence of the attendance of Congress and the establishment of the federal government in this city. But it will be of interest to glance at the more popular amusements of the day. Among these the racing of horses was a great favorite; and we learn that the place where this pleasure was indulged was on the Bowery. The "speedway" began at Chatham Square. Unless four horses could be entered, a race would not be held. Sixteen shillings was the amount of the entrance-money. The prizes were not in purses, but at one time an elegant saddle and bridle would be offered, at another some equally useful article appropriate to the horse. It is not likely that any other mode of speeding the horse was then thought of but that of running, the finer and more difficult qualities of trotting being reserved for a later day.

The hour for the races was invariably one o'clock. When they were over there would be ample time, before sunset of a summer's day, for the more select portion of the spectators to pursue a road leading to the right from Chatham Square toward the East River, parallel to the present East Broadway, until they reached the comfortable Belvedere House. This pleasure resort, or club-house, stood on an eminence at about the corner of Montgomery and Cherry streets, or perhaps in the center of the block bounded by these and Clinton and Monroe streets. The garden would lead down to the river across the space where Water and Front streets have since encroached upon the stream. It was owned by several gentlemen (to the number of thirty-three in 1794), and formed a rural retreat and convenience for small parties. From its broad veranda the view would sweep over the Brooklyn Heights, over Governor's to Staten Island, and the glancing waters of river and bay between; or from the rear the still rural aspects of Manhattan Island would form a pleasing contrast to the river view. In the northern direction from the race-course, along the Bowery road, there would be reached a more popular country resort, the Vauxhall Garden. Earlier in the century this was near the corner of the present Warren and Greenwich streets. But at this time it occupied a spot near where the Astor Library stands, between Lafayette Place and Fourth avenue. This had been a part of the property of Colonel Nicholas Bayard. Indeed, the old Bayard mansion itself had been utilized, and with some slight changes had been converted into a house of entertainment by a Frenchman named Delacroix in 1798.[1] It doubtless failed to equal its London namesake.

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[1] "New Travels," etc., 1: 127.

Theatrical performances had become a fixed feature of the city's life in the period of which we are treating. For a long time they had been steadily opposed and denounced by official action and newspaper criticism. After 1766 and until 1798 the old John street theater was the only theater in the city. But in the latter year the Park Theater was opened, standing opposite the common, in the present Park Row. So far as records industriously compiled show, there seldom or never was rendered a play by Shakespeare. Sheridan's "Rivals" and "School for Scandal" were more than once placed upon the boards; for the rest, most of the plays were by contemporary English playwrights, with an occasional one by an American. Among these early dramatic authors was William Dunlap, historian of the American theater as well as of New-York city. We have, alas! no very favorable account of the behavior of our forefathers at the theater. "In the theatres at the North it often happened that the moment a well-dressed man entered the pit, he at once became a mark for the wit and insolence of the men in the gallery. They would begin by calling on him to doff his hat in mark of inferiority, for the custom of wearing hats in the theater was universal. If he obeyed, he was loudly hissed, and troubled no more. If he refused, abuse, oaths, and indecent remarks were poured out upon him."[2] Surely it could not be a very refined audience where such actions were habitual. Yet, as the admittance was quite costly for those days, it could only have been persons of the better class who were enabled to attend. The common people sought their amusements in different quarters. Thus, traveling acrobats would give exhibitions on the streets or the common. "Philosophers" would perform chemical and electrical experiments, to the great astonishment of the unsophisticated. At one time such a show was advertised at Harlem village, so that a drive thither, or a long healthful walk of seven or eight miles, would be enhanced by this additional entertainment.

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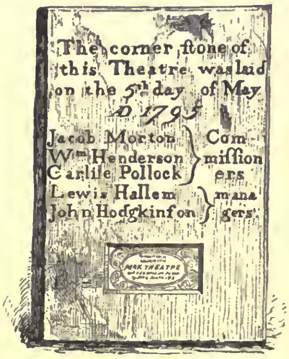
[1] "Appletons' Cyclopedia of American Biography," 1: 198.

[2] MacMaster's "History People U. S.," 2: 549.

Steadily, slowly as yet, but surely, New-York was meantime—amid all the gaieties of society, amid the more solid enjoyments of her literary circles, with a nascent literature and the noble activities of philanthropy—advancing toward her destiny. She was to fulfil the prophecy of her ancient name. She was to be the new Amsterdam of a new republic, based on liberty of government and of conscience, and enriched by commerce. Like her namesake and prototype, deprived of the advantages of being the civil capital of the Federal Union, she was still destined to be the commercial capital and the metropolis. In spite of three or more visitations of the yellow fever, which discouraged trade and scattered abroad its residents, many for a permanent separation, besides carrying thousands to their graves, yet did this little town thrive and grow apace, till it ceased to be a town and approached the condition of a metropolis. The unrivaled advantages of its geographical and topographical situation necessarily made it a commercial center. Such was the conviction of observers who saw it then, before the astonishing results of later years had arrived to justify their opinion. "This city," says Winterbotham, "is esteemed the most eligible situation for commerce in the United States. It almost necessarily commands the trade of one-half of New Jersey, most of that of Connecticut, and part of that of Massachusetts, and almost the whole of Vermont, besides the whole fertile interior country, which is penetrated by one of the largest rivers in America. This city imports most of the goods consumed between a line of thirty miles east of Connecticut river and twenty miles west of the Hudson, which is 130 miles, and between the ocean and the confines of Canada, about four hundred miles; a considerable portion of which is the best peopled of any part of the United States, and the whole territory contains at least eight hundred thousand people, or one-fifth of the inhabitants of the Union. Besides, some of the other States are partially supplied with goods from New-York. . . . In time of peace New-York will command more commercial business than any town in the United States."[1]



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[1] "View of U. S.," etc., 2: 318, 319.

No wonder, then, that the streets of New-York presented a lively appearance. There were then no "down-town" and "up-town," as we have since learned to understand these terms. The attorney, the merchant, the shopkeeper, carried on their business in the house that was also their dwelling, and the daily exile from home and family in order to attend to business was unnecessary. The parts now devoted to business only, where homes, except the humblest, are unknown, were then also the haunts of business, but at the same time presented the more cheery aspect of ordinary habitation, and betrayed the dainty and tidy touch of the housewife. While there were not many shops on Broadway, in William, in Broad, in Wall street, and others, offices and stores and counting-houses were mingled in busy array. There was then as yet no South street. But Water and Front streets had advanced into the river since the century began, and had left Pearl street quite an interior thoroughfare. And here along Front street the great ships lay at their wharves. The North River shore was still comparatively deserted; the wide stretch of the bay seemed too much like the open sea. So between the Battery and Peck Slip was all the wharfage; above this were the ship-yards. In the year 1794 twenty-three hundred and eighty-nine ships and craft of various kinds and sizes are recorded as having cleared the port of New-York. Common sailors commanded good wages—twenty-four dollars a month at least. Indeed, the business brought into town by this increasing trade raised all kinds of wages to a comfortable amount. House-servants, male and female, received from eight to ten dollars a month. "Hatters, two dollars a day. Carpenters, tenpence an hour. Masons, for laying a wall one perch long, one brick high, and eighteen inches thick, were paid fourpence." Rents, too, increased as people came crowding into the busy town, and board at seven dollars a week was considered expensive.

Even then Wall street was the home of the banks. Where now rises the somewhat antiquated building of the Bank of New-York, on the corner of Wall and William streets, its humbler predecessor stood, built in 1798. Before this its business was conducted at 11 Hanover Square, and in 1784 it occupied the famous Walton House. Even speculation was a thing not then unknown. In 1796 La Rochefoucauld writes: "I have learned here that the speculations in grain and in flour have disturbed many mercantile houses, have ruined one of the principal ones, and will probably ruin some others."[1] Yet there was enough solid business done to secure the continuance of prosperity; and in 1799 the Manhattan Company, with its ingenious charter, secured by Aaron Burr, began its career of banking, with but a very secondary attention to a water-supply. As is well known,

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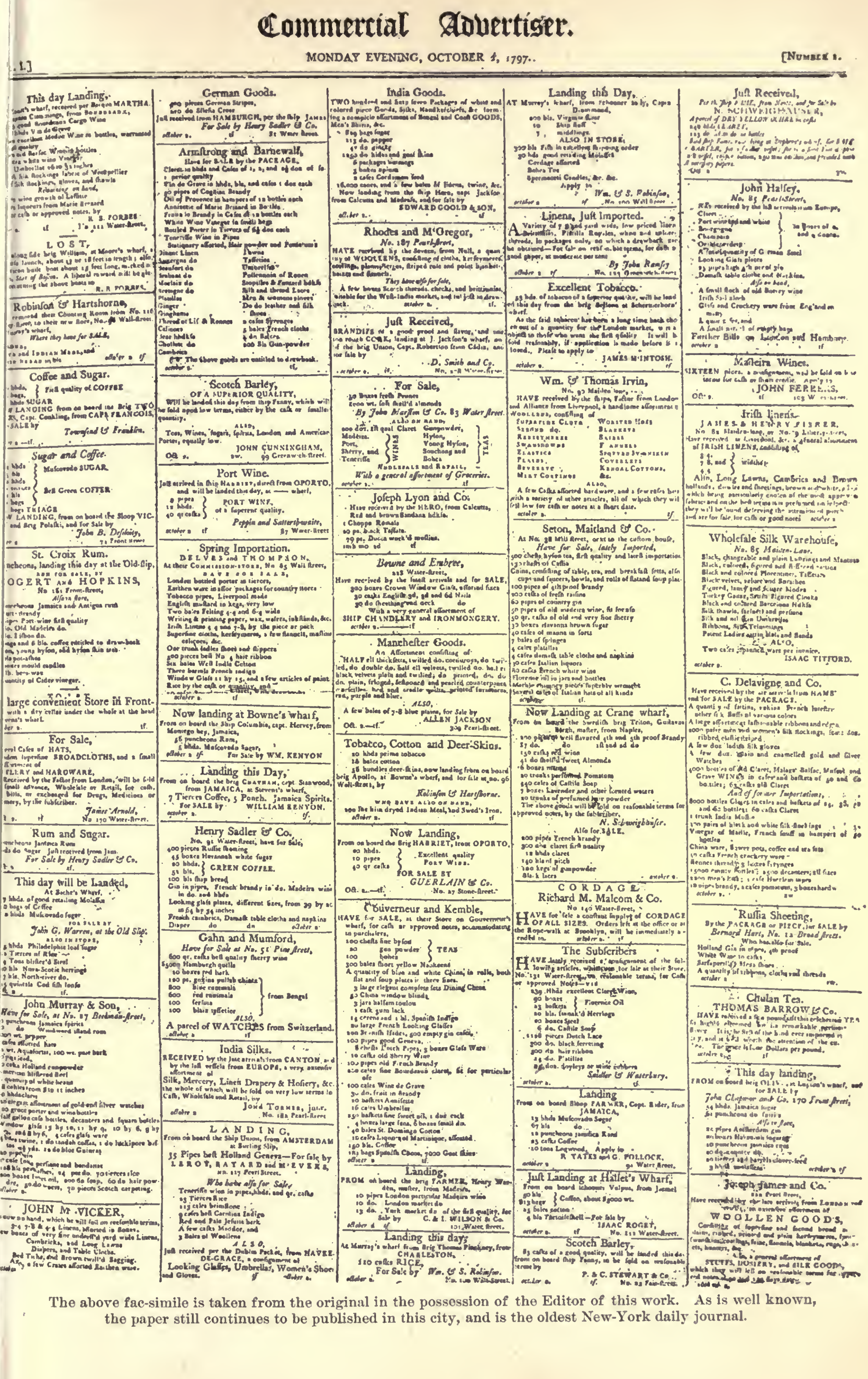
[1] "Voyage," etc., 5: 128.



Commercial Advertiser.

MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 2, 1797.

[NUMBER 1.

The above fac-simile is taken from the original in the possession of the Editor of this work. As is well known, the paper still continues to be published in this city, and is the oldest New-York daily journal.

the latter purpose was ostensibly the main one, put forward because it was feared the federalists would not give banking privileges into the hands of republicans. The increasing commercial transactions demanded the operation of these banks. Their hours were from ten to one, and from three to five, and discounts were made on certain days in the week. As for the money in use, the federal government had properly done away with the English currency, and had established a national system of its own. But although the dollars and cents were much more easily calculated than the pounds, shillings, and pence, the curious persistence of habit is illustrated by the tenacity wherewith people clung to the older system—"and nothing can be more complex, as they have not a single coin in circulation of the real or nominal value of any of them."[1]

It would seem, therefore, as if mercantile affairs involving the handling of large sums, or even the more ordinary interchanges of every-day life, would need to be facilitated by the paper of the banks, or checks drawn upon them. Some of these present a very primitive appearance, and may have been safe enough for the rightful transfer of funds in that unsophisticated age, but would not be trusted for a single moment to-day. But matters were sure to mend as the years advanced. New-York was not yet the money-center of the western world, nor yet the queen of American commerce. Nevertheless, William Priest said of her in 1796: "New-York is a London in miniature—populous streets, hum of business, busy faces, shops in style." Let London look to her laurels! Centuries of undisputed supremacy have been hers hitherto. Before the nineteenth century shall be quite over, the little provincial, lately colonial, town across the seas will be in dangerous proximity to London's greatness, herself vastly increased since the eighteenth century's close.

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[1] William Priest, "Travels," etc., p. 65.

LIST OF HOUSES AND LOTS VALUED AT £2000 AND OVER IN 1799.

Gerard Bancker,	house and two lots,	Pearl st...	£2,300
Robert Watts,	house and lot,	" ...	2,000
Robert Watts,	"	" ...	2,500
Matthew Clarkson,	"	" ...	2,000
Robert Wilson,	house and three lots,	Broad st..	2,800
John Buchanan,	house and lot,	"	2,000
Nicholas Olive,	"	"	2,000
Benjamin Seixas,	"	"	2,200
Nicholas Cruger,	"	"	3,000
Peter Delabigarre,	"	Whitehall st ...	3,200
Gulian Ludlow,	"	" ...	2,000
John Shaw,	"	Pearl street	2,600
Cary Ludlow,	"	State street	2,800
James Watson,	"	"	4,000
James Watson,	"	"	2,200
Daniel Penfield,	house and lot,	State street	£2,200
Archibald Kennedy,	"	Broadway......	2,500
John Watts,	"	"	2,200
Chancellor Livingston,	"	"	3,000
John Stevens,	"	"	2,000
Mary Ellison,	"	"	2,500
Henry White,	"	"	2,500
Dominick Lynch,	"	"	3,000
Brockholst Livingston,	"	"	3,000
William Edgar,	"	"	4,000
Alexander McComb,	"	"	2,000
Alexander McComb,	"	"	3,000
Ann McAdam,	"	"	2,000
Jacob Morton,	"	"	3,000
Isaac Clason,	"	"	3,500

John R. Livingston,	house and lot,	Broadway	£4,000
Cornelius Ray,	“	“	2,200
Tontine Tavern,	“	“	6,000
Richard Varick,	“	“	3,000
Thomas Jones,	“	“	2,000
Herman Leroy,	“	“	3,500
Thomas Ludlow,	“	“	2,500
Daniel Ludlow,	“	“	4,500
Aquilla Giles,	“	“	2,000
Governor John Jay,	“	“	4,000
Estate Thomas Ellison,	“	“	2,000
Estate Thomas Ellison,	“	“	2,000
Estate Thomas Ellison,	“	“	2,500
Peter J. Munro,	“	“	3,500
Dr. John Charlton,	“	“	2,500
Edmund Seaman,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Ten Eyck,	“	“	2,500
Nicholas Low,	“	“	3,500
Estate Thomas Ellison,	“	“	2,000
Solomon Simpson,	“	Broad street	2,000
Louis Guerlain,	“	“	2,500
Leonard Bleecker,	“	“	2,000
Gulian Verplanck,	“	Wall street	3,000
William Jauncey,	“	“	2,000
Edmund Seaman,	“	“	2,000
Elizabeth Clarkson,	“	“	2,200
Henry Cruger,	“	William street.	2,800
John Jones,	“	Front street	2,000
Augustus Van Cortland,	“	“	2,000
John B. Coles,	“	Water street	2,000
Isaac Clason,	“	“	2,000
Widow Lawrence	“	Pearl street	2,200
Thomas B. Bridgen,	“	“	2,000
Est. R. C. Livingston,	“	“	2,000
Alexander Zuntz,	“	“	2,000
Nicholas Depeyster,	“	“	2,000
David Gelston	“	“	2,000
Isaac Clason,	“	“	2,500
Dr. Nicholas Romaine,	“	“	2,000
Nicholas Cruger,	“	“	2,000
Cornelius Ray,	“	Garden street	2,200
Estate Dr. Van Zandt,	“	Water street	5,000
Nicholas Carmer,	“	“	3,300
Coffee-house,	“	“	4,500
Theophilus Bache,	“	Front street	2,000
Theophilus Bache,	“	“	2,000
Thomas Randall,	“	“	2,000
Richard Yates,	“	“	2,000
James H. Maxwell,	“	“	2,000
Samuel Ellis,	“	Pearl street	2,000
Thomas Roberts,	“	“	2,000
Christian Bache,	“	“	2,000
M. Oudenarde,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Maule,	“	“	3,500
Bank of New York,	“	“	3,500
Est. Gerardus Beekman,	“	“	3,000
John Broome,	“	“	2,000
Murray & Mumford,	“	“	2,000
Nicholas Low,	“	“	2,200
Peter Goelet,	“	“	2,500
Augustus Van Horne,	“	“	2,200
Nicholas Low,	“	Sloat Lane	2,000
Isaac Gouverneur,	“	“	2,000
Daniel Ludlow,	“	“	2,000
William Seton,	“	William street.	2,000
William Seton,	“	“	2,000
Est. James Roosevelt,	“	Wall street	2,800
Edward Goold,	“	“	3,500
Thomas Buchanan,	“	“	2,200
Edward Lyde,	“	“	2,200
William Bayard,	“	“	2,200
John Jones,	“	“	2,200
Abraham Duryea,	“	“	2,500
Ephraim Hart,	“	“	2,200
Martin Hoffman,	“	“	2,300
John Lamb,	“	“	3,500
Wm. and Jas. Constable,	“	“	4,500
Tontine Coffee-house,	“	“	7,000
Thomas Marston,	“	Front street	2,000
Thomas Marston,	“	“	2,000
Robert Bruce,	“	“	3,000
Cary Ludlow,	“	“	3,000
Thomas Mackaness,	“	“	2,000
Francis Childs,	“	Water street	2,800
James Desbrosses,	“	“	2,000

James Dunlap,	house and lot,	Water street	£2,000
William Hill,	“	“	3,000
Thomas Nexen,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Marston,	“	“	2,000
Thomas Marston,	“	“	2,000
Robert Bruce,	“	“	2,000
John Keese,	“	“	2,000
James Rivington,	“	Pearl street	3,000
Robert Hunter,	“	“	2,000
National Bank,	“	“	2,000
Joshua Waddington,	“	“	2,500
James Desbrosses,	“	“	2,500
Anthony L. Bleecker,	“	“	4,000
John Turner, Jr.,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Allan,	“	“	2,000
John McKesson,	“	“	2,000
Estate N. Cowenhoven,	“	“	2,500
Estate W. Hicks,	“	“	2,500
Effingham Lawrence,	“	“	2,000
Effingham Lawrence,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Roach,	“	“	2,500
Peter McDougal,	“	“	2,500
Isaac Collins,	“	“	2,000
William Rhodes,	“	“	2,000
John Taylor,	“	“	2,800
Estate Henry Kip,	“	“	2,300
Andrew Mitchell,	“	“	2,000
Robert Lenox,	“	“	2,000
George Douglass,	“	“	2,500
Samuel Corp,	“	“	2,800
John J. Staples,	“	“	2,000
Thomas Nexen,	“	“	2,000
William Thomas,	“	“	2,000
John Thompson,	“	“	3,000
Robert Hunter,	“	“	2,600
John Marston,	“	Pine street	2,000
John R. Myers,	“	“	2,000
Robert Benson,	“	“	2,000
Comfort Sands,	“	“	2,500
Rufus King,	“	William street.	2,000
Est. Gerardus Beekman,	“	“	2,000
David Gelston,	“	Liberty street	2,500
Samuel Verplank,	“	Wall street	3,000
Abraham Bates,	“	“	2,700
Francis Winthrop,	“	“	2,000
Francis Winthrop,	“	“	2,000
Francis Winthrop,	“	“	2,000
E. and J. Dodge,	“	Front street	2,250
John Jackson,	“	“	2,000
John Jackson,	“	“	2,000
William Lupton,	“	“	2,500
Wynant Van Zandt,	“	“	2,300
Est. Jacob Brewerton,	“	“	2,000
David Mumford,	“	“	2,100
Gilbert Woodhull,	“	“	2,100
John Jackson,	“	“	2,800
Estate Peter Bogert,	“	“	2,000
Estate Peter Bogert,	“	Water street	2,000
John White	“	“	2,000
George Fox,	“	“	2,100
James Hawxhurst,	“	“	2,000
Augustus Nichol,	“	“	2,000
Elias Nexen,	“	“	2,000
Robert Watts,	“	Fly Market	2,000
Robert Watts,	“	Water street	2,000
Estate Abrahams,	“	“	2,500
George Scriba,	“	Fly Market	2,300
Nicholas Bogert,	“	Pearl street	2,000
Kibbe, Blagge & Co.,	“	“	4,000
Estate of Brevoort,	“	“	2,000
Codwise, Ludlow & Co.,	“	“	3,500
John McVickar,	“	“	3,500
Peter P. Van Zandt,	“	Water street	2,400
Daniel Dunbar,	“	“	2,200
Ezekiel Robins,	“	“	2,200
Robert Browne,	“	“	2,000
Peter Schermerhorn,	“	“	2,000
Daniel Dunbar,	“	Front street	4,700
George Bowne,	“	Water street	3,000
James McIntosh,	“	Beekman slip	2,000
Rachel N. Smith,	“	Water street	2,200
Hubert Van Wagenen,	“	“	2,000
Jonathan Lawrence,	“	“	2,000
John Alsop,	“	“	2,000
Hallet, Bowne & Co.,	“	“	2,800

Robert Hunter,	house and lot,	Pearl street	£3,700
Robert L. Bowne,	“	“	3,100
Est. Lawrence Embree,	“	“	2,200
Robert Bowne,	“	“	3,000
Robert Bowne,	“	“	3,200
Widow Sears,	“	“	3,500
John Rogers,	“	“	2,100
Tredwell Jackson,	“	Front street	2,200
Joshua Underhill,	“	Crane wharf	3,500
Dr. Brower,	“	Water street	2,600
Peter Bogert,	“	Front street	2,000
Elisha and William Colt,	“	Crane wharf	2,000
Daniel Cotton,	“	“	2,200
Robert Hunter,	“	Water street	2,000
Willett Seaman,	“	“	2,000
Ebenezer Stevens,	“	“	2,000
Peter Schermerhorn,	“	“	2,400
Margaret Livingston,	“	“	2,600
Jonathan Lawrence,	“	“	2,200
Thomas Pearsall,	“	Pearl street	2,000
John King,	“	“	2,000
Moses Rogers,	“	“	3,500
Moses Rogers,	“	“	3,000
Caleb Frost,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Franklin,	“	“	2,500
Margaret Livingston,	“	“	4,000
Estate Cromeline,	“	“	4,000
Willett Seaman,	“	“	2,300
Jordan Wright,	“	“	2,150
William Minturn,	“	“	2,300
Estate Peter Byvanck,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Leggett,	“	“	2,000
John Franklin,	“	“	2,000
Daniel Dunscomb, Jr.,	“	“	2,500
James W. Depeyster,	“	“	2,000
James Hallet, Jr.,	“	Beckman street	2,000
William Kenyon,	“	“	2,000
Peter Schermerhorn,	“	“	2,500
Cornelius Schermerhorn	“	“	2,500
Thomas Burling,	“	“	2,800
Peter Middlemass,	“	“	2,000
Cornelius J. Bogert,	“	“	3,000
Johnson Patten,	“	“	2,800
Leffert Lefferts,	“	“	2,000
Robert Carter,	“	Nassau street	2,000
Mrs. Samuel Hay,	“	Fair [Fulton] st	2,400
Robert Robinson,	“	William street.	2,200
Samuel Silford,	“	“	2,500
Samuel Silford,	“	“	2,000
Estate Jane Moncrief,	“	“	2,200
Medcalf Eden,	“	Gold street	3,800
Daniel Dunbar,	“	Beckman street	3,000
Eben Haviland,	“	Pearl street	2,200
Benjamin Haviland,	“	“	2,200
Samuel Franklin,	“	“	2,300
Thomas Eddy,	“	“	2,200
Effingham Embree,	“	“	2,500
William Robinson,	“	“	4,500
Samuel Bowne,	“	“	3,000
William Bowne,	“	“	2,800
Widow Pell,	“	“	2,800
Edmund Prior,	“	“	3,800
James Parsons,	“	“	2,000
Anthony Franklin	“	“	2,200
Caleb Lawrence,	“	“	2,500

Henry Haydock, Sr.,	house and lot,	Pearl street	£4,000
Widow Bleecker,	“	“	2,000
William Laight,	“	“	4,000
Widow Butler,	“	“	2,800
Thomas Pearsall,	“	“	2,800
Thomas Pearsall,	“	“	4,000
Thomas Ash,	“	John street	2,000
John Blagge,	“	“	2,000
John Seemon,	“	William street.	2,400
Judge Benson,	“	“	2,400
Judge Tenbrook,	“	“	2,500
Alexander Hosack,	“	Maiden lane	2,300
Robert Benson,	“	“	4,000
Doick Lefferts,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Skinner,	“	“	2,000
William Grigg,	“	“	2,000
Verdine Elsworth,	“	“	3,000
Est. Samuel Beekman,	“	“	2,000
William Rutledge,	“	Gold street	2,500
William Rutledge,	“	“	2,580
Lott Merkle,	“	“	2,500
James Bradley,	“	“	2,000
James Mallaby,	“	Maiden lane	3,000
James Bradley,	“	“	3,000
Col. Henry Rutgers,	“	“	2,000
John F. Roorback,	“	“	3,000
James Murray,	“	“	3,000
John De Wint,	“	“	2,500
Capt. James Nicholson,	“	William street.	3,500
William Turnbull,	“	“	2,000
Widow Roberts,	“	“	2,100
Thomas Brasher,	“	“	2,200
Thomas Gardner,	“	“	2,800
John McLaren,	“	Gold street	2,200
Moses Rogers,	“	Pearl street	2,700
William Delaplaine,	“	“	3,500
John I. Glover,	“	“	4,000
Joseph Hopkins,	“	“	2,000
Lewis Pintard,	“	“	2,000
William Minturn,	“	“	3,000
James R. Smith,	“	“	3,000
Thomas Pearsall,	“	“	3,500
John Thompson,	“	“	3,500
Abraham Duryea,	“	“	3,000
Peter Clopper,	“	“	2,400
Nicholas Carmer,	“	Maiden lane	2,000
James Walker,	“	“	2,500
Thomas Phillips,	“	“	2,000
David Masterson,	“	“	2,000
Morgan Lewis,	“	“	2,000
John A. Wolfe,	“	“	2,300
Rufus King,	“	Broadway	3,000
Richard Harrison,	“	“	2,225
Abijah Hammond,	“	“	3,000
William S. Smith,	“	Cortlandt street	2,000
John Franklin,	“	Pearl street	2,000
James Roosevelt,	“	“	2,000
J. M. Haydock,	“	“	2,000
William Rhinelander,	“	William street.	2,400
Samuel Osgood,	“	Cherry street	2,400
William Walton,	“	Pearl street	2,400
William Thompson,	“	Chatham (Tea Water Pump)	3,500
William Beekman's est.,	“	Cherry street	5,000
William Bedlow,	“	“	2,500

SUBURBAN RESIDENCES.

Henry Rutgers	£2,500
John R. Livingston	4,500
William Laight	3,000
Belvidere House	2,500
Nicholas Gouverneur	2,000
William Bancker	2,500
Samuel Jones	2,000
Peter Stuyvesant	13,000
Robert Randal	3,000
Horatio Gates	4,000

Francis B. Winthrop	£4,000
James Beekman	2,000
Josiah Ogden Hoffman	2,000
James Depeyster	2,000
Harman Le Roy	4,000
Charles W. Apthorp	4,000
William Constable	3,000
Rem Rapelje	3,000
George Clinton	4,000
Aaron Burr	3,000

CHAPTER V

THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801–1807

As we contemplate the condition of our city in the opening days of the nineteenth century, it cannot fail to impress us that great and striking contrasts appear as we look either backward or forward,—to the not very distant beginning of the city's history, or to the still nearer period of its present grandeur. Two hundred years before, in 1601, Manhattan Island was still lying upon the bosom of its beautiful bay, a pristine verdure adorning its fields and forests, and its attendant islets dotting the surrounding waters. The foot of civilized man had not yet trodden its virgin soil; and if his eye had lighted upon its charms and had admired them for a brief moment, it was three quarters of a century since even such transient observation had taken place, and the civilized world had forgotten all about it. Thus here lay in quiet repose, unmolested, but also unimproved, possibilities for human industry, commerce, habitation, that only the marvelous realization of the present day can adequately set forth as then present. Only the event has proved the matchless prophecy that lay hid in contour of shores, in depth of channel, in facility of access, in safety of shelter, in beauty of situation, even then of course apparent, and which have since made the city and port of New-York the throne

John Adams

of American commerce, the metropolis of a hemisphere. In 1601 these were still waiting to be seen and appreciated. And fortunately, eight years later, they were thus seen by the representatives of a nation (in fact, of the two nations) that knew far better than all others how to make use of these excellent advantages.

Taking our stand in the New-York of 1801, and casting our glance about the world for its great cities, we shall probably find as vast a population in Pekin then as now; certainly it had its millions, if not so many as to-day, and its origin is lost in the dim past of Chinese history. Then London was already great, covering forty square miles of habitation, and counting a population of nearly nine hundred thousand, with a history dating anterior to the birth of Christ. Paris, the Emperor Julian's favorite residence when he was governor of Gaul from A. D. 355 to 361, was a large city in 1801; Berlin, now with over a million inhabitants, was then an important place, and had been a capital since 1163. Amsterdam in 1801 far outnumbered its former namesake in population, but it had grown to its greatness since the year 1203. Here then was a city whose very site was unknown two hundred years before the opening of the nineteenth century, but destined ere its close to distance beyond all comparison the greater part of the cities then most important, to surpass Berlin and Paris, and to become a rival to London itself for supremacy among the cities of the world.

A Adams

At the very opening of the century which has witnessed such wondrous advances in every direction as well as in the condition of our city, the country was at the height of a most intense political excitement. The fourth presidential election had just taken place in the regular way then provided by the constitution. The persons receiving the highest number of votes, without reference to the intentions of the voters as to who should be president and who vice-president, were Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New-York. This method at the preceding election had resulted in giving the nation a president of one party and a vice-president of another. Now it had led to a tie between two men of one party, and no election of a vice-president at all, as that office would fall to the man who should be second in the constitutional expedient to relieve the tie vote. This would seem a very simple matter, since both the men having the highest number of votes were Republicans, or Anti-Federalists. But complication arose and excitement ran high, because throughout the whole nation those of that party had a most decided preference for one as president, and would not tolerate the other except as vice-president. And yet, by the provisions of the constitution, that judgment or preference might easily be reversed. Again, the person who was relegated to the secondary position in the wishes of his fellow Republicans had quite as strong a determination to obtain the chief place; he was not esteemed to be proof against sacrificing his party for the sake of the place, and in this circumstance lay the opportunity for the Federalists to defeat the desires of their opponents and deprive Jefferson of the presidency.

This was the situation of affairs on January 1, 1801, the first day of the portentous nineteenth century. On December 4 the electoral colleges had met in their several States, and on or before Christmas the returns of their votes were known throughout the country. Jefferson and Burr each had seventy-three; Adams had received sixty-five, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, sixty-four; John Jay, one. It now remained for the House of Representatives to decide whether Jefferson or Burr should be the chief magistrate of the republic, and the decision was to be had on February 11, or the second Wednesday of that month. This interval of six or seven weeks was a period of great anxiety to the serious, and one of great clamor and agitation on the part of partizans and demagogues. It was the first severe strain upon the constitution of the republic. Threats were heard of armed resistance in case of disappointed hopes, even when the disappointment should be effected along the regular legal lines prescribed by the fundamental law of the United States. "Federalists were plainly told," observes Professor MacMaster,— and he bases his statement upon a thorough search of contemporary newspapers,— "that if Aaron Burr were made President, the Republicans would arm, march to Washington, depose the usurper, and put Jefferson in his place."[1] It was deliberately calculated what would be the chances in such a conflict—how far the rather ridiculously insufficient equipment of the Virginia militia[2] would go toward enabling them to cope with the trained State troops of Massachusetts. There was some cause for alarm when such discussions were put into print. But not only hot-headed men in the ranks were affected with wild schemes; the great leaders of the Republican party, such as Madison, who had done noble work in constructing the constitution, broached devices for gaining the mastery of the present situation which would have been subversive of all that this glorious document had secured.

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[1] "History of the People of the United States," 2:517.

[2] It was stated in the Northern newspapers that the Virginia militiamen, for lack of muskets, went through the exercises of the manual with corn-stalks.

In this frame of mind were the people of these United States during the first six weeks of the century. Then another week or so of culminating intensity of anxiety followed. On February 11 the electoral votes were counted in the Senate, and Jefferson formally announced the distressing tie vote, of which the whole country had long been aware. Then came the part for the House of Representatives to play. Sixteen States were at that period represented there. Each State had one ballot in the general vote, and that ballot was determined by the majority in each delegation for one or the other candidate. Nine States—a majority—were necessary to constitute a decision. "The political composition of the house was such that the Republicans could not control the choice; and the Federalists, though of course still more unable to do so, yet had the power, by holding steadily together, to prevent any election whatever. Momentous as such a political crime would be, nevertheless many influential Federalists soon showed themselves sufficiently embittered and vindictive to contemplate it."[2]

BEDFORD HOUSE.[1]

The unusual excitement brought a vast concourse of people to the capital, which was ill prepared to accommodate such a sudden access of population. But since the difficulties of travel were bravely undertaken, these interested travelers were not to be frightened by the inconveniences of hotel or tavern life. Floors were good enough for beds, and one's own greatcoat was the only bedding to be enjoyed; but happy he who could find even a floor to lie upon, wrapped in his overcoat, traveling-blanket, or shawl.

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[1] In 1801 Governor Jay's second term ended. He declined a renomination, and carried out resolutely the purpose he had long formed, to spend the remainder of his life in retirement. Anticipating this, he had built a comfortable country-seat at Bedford, in Westchester County, on a piece of property inherited through his mother, and which was a part of the original Van Cortlandt manor. Although Mrs. Jay was permitted the enjoyment of this rural retreat for but one year (dying in 1802), the governor spent a happy and restful old age here, until 1829, when his death occurred, at the age of eighty-four years.

[2] "Thomas Jefferson," by John T. Morse, p. 200.

The eventful day having arrived, and the Senate having done its work, the voting by States began in due form in the House of Representatives. On the first ballot, eight States gave their voice to Jefferson, six to Burr, while Vermont and Maryland reported themselves "divided"; that is, there was a tie vote in their delegations. There was, therefore, no election. Six more ballots within a brief space brought the house no nearer to a result. After a respite of scarcely an hour, eight more ballots were taken, but without an election. Thus the suspense lasted until Monday, February 16, and after the thirty-sixth ballot the announcement could at last be made that constitutional methods had been sustained, and had sufficed to give the country a president who was the choice of the majority of the people. In the Maryland and Vermont delegations those who had hitherto voted for Burr so as to make a tie and thus to divide and lose their vote in the roll of States, now had cast blank ballots, leaving a majority in each case for Jefferson, and the count of two more States for him. The one delegate from Delaware, James Ashton Bayard, a Federalist, but above partizanship, thereupon gave his vote for Jefferson, adding one more State for him, and the eleven States together constituted a sufficient vote to give him the presidency. Burr, the New-York politician, whose skill in manipulating political forces in his own city had brought him so dangerously near thwarting the wishes of his party, became vice-president. But his doom was forecast in the moment that this exalted place reached him. Distrust was now no longer based on the suspicion, but on the certainty, of his untrustworthiness. From the presidential possibility he rapidly descended to political nonentity, and to a worse fame than even this reverse would have fastened upon him.

J. A. Bayard

The account of the presidential election of 1800 and 1801 might with some reason be suppressed from these pages, although the connection of New-York with the occurrences at Washington was too intimate to make the omission altogether permissible. But the events and the act growing out of these occurrences, directly and logically, which caused the final political extinction of Aaron Burr, confront us whenever we turn the pages of the records of this period, and we cannot avoid them. It began to appear how little credit Burr had left in his own party when, at the end of four years, it became time to nominate candidates for the offices of president and vice-president. Jefferson was renominated for the former, but Burr was not even mentioned for vice-president, Governor George Clinton's name being substituted. At the same time, in the spring of 1804, a contest for the governorship of New-York was at hand, and in this Burr saw an opportunity to redeem his political standing, or to test his power. There being nothing left for him in national politics, he set about to secure a nomination for governor of New-York. His own party, under the influence of the Clinton and Livingston families, failed to give him this, but nominated Chief Justice Morgan Lewis, a brother-in-law of the former chancellor, Robert R. Livingston. He then hoped to obtain the Federalist nomination, but was again disappointed, Chancellor Lansing being named by this party. Burr then posed as an independent, or self-nominated candidate, and when Chancellor Lansing declined to run, felt certain of having a part of the Republican or Democratic vote, and the bulk of the Federalist, diverted to himself. The result of the election showed that he had miscalculated. A colossus had risen in the way of the governorship: the same who had blocked his dubious progress toward the presidency. James Ashton Bayard, of Delaware, acting on Hamilton's advice, had ceased to vote for Burr (his one vote standing for his State) in the House of Representatives; and, giving it to Jefferson, had turned the tide and made his elevation to the presidency possible. Hamilton now again raised his warning voice against Burr amid the ranks of the Federalists, and their votes fell off to Lewis, in whose personal integrity they trusted, however bitterly opposed on party lines.

Morgan Lewis.

Burr was thus left without any ground to stand on, either in the nation or in his own State. He was desperate, and his unscrupulous, unbridled temperament easily turned to thoughts of vengeance.

Hamilton must be taken out of his way; if he were not, his own career was a wreck. The duel was his only resort. Should Hamilton fall, Burr might hope to rise again in the political world. His own case could scarce be worse than it was now if Hamilton's bullet should destroy him. Occasion for a quarrel was readily found after a heated election contest. Words unworthily overheard by two eavesdropping adherents of Burr; an account in the newspapers of a reported conversation at a private table among trusted associates: such were the materials for a charge by Burr against Hamilton of improper language, requiring explanation or denial. The groundlessness or irrelevance of such a charge, and such a demand based upon it, was indicated by Hamilton; but Burr wished to quarrel, not to argue, and his peremptory demands left no opening to avoid the quarrel. The point of a challenge, aimed at by Burr, was therefore reached. It was sent, and could not but be accepted, as men then thought and felt. As a recent authority remarks, speaking of Burr's part in this unhappy transaction: "With cool deliberation he set about forcing a quarrel. He showed his purpose plainly enough by selecting a remark attributed to Hamilton at the time of the caucuses [in a sense, confidential gatherings, not to be compared with the public hustings] held to nominate candidates for the governorship, which was really applicable to his general public character, was not peculiarly severe, and was perfectly inoffensive compared with many of the denunciations launched at him by Hamilton only a few years before. Hamilton had no desire to fight, but it was impossible to avoid it, if he admitted the force of the code of honor, when Burr was determined to fix a quarrel upon him."[1] Upon Hamilton we can fasten no such stigma of a desire to do harm. He towered too far above Burr in professional ability and success to entertain any jealousy of him on that score. He did not oppose Burr's endeavors to secure office because he himself wished to attain one; for, with everything within his reach, Hamilton had deliberately turned aside from public life in order to improve his fortune, too long neglected while he was serving

A Burr.

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[1] "Alexander Hamilton," by Henry Cabot Lodge, p. 247.

his country. He antagonized Burr, both in 1801 and in 1804, in the arena of national politics, as in those of the State, purely on grounds of a public nature. Secession was in the air then, as it was nearly sixty years later, only its latitude was then further north. It was in the thoughts of the men of New England, and hence we do not find the matter emphasized much in the history of that time. Hamilton foresaw or suspected that Burr was entirely capable of disrupting the Union for the sake of personal ambition; that he would lead a secession much rather than shed his last drop of life-blood (as Hamilton would have done) to prevent it. The sequel of events has justified that suspicion. Hence Hamilton, in 1801, preferred to see Jefferson, the demigod of the Democrats, in the presidential chair, rather than Burr, pledged to the Federalists. In 1804 he preferred Lewis as governor to Burr, even as a nominee of his (Hamilton's) own party. In social life he was Burr's friend. In a moment of distress he came to his aid with a loan of ten thousand dollars, raised with his characteristic energy among his own friends and relatives. It is not clear that this indebtedness of Burr's was liquidated at the time of the duel, and it casts a darker shadow upon the latter's vindictive course. It was on political grounds solely that the two men were ever opposed; but Burr allowed this opposition to awaken within him a personal resentment. "If he could have stifled his political aspirations," says one who writes of Burr in a friendly spirit, "and returned to the bar, as Hamilton had done, a brilliant and honorable career might still have been his; but unfortunately he could not endure defeat with patience."[2]

Theodosia [1]

The day set for the duel was July 11, 1804, over a fortnight after allenge had been accepted. Attention is directed by some writers to the contrast between the respective actions of the antagonists during the interval. Burr busied himself in destroying evidences of several amours; Hamilton in setting in order his affairs, so that his wife and children and his creditors might suffer as little as possible from his demise. Burr diligently spent hours each day practising with a pistol in shooting at a target. Hamilton was at his office, attending to the business of his clients. The time of waiting was an anxious one for Hamilton, not because he was a coward—unless, indeed, in so far as he was properly made so by those considerations of home and loved ones which do "make cowards of us all." The prolonged interval had no effect upon Burr's cool deliberation to put his antagonist out of the way, or perish in the attempt. Hamilton, in his dying moments, solemnly protested that he had no intention of even shooting at all at the first fire, and that he was in doubt about the second fire, should Burr's murderous intent call for that. For mere self-defense in that case would have demanded of Hamilton to protect himself against what would then have too plainly showed itself to be assassination. With our best endeavors and strongest desire to remain impartial, it is impossible that these significant contrasts before the fatal event should not prejudice us in favor of Hamilton, and make us feel that the imputations of sinister motives, whether just to Burr or not, would entirely comport with these exhibitions of character on his side.

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[1] Theodosia Burr was the vice-president's only child. She was born in 1783, and was carefully educated under her father's supervision, her acquirements even embracing a knowledge of the classics. Her native wit and eminent social attainments made her a remarkable figure in the society of that day. In all of Burr's unhappy career, the mutual devotion and sincere admiration of father and daughter the one for the other afford a pleasant and pathetic relief to so much that is disagreeable. On Burr's return from his long-continued wanderings in Europe in 1813, his daughter left Charleston in a small sailing-vessel to meet him in New-York. The ship was never heard of afterward, and either foundered or fell into the hands of pirates. Theodosia had married Joseph Alston, who became governor of South Carolina.

[2] "The Story of New-York," by Charles Burr Todd, p. 384.

HAMILTON'S RESIDENCE, "THE GRANGE."[1]

On the morning of July 11, shortly after dawn, two boats might have been seen crossing the Hudson. For either, the angle of crossing had need to be very oblique. Weehawken, about opposite Forty-second street, was the objective point of both of them. Burr's party, the first to take the journey, left the east shore of the river near the foot of Charlton street. Hamilton came down from about One Hundred and Forty-first street, where stood his country house of "The Grange," still to be seen at the corner of One Hundred and Forty-first street and Convent avenue, and now temporarily occupied by St. Luke's Episcopal Church. The details of the meeting are too well known to be dwelt on here. It need only be mentioned that the statement has recently been made, in refutation of the claim that Hamilton had no intention of shooting Burr, that, just before firing, Hamilton complained of the light, and took time to adjust his glasses or spectacles, in order to see better. But there has come to notice no documentary or printed evidence to corroborate this rather new version of a familiar story. Be this as it may, at the first fire Hamilton fell, mortally wounded, and Burr stood over the prostrate form of his victim, unhurt.

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[1] The cluster of trees in the right-hand corner of the illustration represents the thirteen gum-trees (named after the thirteen original States) planted by Hamilton's own hands on the lawn a few rods from the house, about a year before his death. These trees are still standing, and have recently been purchased with a small plot of ground by the Hon. Orlando B. Potter, of New-York, with a view to their preservation. In a note to the Editor, he says: "I am hopeful that the city will set apart the whole square, of which my purchase is but part, as Hamilton Park, as a just memorial of the greatest citizen whom New-York has yet given to the country. I am also hopeful that Hamilton's dwelling, which is at present removed and connected with St. Luke's Church near by as its rectory, may be returned to the place where Hamilton built and occupied it."

A hurried departure from the fatal spot followed. Burr's party went first. Arrived at Richmond Hill, near the corner of the present Charlton and Varick streets, he quietly settled himself to reading in his library. A relative arrived from Connecticut, after an all-night journey, about seven o'clock. At eight breakfast was served, and later the guest left to saunter into the city. Until he saw the commotion in the streets, and was accosted by an acquaintance and told of the tragedy, which has made it a never-to-be-forgotten day in New-York history, Burr's companion, at his own breakfast-table, knew nothing of the dark deed whose shadow never left this man's long subsequent career.[1] A few words will suffice to dismiss that career from these pages; for its incidents—thrilling and sad some; evil, or suspicious of evil, others—took place at too remote a distance from this city to warrant minute mention. When an indignant public sentiment took shape in an indictment for murder, Burr escaped from the city. When his term as vice-president was at an end, he entered upon those mysterious but not clearly traitorous schemes, involving the suggestion of a Mexican or Central American empire, which finally brought on the trial at Richmond in 1807. A verdict of "not proven" left Burr his liberty, but little else. Then came years of wandering and penury in Europe. On his return the blow struck him of the loss of Theodosia, shipwrecked or slain by pirates on her way from Charleston to New-York to join him. Many years of life, "unknown, unhonored, and unloved," were yet reserved for him; near the close, a little more unpleasant notoriety connected with his marriage of a few months (followed by separation or divorce) with Madame Jumel; and then finally, in 1836, came "the last scene of all," ending this eminently "strange, eventful history."

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[1] "Life of Aaron Burr," by James Parton (New-York, 1864), 2: 13, 14.

But it is time to follow also the other boat leaving Weehawken. It did not return up the river, but crossed obliquely downward. It landed at the foot of the present Horatio street, then a part of the village of Greenwich. William Bayard, a friend of Hamilton, stood awaiting its arrival. The wounded man, who had recovered consciousness on the way over, was tenderly carried to Bayard's house. Hither were hastily summoned the devoted wife and the seven young children.[1] All that loving care, all that the best medical science of that day, could do, was done to save his life. But it was all in vain: the target practice in the Richmond Hill garden had been but too successful. The adversary's aim had been at the seat of life, and the bullet had struck fatally near it. All the remainder of that day and through the night Hamilton suffered greatly; but on the next morning the pain abated, while the exhaustion premonitory of death set in. At two o'clock in the afternoon of July 12, Hamilton died.

HAMILTON–BURR DUEL.

And then there was a burst of spontaneous grief from every part of the young republic, whose strength, and credit, and incipient glory were largely due to him whose head was now laid low. Federalist and Republican forgot their political antagonism in the patriotic sentiment of regret and sorrow at the country's loss. Not only the Cincinnati, his former companions in arms, and generally of the Federalist faith, but even the members of the bar, of various political opinions, took special measures to indicate their feelings. The latter resolved to wear mourning badges for several weeks.[1] On Saturday, July 14, the funeral took place in Trinity Church. Gouverneur Morris, always Hamilton's friend and admirer, pronounced a funeral oration worthy of the occasion, simple, eloquent, just. Indeed, a mere recital of the acts of the man's brief life was the grandest eulogium that friendship or admiration could possibly have conceived. "Thus tragically passed from the scene one of the greatest of the great men of the Revolutionary era. 'The Patriot of Incorruptible Integrity, the Soldier of Approved Valor, the Statesman of Consummate Wisdom.' One reads it on his modest tombstone in Trinity churchyard — a truer panegyric than most."[2]

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[1] Hamilton left a large family of children, none of whom are now living, but he is represented in the city where he lived by numerous grandchildren.

Yet, even in the flagrant "manner of his taking off," Hamilton did his country a service. In those anxious days when a presentiment of disaster made him fear that he would be torn from his family, Hamilton put in writing his opinion of dueling: "My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow-creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws."[3] When men read the record of this sentiment against a practice which yet the writer of it felt bound by public opinion to engage in, that public opinion received a shock which awakened it to a due sense of its enormity, and the code of honor henceforth became one of dishonor. Dueling was doomed in New-York and in Northern society.

RICHMOND HILL MANSION.

The glory of New-York city is her public-school system, unrivaled for the excellence and the extent of education placed within the reach of the poorest of her citizens. The opening of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of this good work, the foundation of that organized, systematic enterprise in this direction, which has ever since characterized it. The history of the school in New-York dates back, as has been shown in a previous volume, to the year 1633; and the school then founded, that of the Dutch Reformed Church, was in a flourishing condition at the period now under discussion, and is in existence to-day. Under Lord Cornbury, much against that nobleman's wishes, the assembly legislated on the subject of schools, and the matter necessarily attracted the attention of men awake to the real interests of city or province. But the development of this institution was always on a narrow line. Instruction in secular knowledge must go hand in hand with that in religious things; and in consequence of this, while the schools were so largely an appendix of the churches, only the children of the churchly families received the benefit of them. There were many of the "outlying" masses—churchless even then, as they are now—whose children grew up debarred from the advantages of education. "By that social gravitation which seems to have always been inseparable from compacted communities," says the historian of the Public School Society, "the metropolis was not exempt from the characteristic feature of a substratum of wretched, ignorant, and friendless children, who, even though they had parents, grew up in a condition of moral and religious orphanage, alike fatal to their temporal and spiritual advancement and elevation."[2] This sad picture is drawn of the city when it numbered but little over sixty thousand souls.

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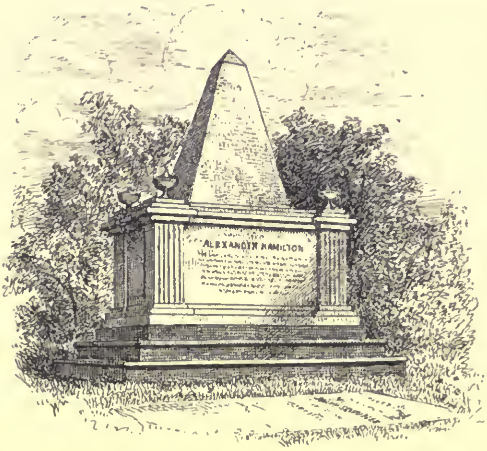
[1] At the Cincinnati dinner on July 4, one week before the duel, Hamilton (the president of the society) and Burr were both present. Hamilton was asked to sing his favorite ballad of "The Drum"; he hesitated, but, in order to create no suspicion as to the coming event, consented. Burr looked him intently in the face while he sang; it is hard to tell with what feelings.

[2] Charles Burr Todd. "Story of New-York," p. 390. The pall-bearers were General Matthew Clarkson, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Harrison, Abijah Hammond, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Richard Varick, William Bayard, and Judge John L. Lawrence. On the coffin were placed Hamilton's hat and sword; his boots and spurs hung reversed across the general's gray horse, which was led directly in front of the coffin by two black servants dressed in white, with white turbans trimmed with black crape.

[3] "Life of Alexander Hamilton," John T. Morse, Jr., 1: 364.



HAMILTON'S TOMB IN TRINITY CHURCHYARD.[1]

Benevolent and far-seeing persons of both sexes perceived the wrong and the peril of this condition of things, and set about the methods of remedying it. In the second year of the century an association of ladies belonging to the Society of Friends, or Quakers, had contributed of their private means, and established a free school for the education of girls. This humble but noble endeavor was the germ of the great metropolitan system of public schools to-day. Confined to one sex only, yet its beneficent effects were clearly apparent, and the success within its one-sided and necessarily limited sphere so pronounced that it led naturally to undertakings on a larger and wider scale. The free school for girls had been three years in operation when the idea of extending the principle at its foundation took practical shape. No doubt, as in all such cases, men had talked and deliberated. The necessity was so pressing, the calamity of ignorance so appalling, that the problem of removing the crying shame could not be set aside or postponed. Yet all honor to those who began the movement. Two gentlemen—let their names be held in bright remembrance—Thomas Eddy and John Murray, early in the year 1805, issued a call for a meeting of all such as would unite in an undertaking to provide the means of education for the youth hitherto neglected. On the day appointed, February 19, 1805, twelve gentlemen met at the house of Mr. John Murray, situated in Pearl street. It will need no apology to mention their names, and among them will be noticed some already familiar in local history. They were, besides Messrs. Eddy and Murray, who called them together, Samuel Osgood, Brockholst Livingston, Samuel Miller, Joseph Constant, Thomas Pearsall, Thomas Franklin, Matthew Clarkson, Leonard Bleecker, Samuel Russell, and William Edgar. Besides the passing of a resolution expressive of their conviction of the need and importance of the work they had at heart, nothing of a practical nature was done, except to appoint a committee to devise plans for the execution of their noble design. Less than a week after the first meeting, a second was called by this committee, who had thus promptly prepared their report. The main recommendation of this report was that application be made to the legislature of the State for an act regularly incorporating a society to be charged with educational interests in the city. A memorial to that effect was drawn up, signed by one hundred prominent citizens, and sent to the legislature on February 25. One passage read as follows: "The enlightened and excellent Government under which we live is favorable to the general diffusion of knowledge; but the blessings of such a Government can be expected to be enjoyed no longer than while its citizens continue *virtuous*, and while the majority of the people, through the advantage of a proper early education, possess sufficient knowledge to enable them to understand and pursue their best interests. This sentiment, which must meet with universal assent, was emphatically urged to his countrymen by Washington, and has been recently enforced by our present Chief

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[1] Inscription on Hamilton's tomb:

On the south face: To the Memory of | Alexander Hamilton, | who died July 12th, 1804, | Aged 47.

On the north side: To the Memory of | Alexander Hamilton | The Corporation of Trinity Church has erected this | Monument | In Testimony of their respect | for | The Patriot of Incorruptible Integrity | The Soldier of Approved Valour | The Statesman of Consummate Wisdom | Whose Talents and Virtues will be Admired | By Grateful Posterity | Long after this Marble shall have Mouldered into | Dust | He died July 12, 1804, Aged 47.

[2] "History of the Public School Society of the City of New-York," William Oland Bourne, p. 1 (New-York, 1870).

Magistrate in his address on the necessity of supporting schools, and promoting useful knowledge through the State."

The measure commended itself so strongly, and was so entirely removed above and beyond the plane of party measures, that action was promptly and energetically taken; and on April 9, 1805, the legislature passed "An Act to incorporate the Society instituted in the City of New York, for the Establishment of a Free School for the Education of Poor Children who do not belong to, or are not provided for by, any religious society." Thirty-seven incorporators were named in the bill, the head of the list being graced with the name of the mayor, De Witt Clinton—among the many other names of note appearing those of Daniel D. Tompkins and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill. The provisions of the act, briefly summarized, were: that the yearly income of the society should not exceed ten thousand dollars; that on the first Monday of May annually thirteen trustees should be elected from among the members of the society, who should also be residents of the city; that the trustees should meet on the second Monday of every month, seven or more to constitute a quorum; that any person contributing eight dollars might become a member of the society · that a contribution of twenty-five dollars should entitle to membership and the privilege of sending one child to any school of the society; and one of forty dollars, the privilege of membership and the sending of two children. The act at the same time constituted De Witt Clinton and the twelve gentlemen present at the original meeting at Mr. Murray's house the first board of trustees.[1]

Daniel D. Tompkins

On May 6 these thirteen trustees met for the election of their officers, when De Witt Clinton was chosen president; John Murray, vice-president; Leonard Bleecker, treasurer; and Benjamin D. Perkins, secretary. The next step in the movement was an elaborate appeal to the public to aid the enterprise by the contribution of the funds required for the securing of suitable quarters for the school and for the payment of teachers. The funds did not rapidly accumulate, owing to various serious impediments, so that fully a year elapsed ere the work of the school could finally begin. It is of interest to observe that the subscription list is still preserved among the archives of the society, and shows the name of De Witt Clinton leading, with the sum of two hundred dollars opposite to it. As a result of such liberality, the trustees felt justified in appointing a teacher and renting apartments. The pioneer teacher was William Smith, and the place where his labors began a house in Madison street, which was then called Bancker. On May 19, 1806, teacher and scholars met under these humble auspices. But few were there that first day. After some days, however, the number had risen to forty-two, and the increase kept on till larger accommodations became imperative. Even before the school had initiated its exercises, in April, 1806, Colonel Henry Rutgers[1] had given a lot on Henry street for a school building, and soon after gave the adjoining lot besides, the whole of the property being valued at $2500. Still, as the work increased, the society felt cramped for means. An appeal to the legislature was again made in January, 1807, resulting in an act which set aside a certain portion of the excise duties for the support of the school. Nor was the corporation of the city itself slow in coming to its aid. The quarters in Madison street having become inadequate, and no funds being as yet in hand for building a house on the Henry street lots, the "city fathers" presented a building adjoining the almshouse, together with five hundred dollars for putting it into proper shape for this new purpose. Thus came into existence school No. 1, standing on Chatham street; it was provided not only with rooms for classes, but also with dwelling apartments for the teacher's family. On April 28, 1807, Mr. Smith and his pupils began their sessions here, and before the year closed the number of children in attendance had risen to one hundred and fifty. The further account of this interesting movement must now be left to a subsequent chapter, and in its more minute details to another volume.

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[1] Bourne's "History Public School Society," p. 5.

The first ten or more years of the present century were characterized by a noticeable extension in the number of church buildings, or the improvement and enlargement of those already built. Some of these events took place within the seven years belonging to the scope of this chapter. The first church that claims attention is none other than that in Garden street (now Exchange Place), the third edifice of this kind in the order of erection on this island, but really the earliest that can be called worthy of the name in point of architecture or proportions. De Vries, the voyager, could find no more exalted term for the building at 33 Pearl street, erected in 1633, than that of "barn," as compared with the neat New England meeting-houses; and the church in the fort, while of brick or stone, and superior to the former, was not such as to impress the beholder. Hence the "old" church in Garden street, built of brick trimmed with stone, when it was opened for service in 1693, was a conspicuous feature of the little town, and quite outstripped the earlier structures that occupied Trinity's site. After undergoing extensive repairs, with some remodeling, in 1766, and again after the Revolution, the church was taken down completely, and an entirely new and much finer building erected on the spot in 1807. This stood until it was swept away by the great fire in 1835; and with a little care in the tracing we may look upon its ecclesiastical descendants to-day. After the fire the congregation determined to separate into two societies. One part built a church in Murray street; the other went to the corner of Washington Place, on the east side of Washington Square, adjoining the New-York University. Its noble proportions, double towers, and walls cut into embrasures at the top, as if it were a castle or a fort, are still to be seen. But denominationally it no longer represents the original congregation, as it was sold to the Methodist Episcopal people. For its denominational representative one has to look to the church on the corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-eighth street, the successor of the Murray street church. Crowded out by the march of business, this society moved to the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first street; but, again pursued by that church-devouring demon, their handsome edifice there was sold, and the building at Thirty-seventh street, formerly occupied by a Protestant Episcopal congregation, purchased.

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[1] This same generous lover of education later gave $5000 to Queen's College at New Brunswick, N. J., whence that college has ever since been known by his name. The Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, for several years a professor in the college, was his grandnephew.

NEW-YORK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In the year 1803 there was held in this church the last regular or stated service in the Dutch language. The Holland tongue had been the first to convey to heaven the worship of pious hearts in prayer and praise. In it had been sounded forth the gospel in the ears of men from the very beginning of colonization in 1626. Even after the English conquest in 1664, a whole century elapsed before the Dutch congregation called an English-speaking pastor. But after the Revolution the disappearance of the Dutch from vernacular usage was very rapid. Yet in 1789, when the old Dutch pastors were too aged to continue their services, and when Drs. Livingston and Linn were preaching eloquently in the national tongue, to the delight of auditors of their own and other communions, it was still thought expedient, for the benefit of a certain portion of the communicants, to call a pastor who should dispense the ordinances in Dutch. For this purpose the Rev. Gerardus Kuypers (afterward D. D.) was called from Paramus, New Jersey, and the ancient Garden street church set apart for these services. In 1803, however, the audiences attending them had grown so small that Dutch preaching was abolished, and Dr. Kuypers thenceforth, until his death in 1833, preached in English. Thus ceased public divine worship in a language which had conveyed pious emotions to the throne of grace for an unbroken period of one hundred and seventy-seven years. But in 1866 the generosity of the collegiate church enabled a Dutch church to be organized for the modern emigrants from Holland who had made New-York their abode, and hence at this very time regular worship in the ancient mother-tongue is still conducted upon this island, whose shores it was the earliest to bless with the beneficent message of salvation.

J. H. Livingston

As has been already intimated, one of the most striking indications of local changes induced by the growth of our city, of the invasion of business houses into the regions of homes, is afforded by the history of many of our church societies. Who would connect the stately temple, graceful in exterior, beautiful and rich in interior, and thronged with hearers under the pastorate of the Rev. Dr. Abbot E. Kittredge —standing on the corner of Madison Avenue and that broad transverse avenue, Fifty-seventh street — with the locality of Franklin street, near West Broadway? Yet if we take two steps back in its annals—first to a period of seventeen years of existence (1854–1871) in Twenty-third street, and then to its origin—we shall reach that down-town region. And the founding of that church in 1807, it must not be forgotten, marked an era in church development for the Reformed (Dutch) denomination in this city. Hitherto there had been no congregation of this order, except under the care of that collegiate organization whose history dated from 1628. The "North West Church," as it was called, in Franklin street, was the first congregation that was independent and separate. Its first pastor was the Rev. Christian Bork, a unique character. He had come over among the German mercenary troops hired by England to subdue her colonies. He had concluded to cast in his fortunes with the liberated country after the war. The rough soldier was converted, entered the ministry, and became a preacher of great spiritual force, whose labors, continued through fifteen years, were eminently successful.

Embracing within our view a territory which then seemed entirely unwarranted to be entitled to consideration as a part of the city, an account of local events during this period must include the founding of two more Reformed churches, one in Greenwich village, the other at Bloomingdale. In 1803 the dwellers at Greenwich began to think the journey to the church in Garden street, or to that in Nassau street, or even to that in Fulton street, rather too long, and accordingly they established a church of their own. The yellow fever panic, which sent the people by scores into this neighborhood, no doubt stimulated the enterprise, and may have been the real occasion for it. But after the panic subsided the church remained, and the curious observer may look upon its lineal descendant to-day on the corner of Bleecker and West Tenth streets, now in possession of a colored Baptist congregation. Bloomingdale church[1] may also have owed its origin, in 1805, to the exodus from the city caused by the fear of the yellow fever, which prevailed in that year and in 1803. A large piece of ground given for a parsonage by a devoted elder finally became the means of preserving this society from extinction, when this part of the city began to assume the attractive appearance it now presents. The laying out of the Boulevard demanded the destruction of the old church; but the immense value which the elder's gift attained a few years since has enabled this people to place in the view of New-York denizens, on the corner of the Boulevard and Sixty-eighth street, a fine example of church architecture as the successor of the humble village church of the fifth year of the century.

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[1] Bloomingdale is the onomatopoetic change from the Dutch *Bloemendaal*. The lower point of the island being called after Amsterdam, other points in the vicinity received names to correspond with the vicinity of the ancient Dutch city. Thus Harlem was named after the city of Haarlem (its name was New Harlem, or Nieuw Haerlem, originally). A beautiful village near Haarlem, noted for its horticultural nurseries, gave the name to Bloemendaal, or Bloomingdale.

Wm Linn.

During the period now under consideration the activity in the way of church-building of denominations other than the Dutch Reformed and the Episcopalian was in abeyance or suspense—to be revived, however, almost immediately subsequent to it by the Presbyterians. Notable among Episcopal churches erected about this time are St. Stephen's, on the corner of Broome and Chrystie streets, built in 1805, following in the wake of population which went northward more rapidly on the east side than on the west; and Grace Church, on the corner of Broadway and Rector street, built in 1806, on the site formerly occupied by the Lutheran church. Indeed, it seems rather surprising that a church of the same order should thus have been placed beneath the very shadow of Trinity.

Far away from all these churches, clustered and almost crowded together within so limited an area below Vesey and Beekman streets, there was erected in 1807 a church which has thus far escaped that "march of improvement" to which the others have all succumbed. Grace Church (down-town), St. George's in Beekman street, Christ Church in Ann street, St. Stephen's in Broome street, are no more to be found upon the sites that knew them once. Even Trinity is not what then it was, though it occupies the same historic spot; but, together with St. Paul's, St. John's on Varick street stands unimpaired and unchanged, a monument of earlier times. To a dweller at Cologne, whose unequaled cathedral reared its walls skyward six hundred years ago, a building eighty-five or one hundred and twenty-six years old (the ages of St. John's and St. Paul's respectively) may seem a very recent product. We of New-York, however, are fain to congratulate ourselves that these edifices still abide, when every other church built so long ago, and many of those erected much more recently, have disappeared.

Trinity Church farm, once, as is known, that of thrifty Anneke Jans, stretched along the North River nearly to Thirteenth street. About half-way between the parent church and the extremity of this extensive property a site was selected for a new church in 1807. It seemed a very unwise selection to many. It added to the surprise occasioned by placing a structure which it was reported would cost two hundred thousand dollars so far out of town, that so unwholesome a location should have been fixed upon. For there was nothing but a marsh to cover the space now occupied by that "palace of industry," the freight depot of the New-York Central Railroad,—to be thus named, not indeed for the beauty or refinement of its structure or contents, but for the ceaseless stir of business and the remarkable concentration of a vast traffic. As the beautiful edifice of the church, with its pillared portico, rose on the one hand, the resort of snakes and frogs, and possibly mosquitos, was gradually made to assume the attractive appearance of a carefully laid out park, dimly recalled now by the generation of middle-aged men and women. In the course of years the wisdom of the choice of location was vindicated, as the handsomest residences of the town crowded around the park. Dingy and dilapidated as these are in their fallen state to-day, they still have enough about them to attest their earlier elegance. And far above the changed surroundings the noble steeple of St. John's rears its graceful, tapering form, showing the flight of time, and sounding the hours amid the noisy din, as in the past amid the rural quiet.

THE BAYARD COUNTRY HOUSE IN HARLEM.

To enlarge on the frequent visitations of the yellow fever scourge would constitute a very dreary duty for the historian of the metropolis. In the previous chapter, those of the last decade of the eighteenth century have been duly noticed. The first decade of the nineteenth saw their recurrence in many a summer. But that of 1803 deserves especial mention, because it afforded the gratifying spectacle of the courage and devotion of the city's chief magistrate, Edward Livingston. In 1801, after twelve years of able service, Richard Varick was removed from the mayor's office as a result of the complete overthrow of the Federalist forces. The council of appointment placed Edward

Livingston in the chair, the youngest brother of Chancellor Livingston, who had begun the practice of the law in New-York city in 1785. The Livingstons had cast in their sympathies with the Republicans, or Democrats, hence upon a member of that family the choice of the party in power naturally fell. Fortunately, while politics often ruled the hour then, as now, in such selections, they were then, as not now, almost always worthily made. In personal character, in legal and executive ability, in social standing and social fitness,—no small consideration in those days,—a better choice could hardly have been made. The first event of note in Mayor Livingston's term was the laying of the foundation-stone of the present City Hall, in the park, the historic common of Revolutionary times, a more careful description of which belongs to a subsequent chapter, which shall record its completion. In 1803, in the month of July, the yellow fever struck the city, so very small in population as compared with that of to-day, but so much less prepared to prevent the spread of an epidemic. Mayor Livingston conceived it to be his duty to remain at his post, superintending the methods of relief, and ministering to the poor or ill-provided of his private means. His visits to hospitals and infected homes at last brought him down as one of the victims. Daily crowds surged toward the door of his house, at No. 1 Broadway, to inquire the progress of the dread malady, to offer assistance, to repay in some manner the kindness and the courage which had caused him to fall

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, VARICK STREET.

before the scourge. His life was spared, and a long career of usefulness and distinction followed, the threshold to which, however, was another severe adversity. Duality in office was not forbidden in those times, and Mayor Livingston was also United States district attorney. While he was ill a dishonest clerk had made away with large government funds under his care as attorney. He at once sold all his property to make good the loss; boldly started out on a new search after fortune in the territory recently purchased from France under the advice and by the negotiation of his brother, the former chancellor, then minister to France; gained fame and wealth in New Orleans by his distinguished legal talent; was sent to Congress, and under President Jackson rose to be secretary of state.

Edw Livingston

On the resignation of Mayor Livingston in 1803, the influence of the Clinton family (who, with the Livingstons, divided the patronage of the Democratic party) secured the appointment of De Witt Clinton as his successor. He was the son of General James Clinton, and thus the nephew of Governor Clinton. He had begun public life as private secretary to the latter, and, although educated for the legal profession, he preferred politics. He was at the present juncture United States senator, but resigned his seat, as the office of mayor of New-York was both more important and vastly more lucrative than that of senator. The man has made such a mark in the history of the city and the State that it is needless to make more extended biographical mention of him. Every great enterprise for the public good brings his name to the foreground. We have already indicated his connection with the founding of the public-school system of the city. At a brief accession of power by the Federalists in 1807, De Witt Clinton was removed from office. Then the well-known name of Marinus Willett for a year figures at the head of the municipal government. It was most interesting that the descendant of the earliest mayor of New-York should thus have been invested with the office exactly one hundred and forty years after the other's retirement.

In the year 1804 a bill was passed by the legislature of the State which instituted some important changes in the chartered privileges of the city. The agitations for such changes had been started two years before, when letters began to appear in the public prints, calling attention to some of the defects of the old charter, dating back to Montgomerie's time, or 1730. It was complained that suffrage was not sufficiently distributed, that freeholders were allowed to vote, but without restricting them to any one ward, so that a man owning small pieces of property in every ward was entitled to vote in each. From letters in the newspapers, the agitation went on to the calling of public meetings, several of which were held at Adams's (later Union) Hotel, or Assembly Rooms, at 68 William street. At these, other modifications besides the removal of the above grievances were proposed, the principal (although rejected) being that the mayor's office be made elective, and salaried, instead of subject to payment by indefinite fees. As usual, party and faction played their part in these discussions, and the motives of both promoters and opponents of the measure were impugned. A committee of citizens waited on the common council, on January 17, 1803, asking that body to join in a petition to the legislature to pass a law effecting the desired changes; but the council not only rejected the proposal, but sent a petition asking that the charter be left intact. The citizens then sent an independent request directly to Albany. A bill was drawn up in accordance therewith, and passed the assembly on March 16, 1803. The next year it was taken up again, and now became a law on April 5, 1804. Among its provisions were the following: that the annual charter election should take place on the third Tuesday of November; that the voting should be by ballot, instead of *viva voce* as heretofore; that the election might continue for more than one day, if necessary; that polling-places should be appointed in each ward; and that no person could vote in any other ward than the one in which he resided. The election of a mayor by the people was still distant full thirty years.

As having a very pertinent bearing upon the development of the commerce of New-York city, it must not be forgotten that during the very years now under notice the nation's relations with the piratical Barbary powers of the Mediterranean were being adjusted, and were finally put into a condition more honorable than that in which they had been left at the close of the preceding century. It was time that something should be done to teach these barbaric peoples a wholesome lesson regarding our power, when it had come to such a pass that one of these despots sent word to the president that our payment of tribute meant as much as that we were his servants. On the strength of this unpalatable but not very unreasonable theory, he had peremptorily sent one of our vessels of war to Constantinople to bear his country's quota of revenue to the Sublime Porte. In May, 1801, Tripoli's ruler cut down the flag-staff of the United States consulate,—an act equivalent to a declaration of war. Immediately a squadron of four vessels was despatched to the scene, under the command of Commodore Richard Dale. A second squadron followed in February, 1802, composed of six vessels, under Commodore Richard V. Morris. But neither of these armaments accomplished anything very decisive. As events progressed the government and the people became more and more enthusiastic and energetic, and determined to push hostilities to the point of the complete and final humiliation of these insolent sea-robber states. In these endeavors many a name came into prominence, and many a deed was done by our navy of which our nation was proud. The war gave rise practically to the American navy. It showed what great possibilities were in existence for the future of this branch of our service. Another war, close at hand, and on a more worthy and dignified scale, raised the navy to the height of fame; but this little war on pirates was its stepping-stone and preparation. In 1805 a force of no less than twenty-four vessels, under Commodore John Rodgers, was present in the Mediterranean. Tripoli succumbed, the other "powers" were thoroughly alarmed, and on June 4, 1805, a treaty was effected which gave security to our shipping in these waters, and allowed commerce to repair the cost of the war and the previous losses by piracy.[1]

Brief mention may be made of several items which belong to the local history of this period, and which are of interest, but which will naturally obtain more extended treatment under appropriate monographs in another portion of this work. Columbia College continued to flourish under its republican name and in the republican atmosphere of its present surroundings. In 1801 the Rev. Charles Wharton was its president, but was succeeded ere its close in this position by Bishop Moore. In 1807 was organized its now famous adjunct, the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Originally, however, this institution was not connected with Columbia, being established as a rival to its "medical faculty." Later the two schools were combined into one; but again, subsequently, a separation took place, the College of Physicians and Surgeons remaining with Columbia. As an outgrowth of the benevolent enterprise which had founded the New-York Hospital several years before, there was added to its buildings, in 1807, one for lunatics. Fourteen years later the fine structure for such patients at Bloomingdale, still under the management of the hospital, was completed, situated on the ridge overlooking the Hudson on one side, and Harlem Plains and the East River on the other.

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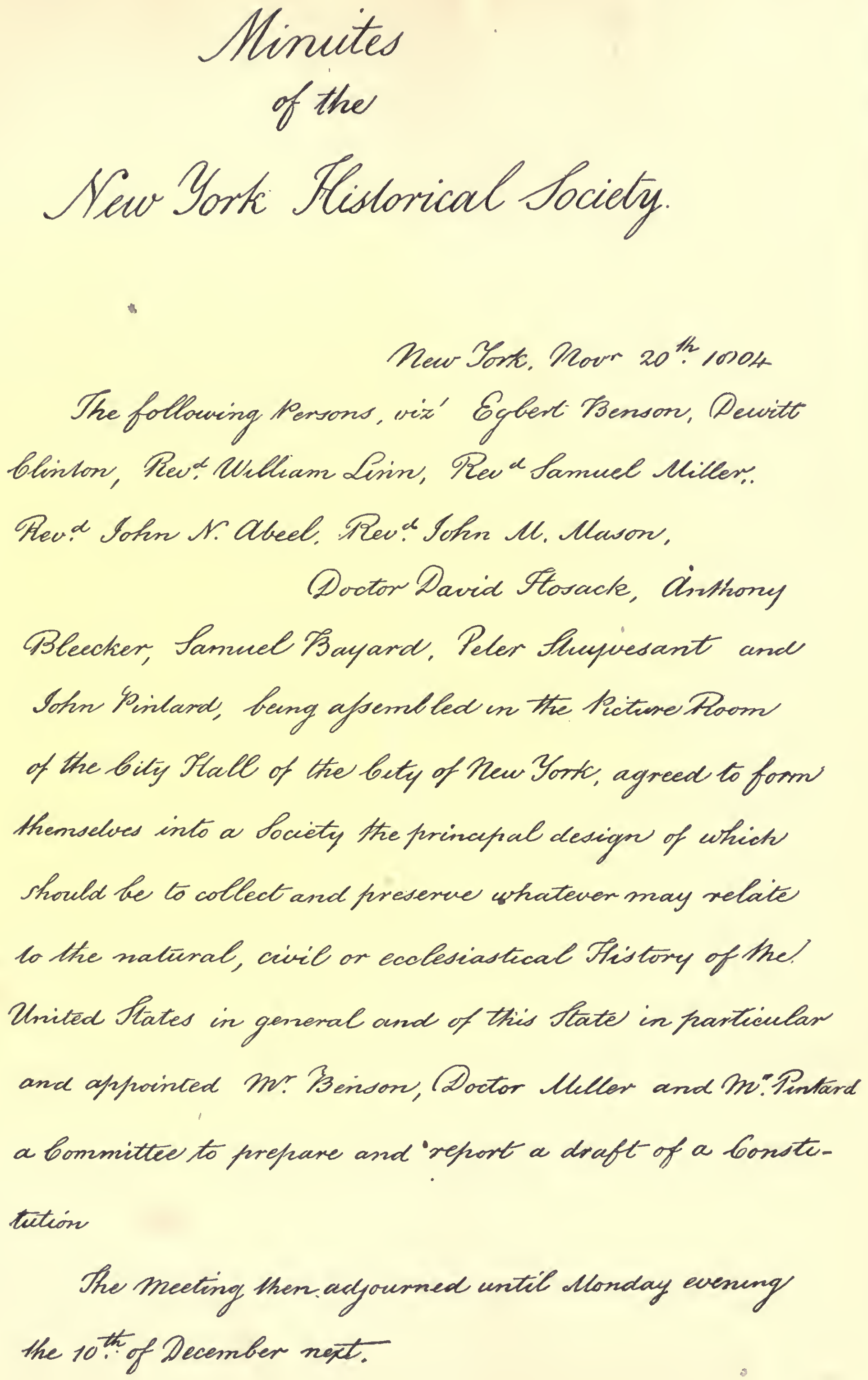
[1] "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," 7: 368, *et seq.*



Minutes
# of the
New York Historical Society.

New York, Novr 20th 1804

The following Persons, viz' Egbert Benson, Dewitt Clinton, Revd William Linn, Revd Samuel Miller, Revd John N. Abeel, Revd John M. Mason, Doctor David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, Peter Stuyvesant and John Pintard, being aſsembled in the Picture Room of the City Hall of the City of New York, agreed to form themselves into a Society the principal design of which should be to collect and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil or ecclesiastical History of the United States in general and of this State in particular and appointed Mr. Benson, Doctor Miller and Mr. Pintard a Committee to prepare and report a draft of a Constitution

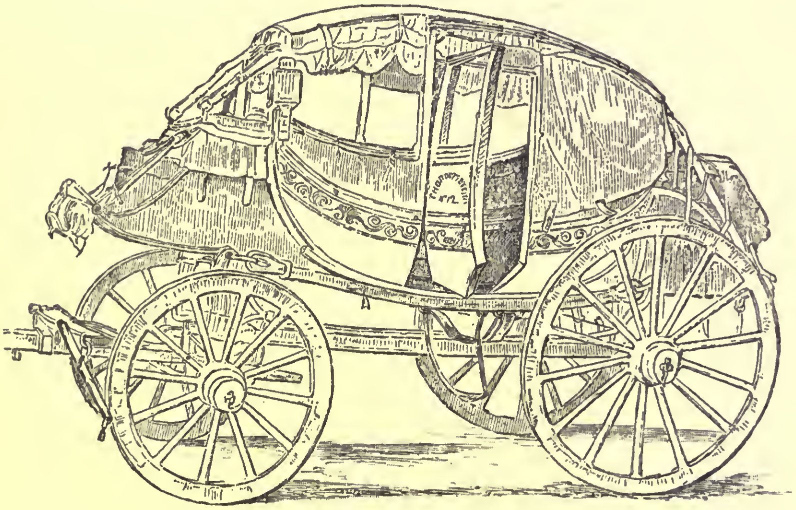
The meeting then adjourned until Monday evening the 10th of December next.

The laying of the corner-stone of the present City Hall, in 1803, has already been alluded to. In 1804 was founded the New-York Historical Society, through the enlightened enthusiasm for historical research entertained by Judge Egbert Benson and the merchant John Pintard, whose name stands also honorably associated with the progress of the New-York Society Library. It was not, however, till the celebration on an elaborate scale of the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson (to be duly noticed in the next chapter), that the society attracted any very general attention. Its timely erection and intelligent work have been of incalculable benefit in the preservation of the earliest records of the history of the State and city. Indeed, its design embraced even a wider scope, being, as expressed by the founders, "to collect and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil or ecclesiastical History of the United States in general and of this State in particular." It may be worth while to call attention also to the fact that in 1803 the ancient Huguenot Church—"the Reformed Church of France"—changed its ecclesiastical order (to comply with a condition attached to a generous benevolence) to that of the "Reformed Church of England," becoming a part of the Protestant Episcopal communion; but it assumed a French name,—"L'Eglise du Saint Esprit,"—and has continued to worship in that tongue to this day.

Sam^l Bayard

Again, among this medley of items may be inserted that in 1801 was added to the banks and other financial institutions already congregating in Wall street, the Washington Fire Insurance Company. It was the third organization of this nature, having been preceded by the Marine Insurance Company and the Mutual Fire Insurance Company, organized just before the close of the previous century. Of the seven newspapers that gloried at this time in a daily issue, we notice two whose names, if not their management, have continued till now—the "Evening Post" and the "Commercial Advertiser." The "Evening Post," in fact, dates (so far as its designation goes) back to 1746; being the third in order of establishment after Bradford's "Gazette" (1725) and Zenger's "Journal" (1733). But it was discontinued for lack of patronage before the Revolution. On November 16, 1801, came forth the first issue of its present namesake.

A glimpse at the social aspect or condition of the city may serve as a proper conclusion to this chapter. The Dutch city was now entering upon its third century of life, yet more than a few vestiges of its foreign origin remained. The domestic architecture still bore faint witness to it here and there. Until 1803, as was noted, every Sabbath day found worshipers in the Garden street church listening to Dutch preaching, and singing heartily the Gregorian chant of Dutch psalmody. But after this sign of the past had been done away, still upon the market-places,[1] where congregated the countrymen from their farms on Long Island, in New Jersey, in Westchester County, one had great need of a knowledge of Dutch to be quite safe in a bargain. Thither came the Vanderveers, and Ryders, and Rapaljes; the Bogerts, and Hoppers, and Van Emburgs; the Blauvelts and Van Houtens,—just as the observant New-Yorker of to-day may still see those names upon the huge farm-wagons crossing by the ferries in the early hours of morning, or standing all night along Greenwich street, between Washington and Clinton markets. This "persistence" of the Dutch "type" also brought about a unique and



NEW-YORK STAGE-COACH.[2]

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[1] The markets in 1806 were the following: 1, the Exchange market, foot of Broad street; 2, the Bear market, foot of Vesey street, and on Greenwich, between Vesey and Fulton (then Fair) streets; 3, the Oswego market, on Maiden Lane, near Broadway; 4, the Fly market, consisting of three market-houses on Maiden Lane, from Pearl street to the East River; and 5, the Catharine market, with two market-houses, at the foot of Catharine street.

[2] The above illustration represents a stage-coach in use in the early years of the century. It is reduced from a drawing made "with the camera lucida by Captain B. Hall, R. N.," in his "Forty Sketches in North America," London, 1829. In this connection it is of interest to add that, besides the stages to Boston, Albany, and other places outside the limits of Manhattan Island, there were those running regularly to and from Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Manhattanville. The stage to Greenwich started from Baker's Tavern in Wall street, corner of New; the other two from the Bull's Head in the Bowery, nearly opposite the Bowery Theater of later days. The Greenwich line was the first to adopt stages entered by a door in the rear.

curious feature—the street cries of venders. Any one who has been in Holland, and has given any attention to the cries — rich in variety of pitch and volume, if not in melody—heard upon the streets of its larger cities, may gain some idea of what the long-suffering ears of the earlier dwellers in New-York had to endure, when, in addition to the scope in shrieks and calls afforded by the mother-tongue, combinations with the imperfectly possessed English furnished a wider range for this emission of strange sounds.

Passing from such "genre" or familiar aspects of society to its more dignified conditions, at the beginning of this century, perhaps no more concise summary of these can be presented than in the words of another: "The divisions between the upper, middle, and lower classes were sharply marked. The old families formed a rather exclusive circle, and among them the large land-owners still claimed the lead, though the rich merchants, who were of similar ancestry, much outnumbered them, and stood practically on the same plane. But the days of this social and political aristocracy were numbered. They lost their political power first. . . . The fall of this class, as a class, was not to be regretted; for its individual members did not share the general fate unless they themselves deserved to fall. The descendant of any old family who was worth his salt still had as fair a chance as any one else to make his way in the world of politics, of business, or of literature; and according to our code and standard, the man who asks more is a craven."[1]

THE WEEHAWKEN DUELING-GROUND.

Few strangers came to New-York fifty years ago without visiting the celebrated dueling-ground on the romantic bank of the Hudson, about two miles above the Hoboken Ferry. It was a grassy ledge, or shelf, about twenty feet above the water, and only sufficiently large for the fatal encounters that frequently occurred there in the old dueling days, being about two yards wide, by twelve in length. From this celebrated spot there was a natural and almost regular flight of steps to the edge of the rocky shore where a landing was effected. This singularly isolated and secluded spot was reached by small boats, being inaccessible to foot-passengers along the shore, except at very low tide. No path led to it from the picturesque heights of Weehawken, whose beauties have been sweetly sung by Halleck, and are familiar to all, or nearly all, New-Yorkers; but the ground was sometimes reached from above by adventurous persons who descended the steep, rough, and wooded declivity.

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[1] Theodore Roosevelt's "New-York," pp. 166, 167. Mr. Roosevelt is himself an illustration of how far ability and worth may carry a descendant of an old New-York family, "who is worth his salt," in the estimation not only of his native city or State, but also in that of the nation.

It was to this spot that the fiery Tybalts resorted for the settlement of difficulties according to the "code of honor" prevailing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These single combats were, chiefly by reason of the inflamed state of political feeling, of frequent occurrence, and very seldom ending without bloodshed. Here occurred the meetings referred to by Byron, when he says:

> It is a strange quick jar upon the ear,
> That cocking of a pistol, when you know
> A moment more will bring the sight to bear
> Upon your person, twelve yards off, or so:
> A gentlemanly distance, not too near,
> If you have got a former friend or foe;
> But, after being fired at once or twice,
> The ear becomes more Irish and less nice.

It was at the Weehawken dueling-ground that Philip Hamilton, at the age of twenty, was killed, November 23, 1801, in an "affair of honor," by George J. Eacker, like his victim, a promising young lawyer of New-York; it was here, in the year following, that a Mr. Bird was shot through the heart, and, springing up several feet from the ground, fell dead; here Benjamin Price was killed by Captain Green, of the British army; and it was in this justly celebrated place that Alexander Hamilton fell, at seven o'clock on Wednesday morning, July 11, 1804, on the very spot where his eldest son had been killed. Several months after the duel, the St. Andrew's Society of New-York, of which the lamented patriot had been the president, erected upon the ground a marble monument, and surrounded it with an iron railing. Every summer thousands of strangers visited the spot. As the years glided past, the railing was torn down by vandal hands, and the whole structure gradually removed, piece by piece, as souvenirs, till at length no vestige of it remained on the ground which it commemorated. Two granite blocks, inscribed with the names of Burr and Hamilton, deeply cut in the stone, and the former dated 1804, marked the positions where they stood face to face on that bright but fatal July morning, sixty-five years ago.

HAMILTON MONUMENT.

President Nott of Union College, in an address on the death of Hamilton, delivered at the time, thus referred to the dueling-ground: "Ah! ye tragic shores of Hoboken, crimsoned with the richest blood, I tremble at the crimes you record against us, the annual register of murders which you keep and send up to God! Place of inhuman cruelty! beyond the limits of reason, of duty, and of religion, where man assumes a more barbarous nature, and ceases to be man. What poignant, lingering sorrows do thy lawless combats occasion to surviving relatives! Ye who have hearts of pity, ye who have experienced the anguish of dissolving friendship, who have wept, and still weep, over the mouldering ruins of departed kindred, ye can enter into this reflection."

A few summers since, the writer visited the romantic and secluded spot, in company with the poet Halleck, who was well acquainted with all the actors in the tragedy except General Hamilton, and who pointed out the positions of the principals, and the old cedar-tree under which Hamilton stood while the seconds, Judge Nathaniel Pendleton and William P. Van Ness, a young lawyer, were arranging the preliminaries, and Dr. David Hosack, Matthew L. Davis, and the boatmen sat in the two boats, awaiting the result of the duel which ended so tragically. Perhaps, since the world began, no hostile meeting in an "affair of honor" ever created greater excitement—certainly none that have occurred in this country—than the deadly encounter between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton.

On a bright May morning of the present year we revisited the ancient dueling-ground; but, alas, it had been swept out of existence by that "villainous alteration miscalled *improvement*." Nothing remains to mark the spot but a weather-beaten stone on which the name Hamilton has been almost obliterated by the winds and rains of heaven. In place of the narrow ledge, there is now a broad track, over which the trains of the West Shore railroad will soon be thundering northward to Fort Lee and farther on to Albany, awakening the echoes from the picturesque Weehawken heights and the lofty Highlands of the Hudson.

"Let me hope, I pray you," wrote Fitz-Greene Halleck to a lady friend at Fort Lee, a few years ago, "that, while I live, you will not allow any person, whom I refrain from naming (the same person who entered, of old, the only paradise on earth to be compared to Fort Lee, in the shape of a rattlesnake, and played the very devil there), to come, in the shape of a railroad locomotive, screaming his way through your garden, up to a crystal palace on the top of the Palisades, at the rate of forty miles an hour." The poet's prayer was realized; he did not live to witness this much-needed modern improvement, and to have his heart saddened by what he would have deemed a desecration of the fondly cherished scene so indelibly impressed upon his memory.

The venerable cedar-tree against which Hamilton leaned, as he gazed sadly for the last time on the distant city which held all that was dear to him in this world, has been cut down and thrown into the river, and the place changed beyond all recognition. Looking around for the memorials of past days, we at length discovered the granite block inscribed with the name of Hamilton; but the other was not to be found, nor the numerous rocks, which we had seen on our former visit, decorated with the names or initials of persons who had made pilgrimages to the place.

A gang of laborers were at work near the spot, and to their foreman we addressed an inquiry about the granite block inscribed "Burr, 1804." The conversation ran as follows:

Writer.—Have you seen a large stone here similar to this one marked Hamilton?

Foreman.—Yes.

Writer.—Was it marked with the name of Burr, and dated 1804?

Foreman.—It was.

Writer.—Do you know where it is?

Foreman.—Yes.

Writer.—Can you point it out to me?

Foreman.—Well, I guess not, seeing it 's underground. It 's been used as a covering-stone in a culvert just above here.

Writer.—Could you not have made use of another stone, and allowed the interesting memorial to remain?

Foreman.—Why, yes; and I told the boss he 'd better lay it alongside of t'other granite block; but he said that Burr was a mean cuss, anyhow, and not of much account, and he guessed it would be more useful doing duty as a covering-stone than perpetuating his memory.—THE EDITOR, in "Appleton's Journal," June, 1869.

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNING OF STEAM NAVIGATION

1807–1812

THE great event of the first decade of the century in its bearing upon the interests of New-York was the successful application of steam to the propulsion of vessels. Indeed, so great an influence did this exert upon the city's subsequent growth that we feel justified in giving in detail the successive steps of its development. The problem had engaged the attention of mechanicians for centuries. Papin, as early as 1690, in a printed book, had advocated steam as a universal motive-power, and had given a rough draft of a paddle-wheel steamer. He even went so far as to construct a model steamboat, which was tried in 1707 upon the river Fulda, near Cassel, but does not seem to have been successful, as nothing farther was heard of it.

The next attempt of the kind was the "marine engine" of Jonathan Hulls, 1736, intended for towing ships. This craft was noticeable for its use of the stern-wheel, still common on Western steamboats, power being conveyed to it by means of bands. William Henry, a native of Chester County, Pennsylvania, moved a model boat by steam on Conestoga Creek, near its entrance into the Susquehanna River, in 1763.

Two years later, in 1765, there was born of humble parents at Fulton, Pennsylvania, near the scene of this experiment, a boy, Robert Fulton, who, combining and improving upon the efforts of all who had gone before him, invented the first successful steamboat, and inaugurated a new era of commercial development and prosperity. Fulton was, no doubt, familiar with the model built and tried by Henry near his home in 1763. In 1779, at the age of fourteen, he began his experiments with boats by affixing a paddle-wheel to his fishing-boat, the latter being moved by man-power. At the age of seventeen, having exhibited fine powers as an artist, he removed to Philadelphia to study art, and there gained the friendship of Benjamin Franklin and other important persons, by whom he was encouraged to proceed to London and pursue his art studies under the patronage of Benjamin West, the famous American painter. By West he was introduced to two noblemen—the Duke of Bridgewater and the Earl of Stanhope; the former owner of extensive coal-mines at Worsley, to which he had constructed a canal from Manchester; the latter inventor of the Stanhope printing-press and greatly interested in mechanics and engineering.

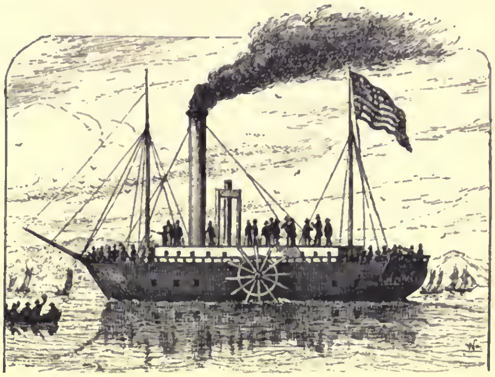
Stanhope had invented several improvements in canal-locks, and with the Duke of Bridgewater turned Fulton's attention at this time to the subject of canals and steam navigation. The latter published during this period a treatise on canals, and frequent reference is made in his manuscript to the subject of steam navigation. Copies of the treatise were sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Governor of New-York, with a letter calling the attention of those officials to the advantages that canals would confer on the United States. In his letter to the governor he pointed out the superiority of canals over turnpike-roads, then rapidly being constructed, for the transportation of freight. It was claimed by his biographer, Mr. Reigart, that Fulton first conceived the idea of a canal connecting the head waters of the Hudson with the great lakes, and published it in a letter to the American government on the subject of a projected canal between the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain.

Robt Fulton

In 1797 Fulton went to Paris, and there meeting Joel Barlow, the American poet, philosopher, and diplomat, was invited by him to take up his residence in the latter's mansion. Barlow was as much interested in the development of the steamboat and the canal as Fulton. He had the acumen early to discern how both, by facilitating speedy and cheap communication between distant ports, would prove of vital importance to his country, and now entered heartily into Fulton's experiments with the steamboat, advancing the necessary funds. A model boat was constructed, and soon after Barlow, visiting the national depot of machines, saw there an exact model of this trial boat, as he wrote, the latter, "in all its parts and principles, a very elegant model. It contains your wheel oars precisely as you have placed them except that it has four wheels on each side to guide round the endless chain instead of two. The two upper wheels seem to be only to support the chain; perhaps it is an improvement. The model of the steam-engine is in its place, with a wooden boiler, cylinder placed horizontal, every thing complete. I never saw a neater model. It belongs to a company at Lyons who got out a patent about three months ago." Montgolfier, whom he encountered in the depot, told him that the company had issued stock to the amount of two million francs for building boats and navigating the Rhone, and had already spent six hundred thousand francs in establishing their works at Lyons. The enterprise, however, proved a failure.

J Barlow

In one of his letters to Barlow, written during this time, Fulton predicted a speed of sixteen miles an hour for his steamboat, to which Barlow replied, "I see without consulting Parker that you are mad." In 1805, Mr. Barlow returned to America and took up his residence at Kalorama, a beautiful country-seat in Georgetown, on the outskirts of Washington. Here Fulton joined him early in 1807, and set himself to preparing a steamboat which should be successful commercially as well as mechanically. In preparing this there is little doubt that he made use of the ideas and mistakes of other inventors who had been at work for years on the same idea. Rumsey, an American inventor, in 1784 had propelled a boat by a jet of water forced out of the stern by pumps worked by steam-power. John Fitch, of Philadelphia, had constructed a steamboat in 1787 which made several passages between Philadelphia and Burlington, at the rate of four miles an hour. But he could find no capitalists willing to furnish the capital necessary to build the pioneer boats, and the inventor died at last in the depths of penury. Nathan Read constructed in 1789 a steamboat with which he crossed an arm of the sea at Danvers, Massachusetts. Elijah Ormsbee, a native of Connecticut, constructed a rude steamboat in 1792, that plied on the Pawtucket River for several weeks, at a rate of three or four miles an hour. But he could secure no funds to construct a larger craft, and, abandoning his idea, went back to his carpenter's bench. Samuel Morey, of Connecticut, is said to have built a steamboat which made the voyage from Hartford to New-York, and was examined there by Chancellor Livingston, Judge Livingston, John Stevens, and others. In 1797 Morey built a steamboat at Bordentown, New Jersey, and ran it to Philadelphia. It had two wheels, one on each side, with a shaft running across the deck, turned by a crank in the center. Morey, who died in 1843, never ceased to claim that Fulton stole the idea of the Clermont's propelling machinery from him. Nicholas J. Roosevelt, in a petition to the legislature of New Jersey, claimed to be the true and original inventor and discoverer of steamboats with vertical wheels. He declared, supporting his statement with an affidavit, that about 1781 or 1782 he constructed a wooden model of a steamboat, the vertical wheels of which were propelled by springs of hickory or whalebone acting upon the wheels by a band.[1]



THE CLERMONT.

One other inventor preceding Fulton claims our attention, from the fact that he proposed to drive his boat by twin screws propelled by a high-pressure engine; thus inventing the screw forty years before it came into general use and before the principle of the paddle had been demonstrated to be successful. This inventor was Captain John Stevens, of Hoboken; his boat was fourteen feet wide by sixty-eight long; its machinery is still preserved in the Stevens Institute at Hoboken, where the curious reader may study it at leisure. Many experiments were also made, as we have seen, in England and on the Continent. That Fulton was familiar with all these devices is doubtful. How much he borrowed from others is a vexed question; but this much is certain: he built the first steamboat to make regular trips, carrying passengers and freight, and proving commercially so profitable to her owners that fleets of successors and rivals soon sprang into being. He is, therefore, fairly entitled to be considered, as he has been called, the father of the steamboat.

Fulton's first successful boat was the Clermont. While in France he had had the good fortune to meet Robert R. Livingston, then American minister to the French court. This gentleman was a member of that Livingston family many times referred to in these pages, a jurist and statesman of high reputation. Born in the city of New-York in 1746, he was thirty years of age when the second Continental

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[1] "Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography," 5 : 317.

Congress sat in Philadelphia, and as a member of that body was one of the committee of five to draft the Declaration of Independence. He was unavoidably absent, however, on the Fourth of July, 1776, so that his name does not appear among the signers of that immortal instrument; but he was active in support of the patriot cause, having served as a member of Congress in 1780, and as secretary for foreign affairs from 1781 to 1783. His services to his State were as great as those to his country. He was a member of the convention that, in 1777, framed the first State constitution of New-York; and he was the first chancellor of New-York, holding the office until 1801, from which cause he is generally called in history Chancellor Livingston. In this capacity he will be remembered as having administered the oath of office to Washington at his first inauguration in 1789, the only State official to whom this honor has fallen. He was appointed United States minister to France in 1801, and retained the position until 1804, when he resigned and returned to New-York, having negotiated, in 1803, the purchase of the territory of Louisiana from the French government.

But Chancellor Livingston's services as statesman and jurist were not more valuable, perhaps, to his country than the results attained by his interest in its material development, especially in the steamboat and canal. "He applied himself with uncommon energy and perseverance, and at great expense, to constructing vessels and machinery for that kind of navigation," says his biographer, Cadwallader D. Colden. "As early as 1798 he believed that he had accomplished his object, and represented to the Legislature of New-York that he was possessed of a mode of applying the steam-engine to propel a boat on new and advantageous principles: but that he was deterred from carrying it into effect by the uncertainty and hazard of a very expensive experiment unless he could be assured of an exclusive advantage from it should it be found successful. The Legislature, in March, 1798, passed an act vesting Mr. Livingston with the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam on all the waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the State of New-York for the term of twenty years from the passing of the act: upon condition that he should, within a twelvemonth, build such a boat, the mean of whose progress should not be less than four miles an hour."

The bill, introduced by Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, of New-York, was received as a joke by both houses, scarcely a member of which believed that steam could ever be made to supersede sails; and after it had been ridiculed and made the subject of numerous witticisms, it was passed, as it would have been probably had the monopoly been for a thousand years,—the franchise, in the opinion of the legislature, being without value.

Livingston at once built a steamboat of thirty tons burden, but on her trial trip she failed to develop the necessary speed, and did not therefore meet the requirements of the law; the projector's departure for France about this time led to the temporary abandonment of the enterprise. In France, however, Livingston met Fulton and Barlow, as we have seen, and his interest in steam navigation was revived. After many conferences and experiments, the two former determined to build a pioneer boat at their joint expense, Mr. Barlow finding the necessary funds for Fulton. In April, 1802, the latter accompanied Mrs. Barlow to the famous baths at Plombières as her escort, and there busied himself by constructing with his own hands several models of steamboats. On his return to Paris, in the autumn, the construction of a steamboat was begun on the Seine, which was finished in the spring of 1803. A day had been fixed for the trial, and a party of friends and scientists was invited to witness it; but, unfortunately, the night before a gale swept down the Seine where the boat lay moored to the bank, and the machinery being too heavy for the frame, the boat capsized and sank, to the disappointment of her constructor.

Saml L Mitchill

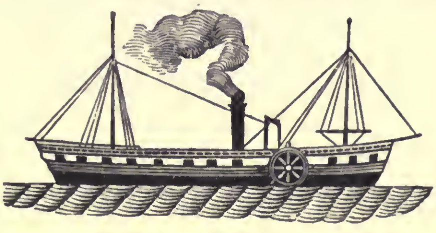
Fulton, undismayed, at once began the work of raising her, and within twenty-four hours had the machinery upon the bank very little injured; the hull, however, was entirely ruined, so that it had to be replaced by a new one. Summer was well advanced when this was accomplished; but, early in August, Mr. Fulton had the pleasure of inviting the officers of the French National Institute, with other distinguished citizens of Paris, to witness her trial trip on the Seine. The boat was sixty-six feet in length and eight feet in width, and was moved by paddle-wheels on the sides. The trial proved satisfactory in every respect, except that she did not develop as much speed as her builders expected. This Fulton attributed in part to lack of power in the engines, and in part to a faulty construction of the hull; but with characteristic energy he at once set about remedying the defects.

The two, Fulton and Livingston, now decided to build a larger and much stronger boat for the navigation of the Hudson River. The former at once ordered a larger and more powerful engine from Messrs. Boulton and Watt, the famous engine-builders of Birmingham, England, his contract stipulating that it should be delivered in America by 1805, although it did not arrive until after Fulton's return in 1806. The hull they decided to build in New-York. Mr. Livingston also secured, through the aid of his friends, a renewal of the exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of the State by steam —Fulton's name being associated with his in the new grant, the two being joint grantees. The condition was that they should, within two years, produce a steamboat of at least twenty tons burden, capable of moving against the current of the Hudson at a rate of at least four miles per hour. A later act extended the time to April, 1807.

Mr. Livingston is said by several authorities to have furnished the funds for building the boat, and Colonel Thomas W. Knox, in his recent excellent life of Fulton, repeats the statement. It is probable, however, that the funds for the model of the Clermont were contributed in part by Joel Barlow, and for the large boat by several partners. While Fulton was at Plombières in 1802, Joel Barlow wrote him: "My project would be that you should pass directly over to England, silent and steady, make Chapman construct an engine of twelve inches while you are building a boat of proportionate size. Make the experiments on that scale all quiet and quick. If it answers, put the machinery on board a vessel and go directly to New-York (ordering another engine, as large as you please, to follow you), then secure your patent and begin your operation, first small, and then large. I think I will find you the funds without any noise for the first operation in England, and if it promises well you will get as many funds and friends in America as you want. I should suggest a small operation first for several reasons: it can be made without noise; there must be imperfections in the first trial which you can remedy without disgrace if done without noise; you can easier find funds for a small experiment." Livingston returned to America in 1805, Joel Barlow in July of the same year, Fulton in November, 1806. The latter was then in funds, having from vested funds, as he wrote Mr. Barlow, "five hundred pounds sterling a year, with a steam-engine and pictures worth two thousand pounds."

Fulton, heeding Barlow's advice, had brought with him a miniature engine, and hastening to the latter's country-seat, near Washington, constructed there a model of the larger Clermont, which the two friends tried on the quiet waters of Rock Creek, which flowed through the grounds. The trial proving satisfactory, Fulton and Livingston next began building, at the ship-yard of Charles Brown, on the East

River, a large full-powered steamboat, 130 feet long, 16½ feet wide, 4 feet deep, and of 160 tons burden by the custom-house regulations then in force. The wheels were fifteen feet in diameter, with paddles four feet in length and two feet in dip. The boiler was twenty feet long, seven feet deep, and eight feet wide. The steam-cylinder was twenty-four inches in diameter, and had a stroke of four feet. It was not until August, 1807, that she was ready for her preliminary trip, which was made at an early hour, from the ship-yard to the Jersey shore. Few people, except the crews of vessels at anchor in the harbor, witnessed it; and these, seeing a vessel moving through the water without the aid of sails, and, indeed, without masts on which to spread them, regarded the strange craft with superstitious awe, as something uncanny. A few days later her trial trip was made in the presence of a large company of invited guests, including several members of the legislature: among them Dr. Mitchill, the gentleman who had secured the first concession for Mr. Livingston in 1798.


FROM AN ADVERTISEMENT.

Of this trial trip Mr. Colden has given the following description: "Nothing could exceed the surprise and admiration of all who witnessed the experiment. The minds of the most incredulous were changed in a few minutes. Before the boat had made the progress of a quarter of a mile, the greatest unbeliever must have been converted. The man who, while he looked on the expensive machine, thanked his stars that he had more wisdom than to waste his money on such idle schemes, changed the expression of his features as the boat moved from the wharf and gained her speed; his complacent smile gradually stiffened into an expression of wonder. The jeers of the ignorant, who had neither sense nor feeling enough to suppress their contemptuous ridicule and rude jokes, were silenced for a moment by a vulgar astonishment, which deprived them of the power of utterance, till the triumph of genius extorted from the incredulous multitude, which crowded the shores, shouts and acclamations of congratulation and applause."

The trial showed to Fulton a defect in the paddle-wheels, the buckets of which dipped too deeply in the water. This having been remedied, a second trial showed great improvement in the speed. The boat was then advertised to run between New-York and Albany, for the conveyance of passengers and freight. She was named the Clermont, after Chancellor Livingston's beautiful country-seat on the Hudson. The day of the first sailing of the Clermont has been variously given, but it was probably on Monday, August 11, 1807. On his return from Albany, Mr. Fulton gave, in the "American Citizen" of New-York, the following official account of the trip:

> I arrived this afternoon, at four o'clock, in the steamboat from Albany. As the success of my experiment gives me great hopes that such boats may be rendered of great importance to my country, to prevent erroneous opinions, and give some satisfaction to the friends of useful improvements, you will have the goodness to publish the following facts:
>
> I left New-York on Monday at one o'clock, and arrived at Clermont, the seat of Chancellor Livingston, at one o'clock on Tuesday: time, twenty-four hours; distance, one hundred and ten miles. On Wednesday I departed from the Chancellor's at nine in the morning, and arrived at Albany at five in the afternoon: distance, forty miles; time, eight hours. The sum is one hundred and fifty miles in thirty-two hours—equal to near five miles an hour. On Thursday, at nine o'clock in the morning, I left Albany, and arrived at the Chancellor's at six in the evening. I started from thence at seven, and arrived at New-York at four in the afternoon: time, thirty hours; space run through, one hundred and fifty miles—equal to five miles an hour. Throughout my whole way, both going and returning, the wind was ahead; no advantage could be derived from my sails. The whole has, therefore, been performed by the power of the steam-engine.

To his friend Mr. Barlow he wrote with more freedom and animation: "My steamboat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favorable than I had calculated. . . . I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and parted with them as if they had been at anchor. . . . The morning I left New York there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour, or be of the least utility! While we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors. . . . It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to the merchandise on the Mississippi, Missouri, and other great rivers which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen; and although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting on the immense advantage my country will derive from the invention."[1]

CLERMONT MANOR-HOUSE.

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[1] C. B. Todd, "Life of Joel Barlow," p. 233; J. F. Reigart, "Life of Robert Fulton," p. 174.

An eye-witness of the progress of the Clermont up the Hudson has given this account of it:

> In the early autumn of the year 1807, a knot of villagers was gathered on a high bluff just opposite Poughkeepsie on the west bank of the Hudson, attracted by the appearance of a strange dark-looking craft which was slowly making its way up the river. Some imagined it to be a sea-monster, while others did not hesitate to express their opinion that it was a sign of the approaching judgment. What seemed strange in the vessel was the substitution of lofty and strange black smoke-pipes rising from the deck instead of the gracefully tapered masts that commonly stood on the vessels navigating the stream, and, in place of the spars and rigging, the curious play of the walking-beam and pistons, and the slow turning and splashing of the huge and naked paddle-wheels, met the astonished gaze. The dense clouds of smoke, as they rose wave upon wave, added still more to the wonder of the rustics.
>
> This strange-looking craft was the Clermont on her trial trip to Albany; and of the little knot of villagers above mentioned, the writer, then a boy in his eighth year, with his parents, formed a part: I well remember the scene, one so well fitted to impress a lasting picture upon the mind of a child accustomed to watch the vessels that passed up and down the river. The forms of four persons were distinctly visible on the deck as she passed the bluff—one of whom doubtless was Robert Fulton, who had on board with him all the cherished hopes of years, the most precious cargo the wonderful boat could carry. On her return trip the curiosity she excited was scarcely less intense—the whole country talked of nothing but the sea-monster belching forth fire and smoke. The fishermen became terrified and rowed homewards; for they saw nothing but destruction devastating their fishing grounds; while the wreaths of black vapor and rushing noise of the paddle-wheels foaming with the stirred up waters produced great excitement among the boatmen until the character of that curious boat, and the nature of the enterprise she was pioneering, had been ascertained.[1]

Some few alterations and repairs were suggested to Fulton by this experimental passage, such as boarding up the sides, decking over the boiler and works, furnishing each cabin with twelve berths, and strengthening many parts of the ironwork. All through the autumn the Clermont continued to run as a packet, her quick and regular passages and the novelty of the trip usually attracting a full complement of passengers. This awakened the jealousy of the owners of sailing vessels, who sued out an injunction restraining Fulton from making use of the steamboat, on the ground that the navigation of the river from use immemorial belonged to them. This case, absurd as it seems, was one of the *causes célèbres* of the day, Daniel Webster being retained as counsel for the defendants, who won their case, as they deserved. Wilful attempts to destroy the vessel by running afoul of her and in other ways were also made. At last the legislature was appealed to, and at its session of 1807–8 passed a law adding five years to the exclusive privilege of Fulton and Livingston for every new boat added, provided the whole term did not exceed thirty years, and appending a clause declaring that all combinations to destroy the Clermont or any other steamboat, and all wilful attempts to injure them, were public crimes, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

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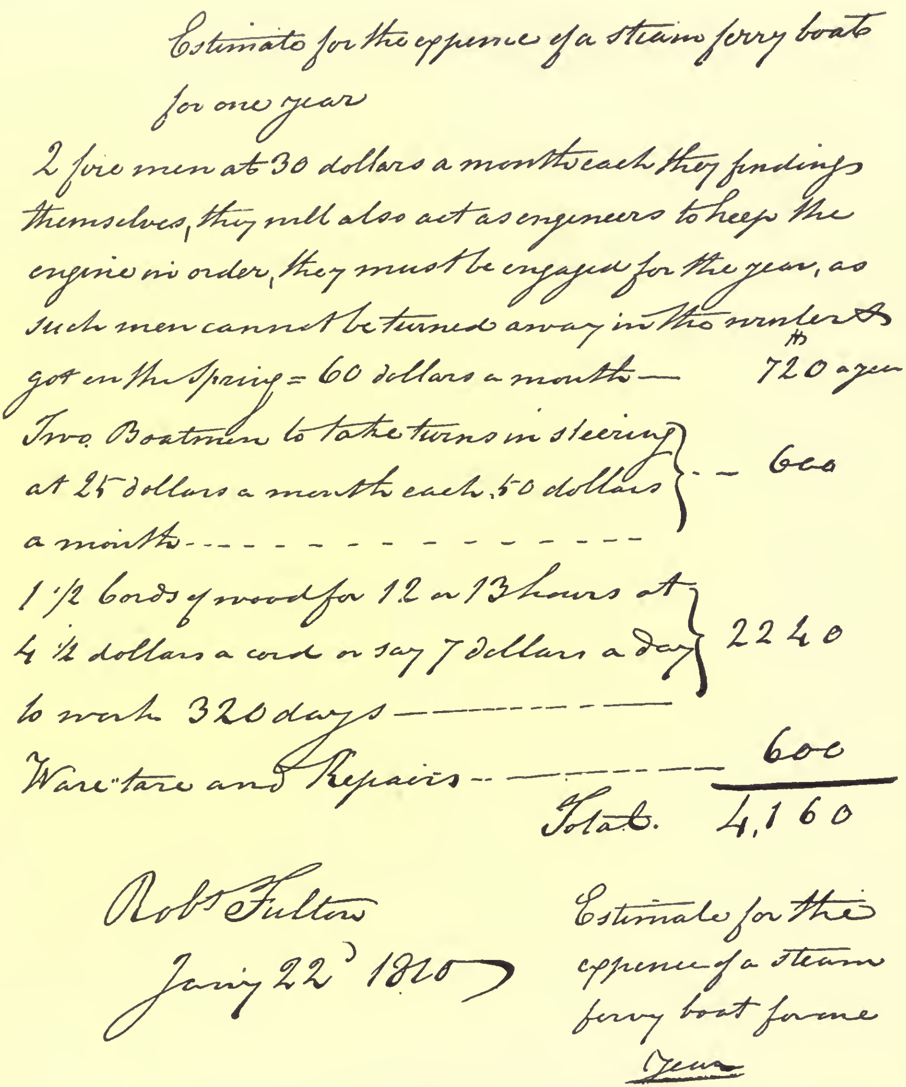
[1] Reigart's "Fulton," pp. 175, 176; extract from letter of H. Freeland, dated January 4, 1856.

The patentees were also exposed to untold annoyance and loss by attacks upon their patent rights, and upon the exclusive privilege of navigation that had been given them. Men who had laughed at the preposterous little craft on the stocks now hastened to secure patents on the most obvious improvements, many of them added by Fulton himself, and some of them already covered by his patents. Financiers who had scoffed at the plan of moving boats by steam, and had



Estimate for the expence of a steam ferry boats
for one year

2 fire men at 30 dollars a month each they finding themselves, they will also act as engineers to keep the engine in order, they must be engaged for the year, as such men cannot be turned away in the winter & got in the Spring = 60 dollars a month — $ 720 a year

Two Boatmen to take turns in steering at 25 dollars a month each, 50 dollars a month - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -- 600

1 1/2 cords of wood for 12 or 13 hours at 4 1/2 dollars a cord or say 7 dollars a day to work 320 days ———————— 2240

Ware-tare and Repairs -- ———————— 600

Total. 4,160

Robt Fulton
Jany 22d 1810

Estimate for the
expence of a steam
ferry boat for one
Year

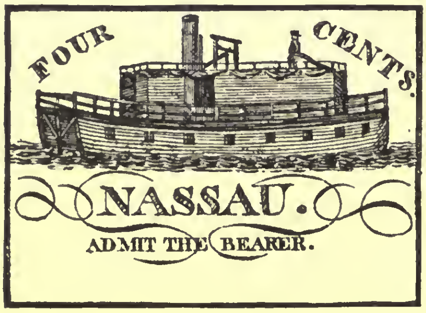
FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER WRITTEN BY ROBERT FULTON.

refused it financial aid, now scented a golden shower, and suddenly discovered that Fulton's exclusive privilege was a monopoly, resolved that monopolies were dangerous and illegal, and proceeded to break this one by establishing rival lines of boats. The two inventors, instead of sitting down to enjoy the fruits of their hard-earned victory, were engaged in constant lawsuits to preserve what had been won, precisely as was the case with Morse half a century later.

Fulton's first patent for improvements in moving boats by steam was dated February 11, 1809. Two years later he secured a second patent, covering boats and machinery. Others, however, had preceded him in taking out patents on his own inventions. One of the most notable of these was a "pendulum-boat," constructed by an ingenious gentleman of New-York, with paddle-wheels intended to be moved by the oscillations of a pendulum. While the boat was on the stocks, and the wheels met only the resistance of the air, this motor worked to perfection; but when in the water it was found that the pendulum could not move the wheels, except by the application to it of a great power; and steam being the only thing available, a steam-engine was introduced, and employed to move the pendulum, which, in turn, moved the paddle-wheels. For this contrivance the genius obtained a patent; and as Fulton had proven the commercial future of the steamboat, he had no difficulty in organizing a company to place boats of this design in commission. Fulton and Livingston sued in the United States Circuit Court for an injunction, but the judge decided that he was without jurisdiction, and the case was carried to the State Court of Chancery. The chancellor, however, after hearing arguments on both sides, refused to grant an injunction. The plaintiffs then appealed to the Court of Errors, which, for this case, was composed of the State Senate and the five judges of the Supreme Court; and that body, in the winter of 1812, unanimously reversed the decision of the lower court, and ordered a perpetual injunction. To prevent further violation of the laws of this character, the legislature of 1811 enacted a law providing more stringent penalties for their infringement; but this could not wholly restrain eager rivals, and Fulton's last days were embittered, and his end no doubt hastened, by the struggle to secure for himself a part, at least, of the fruit of his long years of labor and experiment.

Meantime the Clermont had been improved, and had begun running as a regular packet between New-York and Albany, making the round trip in seventy-two hours. As the sloops and schooners, heretofore the only packets, were from four to seven days in making the distance between New-York and Albany, her superiority was manifest, and the traveling public hastened to patronize her. When one reflects that for one dollar the passenger may now be transported on palatial steamers in a single day or night from one city to the other, the fares seem high enough to have proved remunerative.[1]

The great achievement was almost unheralded by the press. In the "Commercial Advertiser," the leading newspaper of New-York at that time, we do not find a single reference to it, except that Fulton's letter to the "American Citizen" is reprinted. In the "Gazette" of August 22 is this simple announcement: "Mr. Fulton's new invented steamboat yesterday returned to this city from Albany, having performed the passage to and from that place in little more than four days." On October 5, the "Albany Gazette" said: "Mr. Fulton's new steamboat left New-York on the 2d, at 10 A. M., against a very strong tide, very rough water, and a violent gale from the north. She made a headway against the most sanguine expectations, and without being rocked by the waves." The editors of that day seem to have considered the project too chimerical to be worthy of attention, or perhaps they thought their readers more interested in the trial of Aaron Burr, then taking place at Richmond, and in the exciting moves on the European chessboard then in progress.


FOUR CENTS.
NASSAU.
ADMIT THE BEARER.

FERRY TICKET.

Other boats were soon built—the Car of Neptune, a boat of two hundred and ninety-five tons measurement, in 1808; the Paragon in 1811; and others the dates of whose construction have not been preserved. The later development of the steamboat, and the fierce competitions to which it gave rise, will be narrated in another chapter. The history of the invention of the steam ferry-boat, however, properly belongs to this period.

Up to 1812 the only means of ferriage across the North and East rivers were "horse-boats," small craft moved by paddle-wheels which were turned by four horses walking around a shaft on board the boat. The fare, we read, was four cents. Fulton, in 1811, began the construction of two steam ferry-boats for the North River, and completed both in 1812. Others soon followed for the East River. Cadwallader D. Colden, in his life of Fulton, describes them as having been twin

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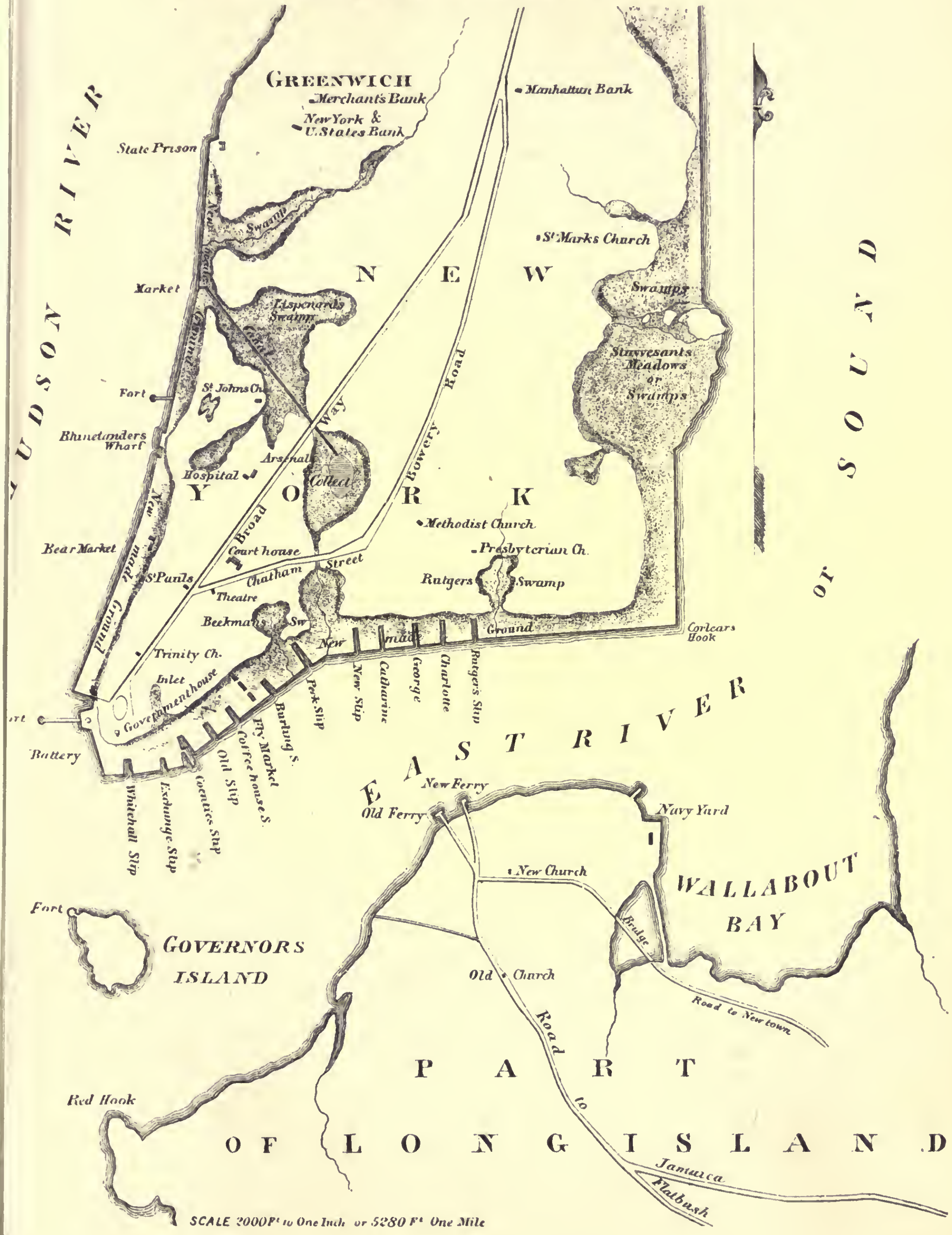
[1] They were as follows: From New-York to Verplanck's Point, $2; West Point, $2.50; Newburg, $3; Poughkeepsie, $3.50; Hudson, $5; Albany, $7. Passengers other than those bound to the regular landings were charged one dollar per twenty miles.

An advertisement in the "Albany Gazette" (the only one we have been able to find in New-York or Albany journals), dated September 1, 1807, gives a different rate of fare, and also the schedule of time, as follows: Newburg (14 hours), $3; Poughkeepsie (17 hours), $4; Esopus (20 hours), $5; Hudson (30 hours), $5.50; Albany (36 hours), $7. This schedule is prefaced by the following announcement: "The North River steamboat will leave Paulus Hook on Friday, 4th of September, at 9 A. M., and arrive at Albany at 9 in the afternoon. Provisions, good berths, and accommodations are provided."

PLAN of the CITY of NEW YORK

Showing the made and swamp Land.



boats, each being two complete hulls united by a deck or bridge, sharp at both ends, so that they could move with equal facility backward or forward, or retrace their course without turning. Fulton also invented for them the floating or movable dock, and the method by which the boats were brought to them without shock.

In the "American Medical and Philosophical Register" for October, 1812, Fulton gave a description of these boats, from which we cite the following: "The boat which I am now constructing will have some important improvements, particularly in the power of the engine to overcome strong ebb tides: from which again other improvements will be made as in all new inventions. The present boat crosses the river—which is a mile and a half broad—when it is calm, in fifteen minutes. The average time is twenty minutes. She has had in her, at one time, eight four-wheel carriages, twenty-nine horses, and one hundred passengers, and could have taken three hundred persons more." Except in the increased power of her engines, the modern ferry-boat shows little improvement over the pioneers of 1812.

Fulton's great invention would probably have attracted more attention but for the unrest and upheavals in the political and business affairs of the city. The embargo act of December 22, 1807, passed by Congress, on Jefferson's recommendation, to force the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, and of the British orders in council, had the same effect as a blockading of American ports. New-York, being the chief commercial city of the Union, was most severely crippled by the act. Her immense trade with South and Central America, and the East and West Indies, was practically interdicted, as well as that with France and England, since any vessel trading with either was exposed to capture and condemnation. Warehouses were closed, clerks discharged, grass grew upon the silent docks, costly ships that had been the pride of the seas chafed at the piers, or went to decay in the harbor; while incomes that had been sufficient to maintain their possessors in lavish style dwindled to almost nothing. Farmer and artisan alike were debarred from the markets of the world.

The Federalists and Republicans were the two chief parties in the city at this time, although there were many warring factions composed of partizans of the leading families. The Federalists denounced the embargo act without stint, both from self-interest and because it was a measure of the opposite party. They said it would not effect the desired end, the purpose of both belligerents being to force the United States to declare war against one or the other; that neither nation would suffer seriously from the interdiction; and that it was therefore as useless as it was mischievous. The Republicans, on the other hand, maintained that the embargo policy prevented the capture of our vessels, and kept us from being embroiled in the war then raging between the two nations.

The "American Citizen," the organ of the Clintonians, bitterly opposed the measure. A public meeting was held in New-York in 1808, at which speeches were made denouncing the policy of the party then in power, and resolutions calling for the repeal of the embargo were passed. The Clintonian faction triumphed in the local election of February, 1808, and De Witt Clinton was restored to the mayoralty of the city. He had been removed in 1807 by the council of appointment, and Marinus Willett appointed in his place. Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck, the former recorder, was also restored to his office, the incumbent, Maturin Livingston, being removed.

In 1809 Jefferson, as one of the last acts of his administration, consented to a repeal of the embargo act except in the case of Great Britain and France, and the substitution of non-intercourse instead, and the city's business and prospects improved. Domestic manufactures revived, especially the woolen manufacture. There was also great activity in erecting new fortifications and strengthening old ones designed for the defense of the city; for England, by her orders in council leveled against our commerce, and by insisting on her right to search American vessels and impress all seamen of her nationality, whether naturalized or not, found on board of them, was becoming so aggressive that war seemed imminent. In 1807, we read, government decided "to enlarge the works on Governor's Island, to erect a powerful marine battery on the north-west point of that island, extend the works on Ellis Island, and erect a strong fort with two or three tiers of guns on the battery."

Madison succeeded Jefferson as president on March 4, 1809, and the strife of parties grew less intense, although the war-cloud still loomed portentous. In the election of 1809 the Federalists carried the State of New-York, and the new council of appointment chose Jacob Radcliff mayor in place of De Witt Clinton, and Josiah Ogden Hoffman recorder instead of Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck. At the next election, however, by a combination of the Clinton and Livingston factions, the Republican ticket was elected, and Clinton and Van Wyck were restored to their offices.

One of the events of this summer of 1809 was the celebration, by the New-York Historical Society, of the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the island of Manhattan by Henry Hudson. This society had been organized so recently as 1804 by men of the highest standing in letters, art, and scholarship in New-York, and was already beginning to make its influence felt by inculcating a love for historical research, and by its efforts to preserve the annals of the city and colony. For the anniversary celebration the city fathers tendered the use of the large "front court-room" of the City Hall, where the literary exercises were held on September 4, 1809, Governor Tompkins, the mayor and corporation, and a large company of distinguished citizens being present. The chief feature of the day was a "learned and interesting discourse" by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, one of the founders of the society.

Jacob Radcliff[2]

After the address the members of the society and invited guests proceeded to the City Tavern on Broadway, and "at 4 P. M. sat down to an elegant dinner prepared by Messrs. Fay and Gibson, consisting of a variety of shell and other fish with which our waters abound, wild pigeons and succotash (Indian corn and beans), the favorite dish of the season, with the different meats introduced into this country by the European settlers.[1] The toasts proposed at this dinner, preserved in the records of the society, are interesting, some as showing the mode of thought of our forefathers, others as illustrating the trend of public sentiment at that time. They were:

"Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America. His monument is not inscribed with his name, yet all nations recognize it. His fame covers half the globe and its summit reaches beyond the clouds." "Queen Isabella of Spain—The magnanimous and munificent friend and patron of Columbus." "John and Sebastian Cabot—The contemporaries of Columbus and the discoverers of North America." "John Verrazano—His enterprising genius, and his visit to this part of the country deserve to be better known." "Henry Hudson—The enterprising and intrepid navigator. Though disastrous his end yet fortunate his renown, for the majestic river which bears his name shall render it immortal." "The Fourth of September, 1609—The day on which Hudson landed on our shores." "Wouter Van Twiller—The first Governor of New Netherland." "Peter Stuyvesant—The last Dutch Governor, an intrepid soldier and faithful officer." "Richard Nicolls—The First English Governor of the Province of New-York." "George Clinton—The first Governor of the State of New-York." "William Smith—The historian of New-York." "Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas—May future compilers of historical documents emulate their diligence and fidelity." "William Smith, Cadwallader Colden, Samuel Smith, Jeremy Belknap, and

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[1] Minutes of the New-York Historical Society. 1: 23.

[2] Mayor Radcliff was the son of William Radcliff, a captain of militia at the beginning of the Revolution, but who rose to the rank of brigadier-general before its close. Jacob was the oldest of four sons, studied law, and began practice at Poughkeepsie. He was eminently successful, and while still a young man was raised to the bench of the Supreme Court. Thereupon he took up his residence in New-York City; but eventually resigned from the bench and resumed practice. In 1810 he was appointed mayor, holding the position one year; and again in the years 1815, 1816, and 1817. The population of the city reached 100,000 during his mayoralty. EDITOR.

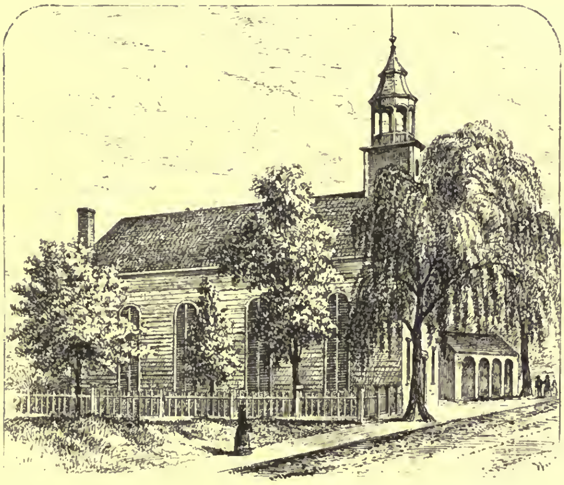
> George Richards Minot—American historians. They have merited the gratitude of their country." "The United States of America—May our prosperity ever confirm the belief that the discovery of our country was a blessing to mankind." "The State of New-York—May it ever be the pleasing task of the historian to record events that shall evince the wisdom of her Legislature, and display the virtue of her people." "The Massachusetts Historical Society, which set the honorable example of collecting and preserving what relates to the history of our country." "Our Forefathers—To whose enterprise and fortitude under Providence we owe the blessings we enjoy."
>
> After the governor and mayor had retired, certain volunteer toasts were offered, as follows: By William Johnson (the chairman)—"The Governor of the State of New-York." By John Pintard—"The Mayor and Corporation of the City of New-York." By Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill—"A speedy termination of our foreign relations." By Simeon De Witt—"May our successors a century hence celebrate the same event which we this day commemorate." By Dr. David Hosack—"The memory of Saint Nicholas. May the virtuous habits and simple manners of our Dutch ancestors be not lost in the luxuries and refinements of the present time." By Judge Pendleton—"May the same virtues and the same industry combine in our land which have converted an Indian cornfield into a Botanic Garden." By Josiah Ogden Hoffman—"Egbert Benson, our absent and respected president." By Colonel Curtenius—"Pierre Van Cortlandt, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New-York." By Mr. Galen, Swedish Consul—"The mouth of the Hudson. May it soon have a sharp set of teeth to show in its defense." By the recording secretary (Mr. Pintard)—"The American Fair, without whose endearing society this western world, the rich inheritance from our enterprising ancestors, would still be a wilderness indeed."

David Hosack

The occasion proved of great benefit to the infant society, as it directed public attention to it and greatly increased its prestige. Among the notable men proposed for membership at this time were Oliver Wolcott, David B. Ogden, William Paulding, Jr., Washington Irving, and Richard Riker, later recorder. At the same time Lindley Murray, Noah Webster, Charles Brockden Brown, George Gibbs, Timothy Alden, Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, Rev. Dr. John Elliott, Rev. Dr. William Samuel Johnson, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, Dr. Timothy Dwight (president of Yale College), Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith (president of Princeton College), Josiah Quincy, and Vice-President George Clinton were elected honorary members.

During this period the present City Hall was built, the corner-stone having been laid by Edward Livingston in 1803. The front and side walls were of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, marble, and when finished, in 1812, it was pronounced the finest public edifice in the United

States. The City Hall Park during this period is described as having been a beautiful place, the walks and grass-plots being trimly kept, and shaded by groves of elm, poplar, willows, and catalpas. Fronting upon it were some notable edifices—the Park Theater, Dr. Spring's Brick Church, Tammany Hall, the New-York Gardens, Mechanics' Hall, and the London Hotel. There were also a Shakespeare gallery and an English and French reading-room. The Park Theater was then the fashionable place of amusement. Here, in November, 1810, the English actor George Frederic Cooke appeared in "King Richard III.," and attracted large audiences, the crush being so great that many ladies and gentlemen gained their boxes by entering an alley in the rear of the theater.



ST. JAMES CHURCH, IN HAMILTON PARK, 1810.[1]

It was a period of church-building, changes, and removals. The Episcopalians at this time led in the number of church edifices, having fourteen, including chapels. St. James Church was erected some two miles east of St. Michael's, in 1810. The Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis served as rector of both until he was appointed Professor of Biblical Learning in the New General Theological Seminary, in 1818. Calvary Church was founded the same year as St. Michael's—1810—through the devoted labors of the Rev. Benjamin P. Aydelott. The church edifice stood near Corlaer's Hook. The most notable church in the city in 1810 was Dr. Gardiner Spring's Brick (Presbyterian) Church, which stood on or near the present site of the "Times" building. Dr. Spring was one of the most celebrated pulpit orators of his day, and served as pastor of the Brick Church for fifty years, notwithstanding the fact that during this period he received invitations to become president of Hamilton and Dartmouth colleges in turn. The Wall Street Presbyterian Church was rebuilt in 1810, and greatly enlarged. The Orange Street Church was founded in 1809, and in 1810 the congregation began building a church edifice in Spring street, near Varick. At the same time the Third Associate Church began building an imposing stone structure on Murray street, nearly opposite Columbia College. The latter was completed in 1812, the able and eloquent Dr. John M. Mason becoming its first pastor. The Methodists and Baptists were not idle during this period. The former built two new church edifices—the Allen street and the Bedford street churches. The Baptists built the Mulberry Street Church and the North Beriah Church.

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[1] It stood on the site of the Normal College, on Sixty-ninth street, near Park Avenue. The present and third St. James Church was erected in 1884 on Lenox Hill, corner of Madison Avenue and Seventy-first street, near the Lenox Library. EDITOR.

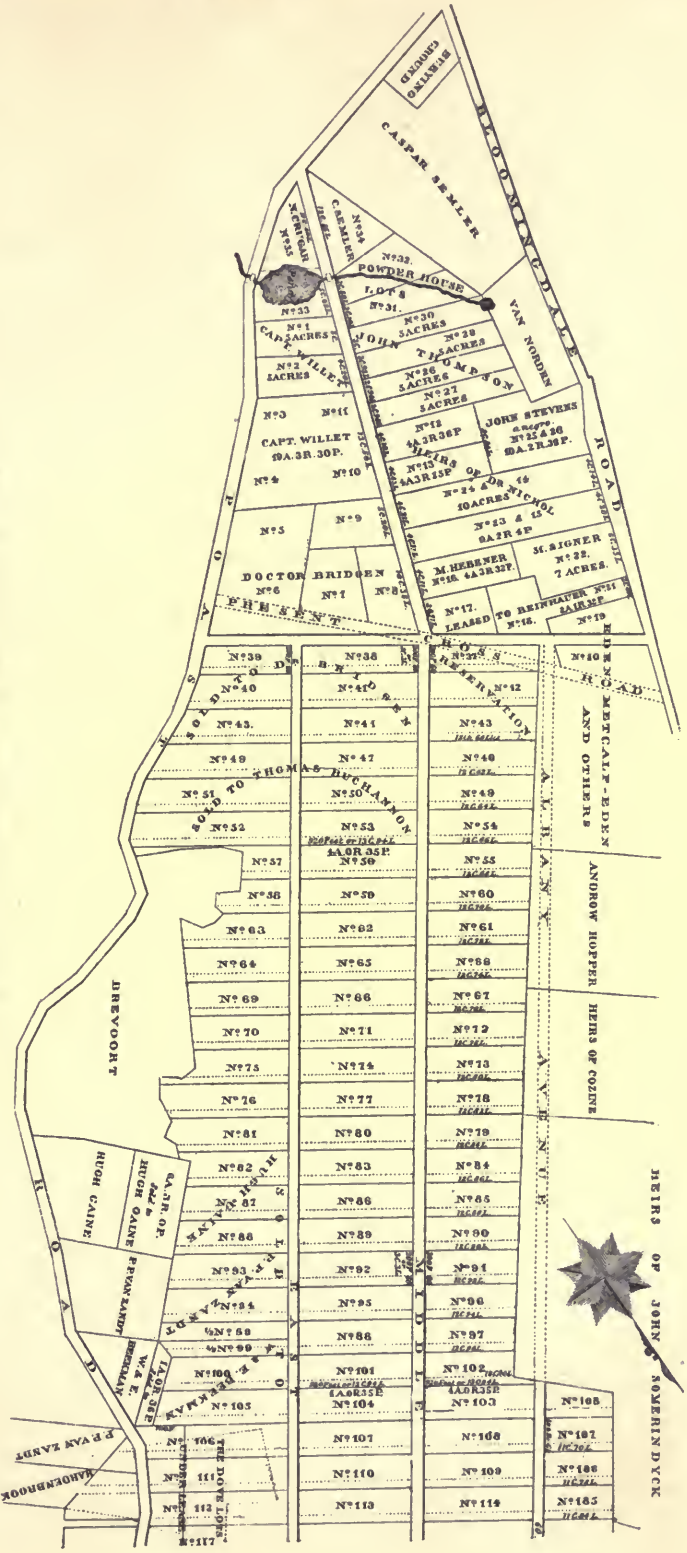
Although the embargo act and the rumors of war led to the stagnation of trade, the city continued to grow during this period at a pace which nothing could retard. Old streets were "regulated," widened, and paved. New streets were laid out; large tracts of outlying lands came into the market, were sold, surveyed, divided into city lots, and covered with shops and residences. The lands of Trinity Church on the west side were the first to be taken up and settled, that corporation having generously presented to the city all the lands required for streets through its property. In 1808 alone it ceded to the city for this purpose land for Greenwich street from Spring street north to the limit of its property, for Hudson street from North Moore street to Vestry street, for Washington street from Christopher street to the Hudson River, for Varick street from North Moore street to Vestry street, for Beach street from Hudson to the eastern limit of its property, for Laight street from Hudson to its eastern boundary, for Vestry street from Greenwich street to its eastern boundary, for Desbrosses street from Greenwich street to the Hudson River, for Le Roy street from Hudson street to the Hudson River, for King, Charlton, Van Dam, Clarkson, Hamersley, Barrow, and Morton streets, as far east and west as the church lands extended, for an alley twenty-five feet wide in the rear of St. John's Church, and for another of the same width from Beach street to Laight.

At Canal street the engineers were confronted with one of the most difficult problems encountered in the laying out of the city, and few urban sites have presented greater obstacles to engineers than the hills, crags, and swamps of Manhattan Island. The whole course of the modern Canal street was then low, marshy ground partially overflowed in the wet season,—so low indeed that during high tides it was asserted that the waters of the East River and the Hudson met in the center of the island. Small brooks, rising at about the present intersection of Broadway and Canal, flowed sluggishly, the one east into the East River, the other west into the Hudson. By 1808 the line of houses along the Bowery had crept up as far as Bond street. Canal street had been laid out by various boards of engineers, and as many plans for opening it had been suggested and discussed, without the city and the landowners being able to agree upon any. The plan that met with most favor was a canal, one foot below low-water mark, passing from the East River to the Hudson, which could be made to drain so much of the Collect as had not been filled in, and would also carry off the waterflow from the slopes on the north and south. Wide streets were proposed on both sides of the canal.

BROADWAY AT CANAL STREET, 1812.

A petition was at length presented to the legislature, asking that commissioners might be appointed to regulate and open the street. Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford, who had been appointed by the act of legislature of April 3, 1807, "Commissioners of streets and roads in the City of New-York," refused to serve on this commission, and a special commission was appointed by the legislature for the purpose. This body adopted the plan of the canal before proposed, and the street when finally opened showed an open canal in its center, its banks set with shade-trees, and with a broad thoroughfare on either side, the whole having a width of one hundred feet. As the city grew this canal was arched over with brick and became a sewer, the trees were cut down, and the present wide and busy street was the result. About the same time the Collect, into which all the surplus material from the grading of streets and lots had been dumped, was filled up and erased forever from the map of the city. The region around it, however, remained unsettled and comparatively valueless for several years.

The commission of 1807, before referred to, did so great a work for the city that its labors and their results should be described at length. In its province its powers were practically unlimited, and could have been safely conferred only on men of the utmost probity and judicial integrity. The commissioners had "exclusive power to lay out streets, roads, and public squares of such width, extent, and direction, as to them shall seem most conducive to the public good, and to shut up streets not accepted by the Common Council within that part of said city of New-York to the northward of a line commencing at the wharf of George Clinton on the Hudson River, thence running through Fitzroy Road, Greenwich Lane and Art Street to the Bowery Road, thence down Bowery Road to North Street, thence through North Street in its present direction to the East River."[2]



MAP OF THE "COMMON LANDS" BELONGING TO THE CITY.[1]

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[1] The above is a map of the common lands between the three- and the six-mile stone belonging to the corporation of the city. The "Middle Road" was intended to be one hundred feet wide, the others sixty feet each.
EDITOR.

[2] Fitzroy Road ran from Fourteenth street, between Seventh and Eighth avenues, north and northwest, until it entered Forty-second street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues. Greenwich Lane ran from Hudson River northeast and east along the present lines of Gansevoort street and Greenwich Avenue to Astor Place. Art street was the present Astor Place; North street, East and West Houston street, between the Bowery and the North River.

The leading streets and avenues were to be at least sixty feet wide. They could take land needed for streets and squares by right of eminent domain, leaving the question of damages to be settled by commissioners, from whose decisions there could be no appeal to the courts; and could enter upon lands, cut trees, and do other damage when necessary in performing their functions. They were to cause surveys and accurate maps to be made of all lands seized by them, and provide three copies—one for the secretary of state, to be of record; one for the clerk of the city and county of New-York; and one for the mayor and aldermen of the city. They were to be sworn to the faithful discharge of their duties. The commissioners, in laying out the city, after much discussion decided to adopt the rectangular system, chiefly because of "the greater economy and convenience in building," so that New-York owes her tame and ugly lay-out into square blocks chiefly to questions of economy and convenience. The avenues were made one hundred feet wide; such of them as could be extended to the village of Harlem were numbered west from First Avenue, which passed "from the west of Bellevue Hospital to the east of Harlem Church." Twelfth avenue, the last, "ran from the wharf at Manhattanville along the shore of the Hudson River, in which it was lost." From First to Second Avenue was 650 feet; from Second to Third, 610 feet; up to Sixth Avenue the space between each was 920 feet; west of Sixth Avenue, 800 feet. Fifth Avenue was called Manhattan Avenue or Middle Road. East of First Avenue were four short avenues, designated A, B, C, and D respectively.

The cross streets were laid out up to One Hundred and Fifty-fifth, First street running from Avenue B to the Bowery, and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street from Bussing's Point to the Hudson River. These streets were laid out sixty feet wide, except Fourteenth, Twenty-third, Thirty-fourth, Forty-second, Fifty-seventh, Seventy-second, Seventy-ninth, Eighty-sixth, Ninety-sixth, One Hundred and Sixth, One Hundred and Sixteenth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, One Hundred and Thirty-fifth, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth, which were one hundred feet wide. They reserved ground for a public market, 3000 feet long by 800 wide, lying between Tenth and Seventh streets, First Avenue, and the East River; for a reservoir between Eighty-ninth and Ninety-fourth streets, Fourth and Fifth avenues; for a parade between Twenty-third and Thirty-second streets, Third and Seventh avenues (1350 yards long by 1000 wide); and four public squares or parks—Bloomingdale, Manhattan, Reservoir (which was to be used for a park until needed for its special use), and Harlem—modest forerunners of the noble Central Park which was to follow fifty years later.

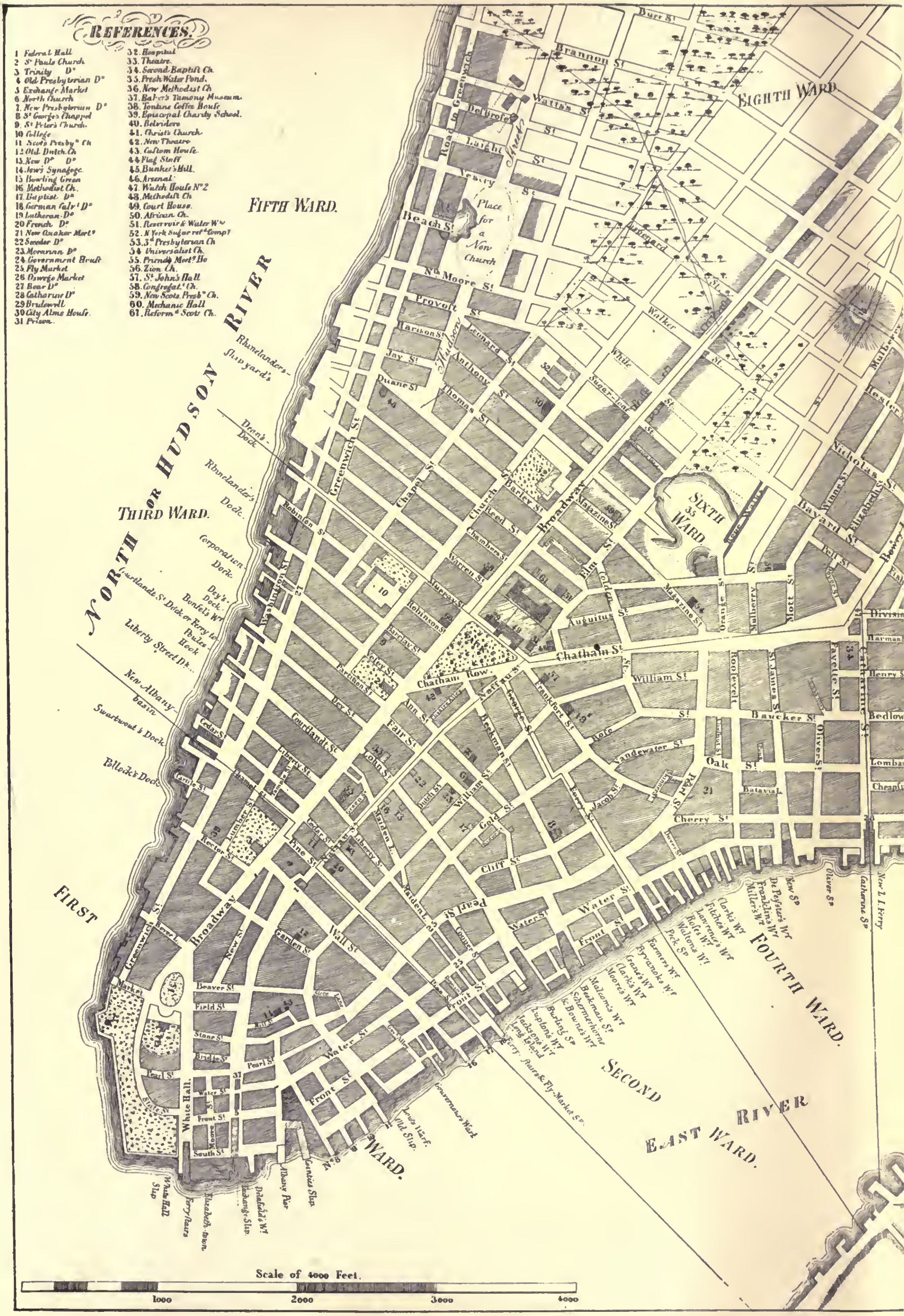
Accompanying the maps were certain remarks and explanations by the commissioners, some extracts from which will be interesting to the reader of to-day: "To some it may seem a matter of surprise that the whole island of Manhattan has not been laid out as a city. To others it may be a subject of merriment that the Commissioners have provided space for a greater population than is collected at any spot on this side of China. They have in this been governed by the shape of the ground. It is not improbable that considerable numbers may be collected at Harlem before the high hills to the southward of it shall be built upon as a city, and it is improbable that for centuries to come the ground north of Harlem flats will be covered by houses. To have come short of the extent laid out might therefore have defeated just expectations, while to have gone further might have furnished materials to the pernicious spirit of speculation." But the commissioners builded better than they knew. Barely eighty years have passed since these words were written, yet Harlem flats is a compact mass of houses, and the city limits have been extended nearly ten miles beyond — fact thus again distancing the utmost stretch of fancy.

THE CITY HALL, IN THE PARK, 1812.

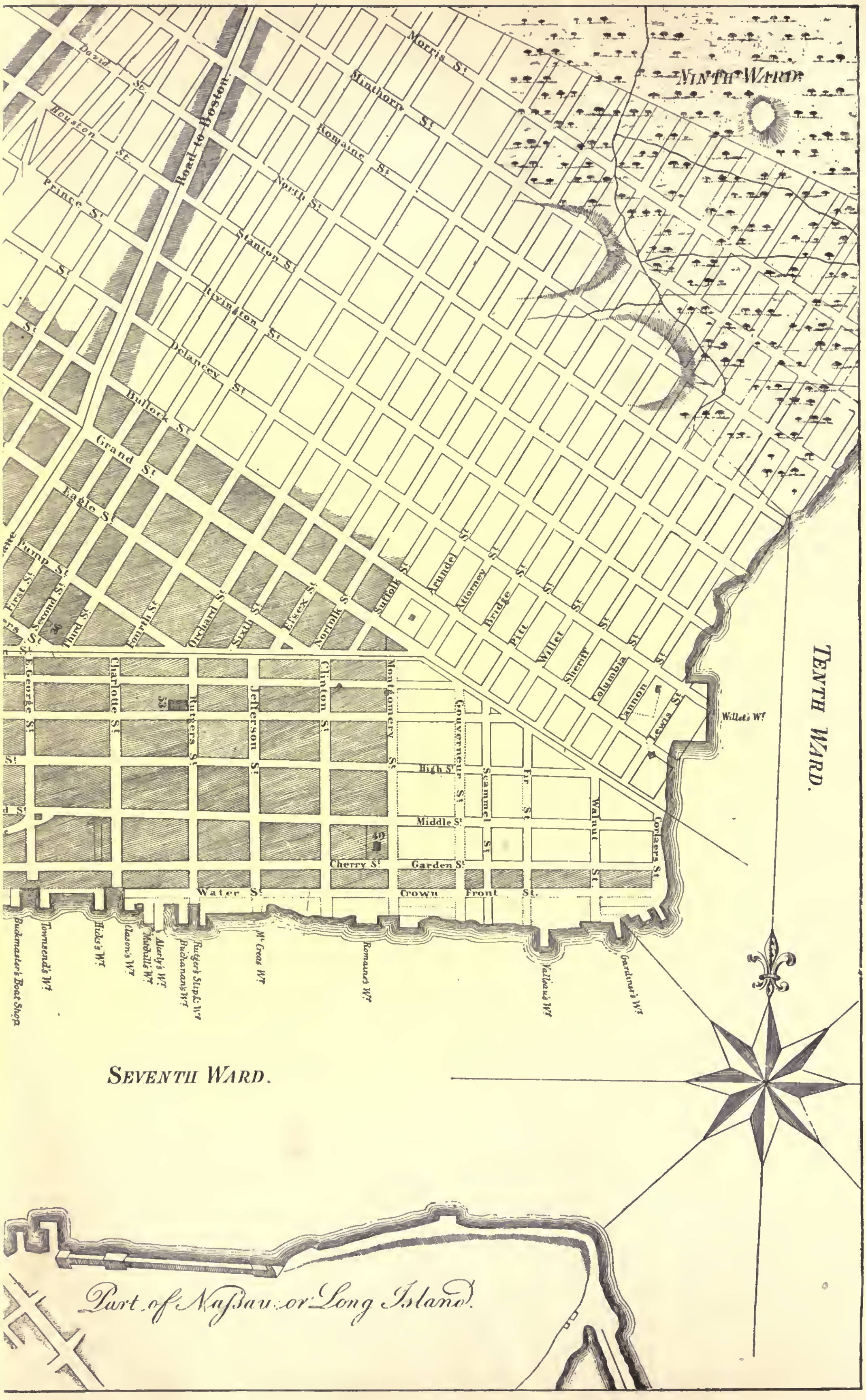
The State election of April, 1811, was notable for the open revolt of the Tammany Society against the regular candidate of its party for lieutenant-governor — De Witt Clinton. On learning of the nomination of Clinton, the Tammany Society met at once and passed resolutions with a preamble setting forth that they believed Mr. Clinton to have personal and private interests aside from those of the Republican party, and that he was bent upon "establishing in his person a pernicious family aristocracy." They therefore nominated Colonel Marinus Willett for lieutenant-governor in opposition to Mr. Clinton, and appointed Dr. Mitchill, Matthew L. Davis (the biographer of Aaron Burr), John Ferguson, and others a committee to secure his election. Colonel Nicholas Fish was the nominee of the Federalists. When the result of the voting was announced, the extent of their labors became apparent. Fish received in the city two thousand and forty-four votes, Willett six hundred and seventy-eight, and Clinton but five hundred and ninety. Had the result depended on the city's vote alone, Clinton would have been defeated; but his great talents and eminent services gained him sufficient votes throughout the State to counterbalance the loss in the city, and he was elected.

A fire occurred in New-York in May, 1811, which for years was spoken of as "the Great Fire." Between eighty and one hundred large buildings were burned, and for a time it seemed as though the whole city would be destroyed. It began on Chatham street, near Duane, on a Sunday morning, and was fanned by a high wind blowing at the time. While it was raging the spire of the Brick Church caught fire from flying embers, and for some moments it seemed to the spectators that the famous structure was doomed. No ladders or fire-engines could reach the spot, yet a single hand could have dashed down the brand and extinguished the flame. A sailor in the crowd, quick to perceive the situation, gained access to the roof, climbed the tall steeple by the aid of the lightning-rod, and extinguished the brand by beating it with his hat; while the multitude below cheered the act lustily as being that of a hero. This done, he descended to the ground, and was lost in the crowd; nor could he be induced to come forward and disclose his identity, although a reward was voted by the officers of the church in gratitude for the timely act.

The project of water communication between the Hudson and the great lakes divided public interest with the growing certainty of war with England during the years 1811 and 1812; or, more properly speaking, the prospect of war with England turned men's attention more and more to our inland commerce and to its possibilities and necessities. Christopher Colles, soon after the Revolution, set on foot certain experiments intended to make the Mohawk a navigable waterway. General Philip Schuyler had proposed a system of locks to surmount the cataracts of the Mohawk at Little Falls, and a canal about two and three-fourth miles long, having five locks, had been built as early as 1796 to demonstrate the feasibility of the plan. In 1791 the legislature of New-York had appointed commissioners to survey the region between Wood Creek, which falls into Lake On-



MAP OF THE CITY OF N



W-YORK IN 1808.

tario, and the Hudson, and to report as to the cost of making canals between the two streams. In 1792 the legislature incorporated the "Inland Navigation Company," of which General Schuyler was the first president, and which in 1797 had connected Wood Creek with the Mohawk, and a few years later had carried its improvements so far that boats could pass from Schenectady into Oneida Lake.

Gouverneur Morris, so far as we find, was the first to put upon paper the project of a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie. After a journey down the St. Lawrence through Lake Ontario, and by land to Lake Erie, he wrote in 1801 to John Parish that a large commerce would at no distant period whiten those inland seas, and that one tenth of the cost to Britain of the last campaign would have enabled ships to sail from London through the Hudson River to Lake Erie. This gentleman, in company with Jesse Hawley and James Geddes, published many essays and communications on the general subject in the State press. The latter, in 1810, gave the surveyor-general, Simeon De Witt, an exhaustive report of a survey he had made on his own responsibility, which was laid before the legislature, and that body appointed a commission, of which Gouverneur Morris was chairman, "to explore the whole route for inland navigation from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario and to Lake Erie."

FIRST FREE-SCHOOL BUILDING.

This commission reported in the spring of 1811 that the survey had been performed, and that the project was entirely feasible; whereupon the legislature passed an act investing the commissioners with "power to manage all matters relating to the navigation between the Hudson and the lakes," and added Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton to the commission. The body was authorized to apply for aid to Congress and to other States, to negotiate with the Inland Lock Navigation Company for the purchase of its charter and property, and to ascertain if a loan of five millions of dollars could be negotiated. The commission applied to Congress for aid, but met with a cool reception, although Gouverneur Morris and De Witt Clinton appeared for it in person. It was admitted that the project was of national interest and importance, but it was said that nothing could be done for New-York that was not done for the other States, and the application, without being rejected, was never acted upon. This lukewarmness on the part of Congress, and the breaking out of the war of 1812, with the opposition of many in the State, who regarded the enterprise as chimerical in the extreme, deferred the completion of the mighty project until another generation of men had come upon the scene.

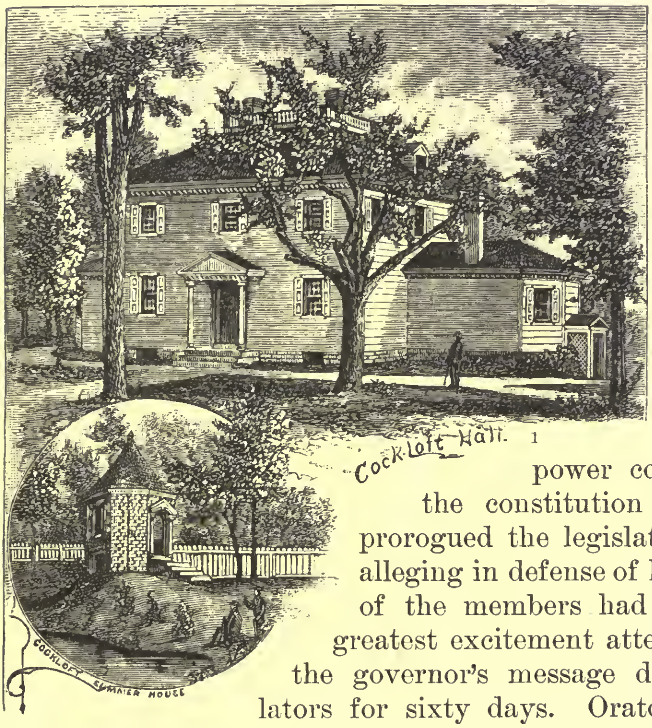
On December 11, 1809, the first free-school building in New-York was dedicated. The corporation by which it was erected—known as the "Free School Society of the City of New-York"—had been founded in 1805, as was shown in the previous chapter. In 1808 the charter was altered, the corporation taking the name of the "Free School Society of the City of New-York." The same year, the school having outgrown its quarters in the building near the almshouse, the edifice before mentioned was built on a large lot in Chatham street, also given by the city. This first public-school building in New-York was of brick, and contained one large school-room proper, capable of accommodating five hundred pupils, a trustees' room, apartments for the teacher, and a second and smaller school-room that would accommodate one hundred and fifty pupils. The feature of the dedicatory exercises was an address by De Witt Clinton, in which he stated the object of the society to be, not the founding of a single academy, but the establishment of schools. Colonel Rutgers's gift of two lots on Henry street was coupled with the condition that a school building should be erected on the site donated before June, 1811. Thirteen thousand dollars were promptly subscribed by the citizens of New-York, and the corner-stone of the second structure was laid by Colonel Rutgers on November 11, 1810, in the presence of a large company. In 1811 the vestry of Trinity Church gave two large lots on the corner of Hudson and Grove streets for a third school building. There were six of these public-school buildings in the city by 1825, and that year the legislature changed the name of the society from "Free School Society" to "Public School Society."

THE RUTGERS MANSION.

At the same time that the public schools were slowly growing into form, one of those noble charities which have been the pride and boast of New-York was founded, the New-York Orphan Asylum Society. This was the work of several cultivated and benevolent ladies,—Mrs. Isabella Graham and her daughter, Mrs. Joanna Bethune, Mrs. Sarah Hoffman, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, and others,—who called a public meeting on the 15th of March, 1806, for the organizing of the society. Its first asylum stood on an acre of ground in Bank street, a plain substantial structure fifty feet square, erected at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars. The society was not able to meet the entire amount at the time of building, but the debt was soon discharged by the donations and gifts of philanthropic persons. In 1840 the society, by selling its down-town property at a greatly increased price, and aided by a generous public, was able to build the noble and well-appointed edifice on the banks of the Hudson, at Seventy-fourth street.

Washington Irving

Early in the year 1812 a bill was introduced in the legislature which convulsed the State, and so stimulated partizan feeling as to threaten, in the minds of some, the stability of government itself. The disturbing cause was nothing more terrible than a bill to charter a Bank of North America in New-York city, with a capital of six millions of dollars, four hundred thousand of which were to be devoted to the common-school fund; one hundred thousand for the support of academies and colleges; a hundred thousand more to be paid into the State treasury after twenty years, provided the corporation should be given a monopoly of banking in the State during that time; one million to be loaned to the State, to be used in the construction of canals; and an equal sum to manufacturers and farmers throughout the State for the promotion of manufactures and agriculture—in some of its features much like the subtreasury scheme of modern enthusiasts. The bill was made a party issue at once—the Federalists supporting it with great unanimity, the Republicans as a party opposing it, although there were many of the wealthier and more influential leaders who were openly or secretly in favor of it.



The Republicans, led by Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, pointed to the power wielded in politics by the old United States Bank, whose charter had but just been abrogated after a bitter struggle, and to the Manhattan Bank, created by Aaron Burr in 1799 under the guise of a water company, and denounced several of the propositions of the present scheme as being worse than either. At an early stage of the contest it became evident that the bill would pass, many interests being marshaled in favor of it, and Governor Tompkins resorted to an expedient of doubtful utility, and without precedent, to defeat it. He used the power conferred on him by the constitution of New-York, and prorogued the legislature for sixty days, alleging in defense of his action that many of the members had been bribed. The greatest excitement attended the reading of the governor's message dismissing the legislators for sixty days. Orators in favor of the bank charged that Tompkins had an eye on the presidency, and was seeking to make capital for himself by his heretofore unheard-of action, and to defeat the nomination of Clinton, whose canal schemes it was believed committed him to the support of the bank. For a time the opposing parties were at the point of blows; but the legislature was dissolved, and on reconvening on May 21 did what might have been expected—at once passed the bill chartering the Bank of America. Oliver Wolcott, late secretary of the treasury, became its first president.

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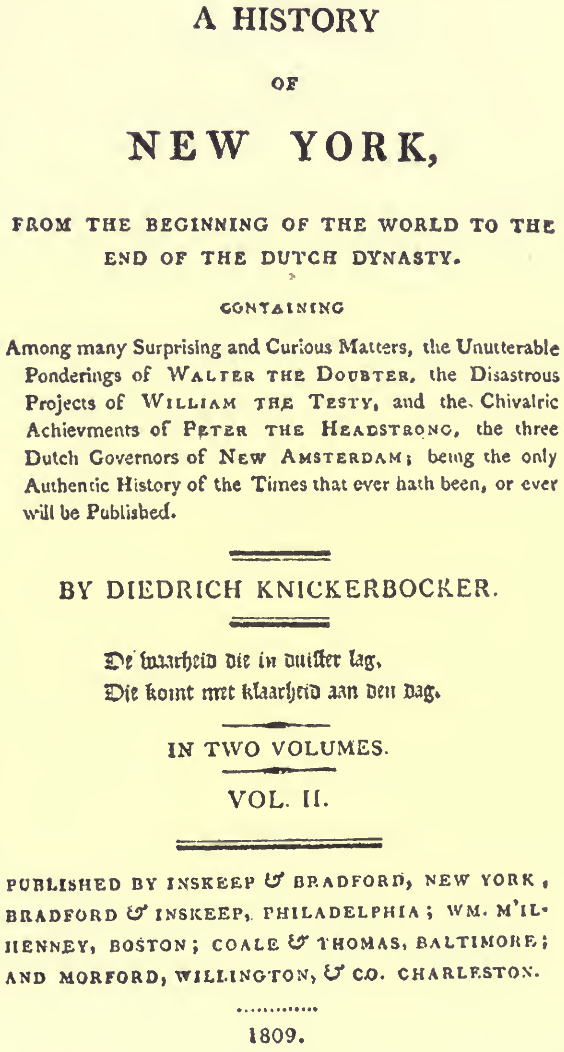
[1] During the first decade of the century it was the property of Gouverneur Kemble, and was a favorite resort with its young owner, the Irvings, Paulding, Captain Porter, father of the late Admiral, Henry Brevoort, and others, who made the ancient mansion gay with their fun and frolic. Kemble, in a note to the Editor dated February, 1872, says: "The old place near Newark, in New Jersey, christened 'Cockloft Hall' by Mr. Irving, was called Mount Pleasant. The house was built by Nicholas Gouverneur, grandson of Abraham Gouverneur, who married the daughter of Jacob Leisler." EDITOR.

During the period under consideration, literature had flourished as never before in the history of the city. In 1807 a young man named Washington Irving was living with his mother on William street, writing clever articles for the "Morning Chronicle," edited by his brother, Dr. Peter Irving, and quite unknown to fame. Boarding with his sister, the wife of William Irving, brother of Washington Irving, was a young clerk in the loan-office, of fine literary ability—James Kirke Paulding. The two young men became fast friends, and in summer were in the habit of leaving the heated city and going out to the old Gouverneur mansion on the banks of the Passaic, a short distance above the city of Newark. Here the plan of a rollicking, half-humorous, half-satirical publication, mirroring the fashions and follies of the town, was conceived, and the first number largely written. The new publication — called "Salmagundi"—was issued on January 24, 1807, and at once took the city by storm. Its purpose was announced to be "to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town, and castigate the age"; and it did this so effectually, yet with so much *bonhomie* and good humor, that it became the talk of polite society, and much interest was aroused as to the identity of its authors.



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FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD TO THE
END OF THE DUTCH DYNASTY.
CONTAINING
Among many Surprising and Curious Matters, the Unutterable
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Die komt met klaarheid aan den dag.

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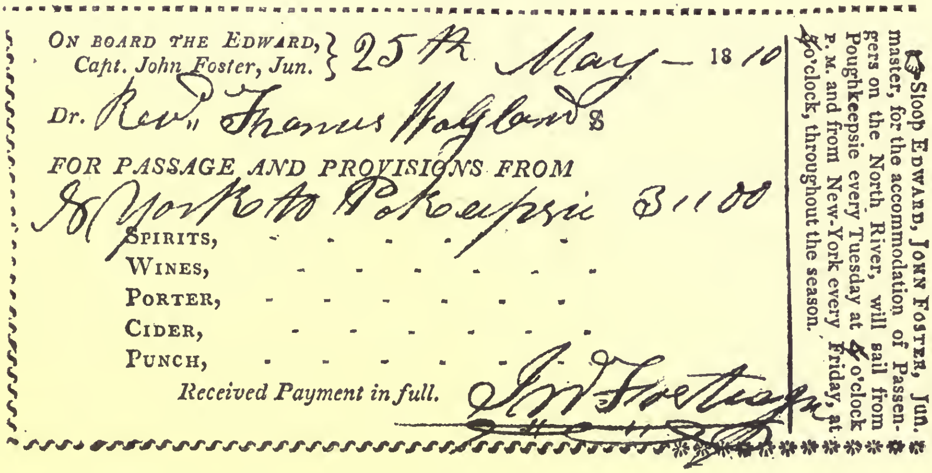
HENNEY, BOSTON; COALE & THOMAS, BALTIMORE;
AND MORFORD, WILLINGTON, & CO. CHARLESTON.

1809.

The same year Washington Irving, assisted by Dr. Peter Irving, commenced his immortal work, "Knickerbocker's History of New-York," in reality a burlesque on the "Picture of New-York" recently published by Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, but written with so much verisimilitude and appearance of truth as to be accepted for sober history by many intelligent readers. Knickerbocker's History first appeared in 1809. Its charm is perennial. It has left its impress upon the early history of the great city. Whatever may be later said or written, the term "Knickerbocker" will still cling to the early Dutch settlers of Manhattan, and their manners, customs, and characteristics will, in the popular eye, remain such as were pictured in the pages of Diedrich Knickerbocker.



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Capt. John Foster, Jun. 25th May — 1810

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N York to Pokeepsie 3,,00

SPIRITS, - - - - - -
WINES, - - - - - - -
PORTER, - - - - - - -
CIDER, - - - - - - -
PUNCH, - - - - - - -

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COCKLOFT HALL.

Sixty-six years ago the village of Newark — the Newark of Archy Gifford's day — and New-York were connected by a quartette of stages, drawn by four horses; and in one of the four lumbering vehicles was often seen, on summer Saturday afternoons, a party of gay, rollicking young New-Yorkers, who were deposited at the gate of an old mansion which, with its surrounding twenty or more acres, was then known as the "Gouverneur Place." "The place," says James K. Paulding, "was pleasantly situated on the banks of a pastoral stream; not so near town [New-York] as to invite an inundation of idle acquaintances who came to lounge away an afternoon, nor so distant as to render it an absolute deed of charity or friendship to perform the journey." In the year 1795 this property, situated about a mile to the north of Newark, on the Belleville road, was inherited by Gouverneur Kemble from his uncle Isaac Gouverneur, whose portrait, painted by Stuart, occupies the place of honor in the dining-hall of Mr. Kemble's residence at Cold Spring, variously designated by his friend Washington Irving as "Bachelor's Hall," "Bachelor's Nest," "Bachelor's Elysium." Mr. Kemble, in a letter to the writer, dated February 6, 1872, says: "The old place near Newark, in New Jersey, christened Cockloft Hall by Mr. Irving, was called Mount Pleasant. The house was built by Nicholas Gouverneur, grandson of Abraham Gouverneur, who married the daughter of Governor Jacob Leisler. At the death of Nicholas the property passed into the possession of his brother, Isaac Gouverneur, from whom I inherited it, in 1795, and sold it, I think, in 1837 or '38."

The interesting old country-house, which was also known as Mount Pleasant, was a plain two-story building of wood, with wings to the first floor. A honeysuckle porch met the view from the road, between which and the house was the garden; on the opposite side a sloping lawn, studded with apple-trees, extended to the river. Entering by the east door was "The Chinese Saloon," while from each side doors opened into the wings, forming a suite of rooms some sixty feet in length. Above were several quaint chambers respectively known as the "Green Moreen," the "Red Silk," the "Pink Chintz," and the "Blue Chintz"— all filled with antique furniture, and the rooms on the first floor were adorned with family portraits. The only regular tenants of the venerable mansion at the time of which we are writing were two old family servants, known as Daddy and Mammy Jacobs, and a negro boy.

The merry blades who made the old mansion gay with their fun and frolic were the young owner, who was dignified with the title of "the Patroon"; James K. Paulding, known as "Billy Taylor"; Henry Brevoort, Jr., as "Nuncle"; Ebenezer Irving, as "Captain Great Heart"; "Sinbad" was the title given to David Porter, father of the present admiral; Richard McCall, familiarly known as Dick McCall, was dubbed "Ooromdates"; Henry Ogden was called "the Supercargo"; Peter Irving, "the Doctor"; and his brother, Washington, who, having no secondary title, it is believed, had furnished his companions with aliases. This roystering coterie of jolly young fellows were variously designated by Peter Irving as the "Nine Worthies," by Washington as the "Lads of Kilkenny," and by Paulding as the "Ancient and Honorable Order" and the "Ancient Club of New-York."

In Irving's Life it is stated that "the house was full of antique furniture, and the walls were adorned with family portraits. The place was in charge of an old man and woman, and a negro boy, who were its sole occupants, except when the nine, under the lead and confident in the hospitality of the Patroon, as they styled its possessor, would sally forth from New-York and enliven its solitude by their madcap pranks and juvenile orgies." Paulding's biographer, in writing of the old mansion, says: "The Green Moreen [chamber], which occupied the southwestern angle of the second story, seems to have been the favorite bachelors' quarters. Fast by its western window, on the southerly side of the stoop, grew an immense honey-cherry tree, to the fruit of which the birds were extremely partial; and it is averred that these lazy dogs of Salmagundians would lie in bed there and shoot them. Into this tree 'Billy Taylor' (Paulding) once incautiously climbed, and the rest of the roaring boys, having detected him there, pilfering, pelted him bitterly before they allowed him to descend; and, doubtless, it was a reminiscence of it that suggested one of the finest papers in the second series of 'Salmagundi.' . . . Many were the rare doings and the absurd pranks in and about the house, of which the trials at jumping and the games of leap-frog were of the least." On one occasion a member of the coterie, for some breach of club law or other social offense, was arraigned before a grand court of inquisition and solemnly adjudged to the horse-pond, the judges promptly carrying out the sentence in person.

J K Paulding

Another interesting feature of Gouverneur Place was a summer-house, situated in the orchard, not far distant from the river. The author of a pleasant reminiscence[1] gives an agreeable description of it: "The old man" (who serves the purpose of the narrator) "sighed, and, turning away his head, he led the way to a small building standing not far from the river's brink, and near an artificial basin or pond, into which, as the tide was full, the Passaic was pouring some of its surplus waters through a narrow sluice. It was octagonal in shape, about eighteen feet in diameter, containing only one apartment, with a door facing the river on the east, and having windows opening toward each of the other three cardinal points. It was built of stone, and had been originally weatherboarded; although most of the boards had fallen off. It had evidently been constructed with great care, being fully plastered within and papered, having an ornamental cornice and chair-board, an arched doorway, and cut-stone steps—all indicating a fastidiousness of finish not ordinarily found elsewhere than in dwellings; but it was far gone toward utter ruin, the window-sashes being all out, the door gone, and the mutilated woodwork showing it to be a resort only of the idle and the vicious. On looking to my companion for an explanation, he said: 'This, sir, was the Cockloft summer-house, and this the fish-pond, which Irving mentions when giving the portrait of the old proprietor. You may remember the passage: "An odd notion of the old gentleman was to blow up a large bed of rocks, for the purpose of having a fish-pond, although the river ran at about one hundred yards distance from the house and was well stored with fish; but there was nothing, he said, like having things to one's self. And he would have a summer-house built on the margin of the fish-pond; he would have it surrounded with elms and willows; and he would have a cellar dug under it, for some incomprehensible purpose, which remains a secret to this day." As I remember it, in the days of my youth,' continued my aged friend, 'with its window-seats and lockers, I think it requires no "Will Wizard" to solve the mystery of the cellar; but that *there* the bottles were kept that were wont to surrender their exhilarat-

[1] William A. Whitehead, Esq., in Newark "Advertiser," November 30, 1859.

ing contents at the summons of the occupants of the comfortable apartment above.' As I commented on the peculiar position of the building, my companion remarked: 'Here, too, you see an illustration of a peculiarity of the elder "Cockloft." "He was determined," says Irving, "to have all his views on his own land, and be beholden to no man for a prospect." So he placed, you see, the door of his summer-house on the side toward the water, while the windows all look inland.'"

Some thirty years after inheriting the Newark property, Mr. Kemble, writing to Washington Irving, then in London, informs him he is still the possessor of Cockloft Hall, and adds: "I still look forward to the time when you, Paulding, Brevoort, the Doctor, and myself shall assemble there, recount the stories of our various lives, and have another game of leap-frog." In 1832 Peter Irving, alluding to those pleasant gatherings of bygone days on the Patroon's property, says: "I often call to mind our Sundays at the Hall, when we sported on the lawn until fatigued, and sometimes fell sociably into a general nap in the drawing-room in the dusk of the evening." Said Washington Irving to Kemble, at the age of sixty-six, in allusion to the madcap pranks of early days at Mount Pleasant: "Who would have thought that we should ever have lived to be two such respectable old gentlemen!" And but a short time before his death, in 1859, Mr. Irving, in a letter to the New Jersey Historical Society, remarked: "With Newark are associated in my mind many pleasant recollections of early days and of social meetings at an old mansion on the banks of the Passaic."

It was a sunny September morning of the past year, 1871, that I visited Cockloft Hall, and was courteously shown through the interesting old mansion by Mrs. ——, whose husband purchased the place some twenty years since. It had previously passed through several hands, after being sold by Kemble. The old summer-house is gone; but the venerable Hall is substantially the same as in the Salmagundi days. The suite of three handsome rooms on the ground-floor fronting the Passaic have been united by folding-doors; but all else remains unchanged. Directly opposite, on the east side of the river, is seen rising above the surrounding foliage the stately brick mansion of the late General Phil Kearney, with its French spire towering higher than many a country church-steeple; while at a little distance higher up stands, on the west bank of the Passaic, the picturesque cottage which was for many years the home of the gifted Henry William Herbert, better known as "Frank Forrester."

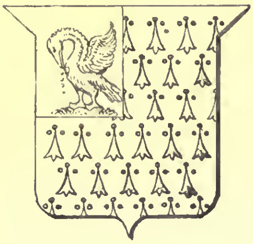
To return to Cockloft Hall. Paulding's cherry-tree is still standing, and every year bears fruit on the few branches of which the old tree can still boast. Its enormous trunk, nearly a century old, is now entwined by a flourishing and loving wistaria, and from its lower branches hang rustic baskets of choice flowers. The summer-house stood in the path of progress, and was accordingly, after the American fashion, swept out of existence. Its taking off was in this wise. The growing city required sites for its manufactories and railway stations, and several streets were run through the ancient Cockloft estate. The summer-house stood in the way of one of the new avenues, and, being confiscated by the city authorities, was by them sold at public auction for the sum of ten dollars. The purchaser's intention was to set it up again in his own grounds; but, failing to find a suitable place for the interesting relic, the material, including the mahogany seats, the stone, and the old Dutch brick, brought from Holland, was incorporated in a new stable, which he was at the time building. Inquiring of a venerable negro coachman on the premises if any remains of the summer-house could be seen in the stable, he replied: "Nothin' of the kind thar, sar! Nothin' in that ar stable but a chicken-coop!"

Of the company of choice spirits who were *habitués* of Cockloft Hall sixty-six summers since, but one survivor remains, in the person of the hospitable young host, known among the Salmagundians as "the Patroon." At fourscore and seven years of age he still enjoys good health, and still entertains as hospitably in his "Bachelor's Elysium," on the banks of the Hudson, as he did in days of yore at Cockloft Hall.

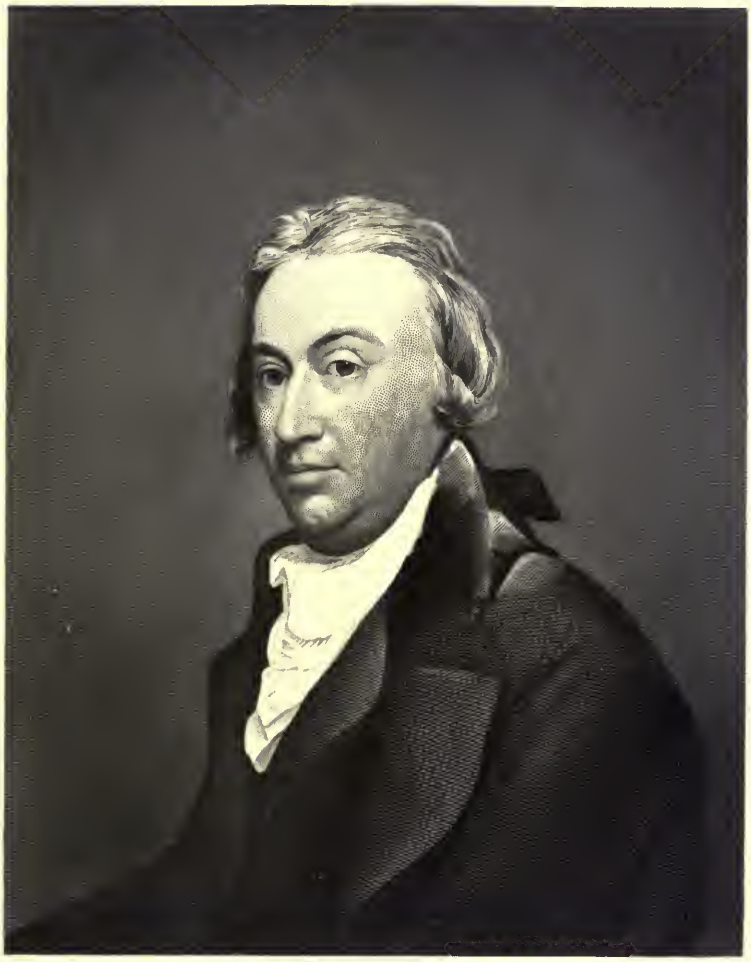
Winfield Scott pronounced the glowing eulogium on Kemble "that he was the most perfect gentleman in the United States"; and when Washington Irving and Kemble met for the last time, at Sunnyside, in the summer of 1859, on returning to the parlor, after parting at the honeysuckled porch, "his [Irving's] eyes were filled with tears," says his biographer, "and he burst forth with a gush of feeling: 'That is my friend of early life—always unchanged, always like a brother; one of the noblest beings that ever were created. His heart is pure gold.'"—THE EDITOR, in "Independent," May, 1872.

DE PEYSTER ARMS.

ROOSEVELT ARMS.



PELL ARMS.



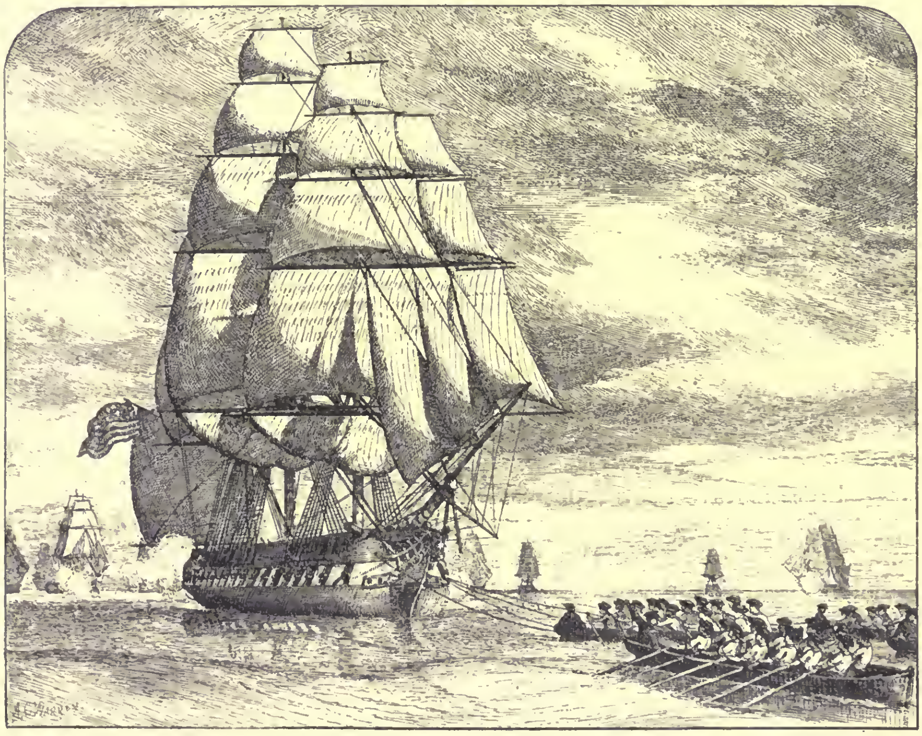
Robt R Livingston

CHAPTER VII

NEW-YORK IN THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

1812–1815

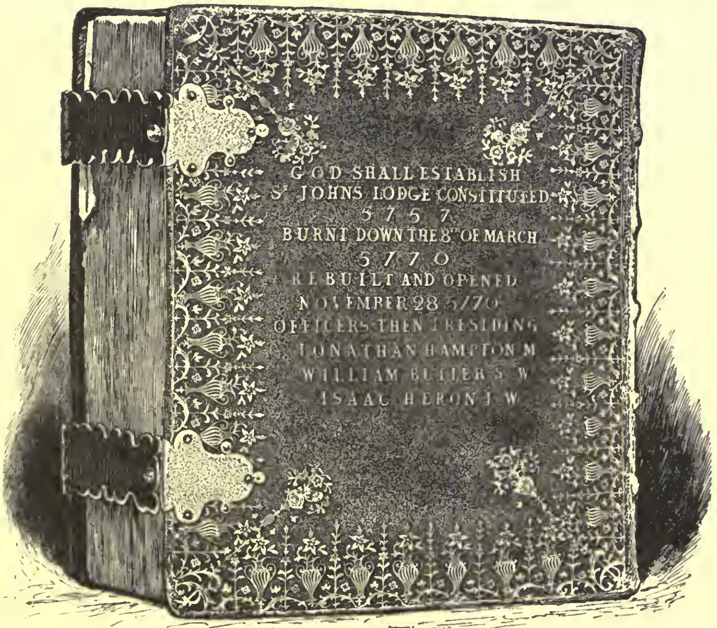
GREAT BRITAIN, driven to acknowledge the political independence of the United States, even in the hour of defeat cherished hopes of a reconciliation, if not a reunion, with a part of her old colonies. In the negotiations for peace her statesmen had naturally seen the sectional jealousies of the American commissioners, and discerned in them the germs of discord which might mature to a disruption of the new western empire— a disruption from which she hoped to profit. The British ministry observed the antagonism of the different sections of the new nation to each other—an antagonism which had no place or reason under the colonial system, but was a consequence of their new condition.



ESCAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

If all that was desired could not be wrested from Great Britain, each section was naturally tenacious of what it held to be vital to itself.

It is interesting to note in this, the dawn of the republic, the slight dark spot on the horizon which developed into the dark cloud of civil war—the political struggle between the Northeast and the Southwest; the one for a conservative limitation, the other for an unrestricted territorial expansion. In the negotiations themselves Adams alone represented an immediate vital sectional interest: that of New England in the fisheries. The communities from which Franklin and Jay came were not directly concerned except in the matter of the boundary and frontiers. Neither of these wise, patriotic men was governed by any narrow or selfish consideration. Henry Laurens at the close gave a discordant note in a demand for a clause prohibiting the carrying away of negroes by the British troops on their evacuation. The British commissioners were ready to grant the "liberty" of the fisheries, but hesitated long before they would concede the "right" on which Adams insisted. The third article of the "provisional treaty" secured to the United States this "right" of fishery, as also the liberty of the coasts of the English banks; the eighth established the Mississippi River to be forever open to the citizens of both countries.



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In the course of the negotiations England had resisted any intermeddling of France. Lord Shelburne held it to be the true policy of Great Britain to settle her differences with her kinsmen without outside interference. Pride dictated that such concessions as must be made should seem voluntary and not forced. The wisdom of this policy in the removal of any probable cause of friction in her relations with New England was later seen. But while Great Britain tardily and grudgingly acknowledged the political independence of her former colonies, her policy was set on maintaining her own commercial supremacy. The old restrictions on the trade of the American continental seaports with the British West India Islands were maintained. Her statesmen little dreamed that there were no bounds to the horizon of American commerce, and that within a little more than a year from the day when the treaty was signed an American ship was to carry the flag of the Union to the China seas. The right of search for British seamen on board of American vessels is not mentioned in the articles of peace.

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[1] This interesting Bible, upon which Washington took the oath of office as President of the United States, is the property of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, of New-York City. EDITOR.

MRS. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.[1]

The instant need of Great Britain was tranquillity at home and abroad, by which her finances might be reorganized and the future expansion of her trade determined. This great undertaking had fallen to Pitt. A commercial treaty with France and a convention with Spain settled all standing disputes concerning settlements on the coasts of America with that power; this, followed by treaties of alliance with the United Provinces and with Prussia, secured the peace of Europe, and left the western powers free to oppose the ambitious schemes of Russia with the aid or connivance of Austria, and establish firmly a balance of power for the mutual security of European states. There were elements in motion, however, the forces of which were but ill gauged by the most far-seeing statesmen and philosophers—an internal convulsion which, in its upheaval, was to destroy the strata and change the face of modern society. The torch of liberty may be said to have been lighted in America. It was rekindled in France in 1789. It became a burning brand when the dissolution of the monarchy was decreed by the national convention after a scene of carnage in 1792. In the struggle of principles which followed, it was not possible for any of the great powers of the Old World either to maintain neutrality or to hold itself aloof. One after the other they were actively involved. The breaking out of the

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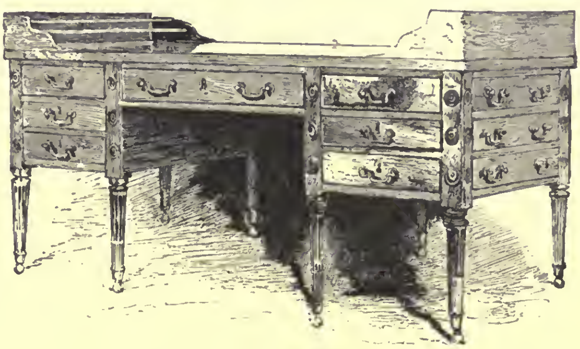
[1] Mrs. Livingston was Margaret, daughter of Colonel Henry Beekman of Duchess County, and resided on Broadway near the Bowling Green. She was the mother of Chancellor Livingston. The vignette is copied from a well-preserved portrait by Gilbert Stuart. EDITOR.

French Revolution instantly divided England. Fox warmly espoused the cause of liberty; Burke denounced the summary reversal of the established orders of government and society. With these great leaders at variance, there was an irreconcilable schism in the Whig ranks. Pitt profited by their dissensions, but kept a discreet silence on the merits of the Revolution—a cautious reserve in which he was imitated by his ministers. But when a powerful society sprang up, under the name of the "Friends of the People" (a significant adaptation of the name of the famous French organ "*L'Ami du Peuple*"), which included men high in political and literary ranks as well as members of Parliament, and which organized a movement for reform in representation; and when still another, the London Corresponding Society, composed chiefly of tradesmen, demanded universal suffrage and annual parliaments, Pitt showed his hand by a royal proclamation against the distribution of seditious writings and illegal correspondence. In his defense of the proclamation he took occasion to denounce the "daring and seditious principles which had been so insidiously propagated amongst the people under the plausible and delusive appellation of the Rights of Man."

The decree of the French government opening the navigation of the Scheldt, in contravention of former agreement, touched England at her most sensitive point; and although the French ambassadors sought to convince Pitt that while the decree was irrevocable, it was not intended to apply to England, the act itself was sufficient. Warlike measures were adopted. The execution of Louis XVI. ended all hesitation, and the French ambassador was at once ordered to leave the British dominions. The French replied with a formal declaration of war. In the long contests of the eighteenth century, France had always the aid of Spain under the family compact of the house of Bourbon: an aid of incalculable value on the sea. Now she was to encounter single-handed the vastly superior naval force of Great Britain. Yet the great discrepancy of force by no means secured England and her possessions from the depredations of an innumerable fleet of French privateers.

In this condition of affairs the United States saw her opportunity. The adoption of the constitution had consolidated the States into a nation, and there was a universal desire to profit by the advantages which the change promised. The chain of causes which was to divert the carrying-trade into the hands of her young marine was complete. The vast naval superiority of Great Britain compelled France to resort to privateers. The success of the privateers determined the change of traffic to a neutral flag. The United States was the only maritime nation to which neutrality was possible. The change was immediate. From a total of twenty million dollars value in 1789, the exports from the United States to England and France had reached in 1800 the amount of seventy millions, of which nearly forty-seven millions were of articles of foreign product. American tonnage was already over nine hundred thousand tons, and second only to that of Great Britain; and of this nearly seven hundred thousand tons were engaged in the foreign or oceanic trade. In this department New-York had already far outstripped all her American rivals, having one sixth of the whole, and much more than Pennsylvania, which was second on the roll.

Neither of the belligerent powers looked with complacency on this rapid development of the maritime resources of the United States. France chafed because of what she held to be American ingratitude in standing aloof from her in her struggle for freedom from monarchical rule; Great Britain, alarmed at the growth of a new naval power which threatened her supremacy, had the additional chagrin of seeing her late rebellious colonies taking profit from her own distresses, and assuming the carrying-trade of the world. Lord Nelson, the sailor hero of Great Britain, foresaw the maritime struggle. It is related of him that, after seeing the evolutions of an American squadron in the Bay of Gibraltar during the Tripoli war, he said: "There was in those transatlantic ships a nucleus of trouble for the maritime power of Great Britain. We have nothing to fear from any thing on this side of the Atlantic; but the manner in which those ships are handled makes me think that there may be a time when we shall have trouble from the other."



WASHINGTON'S WRITING-TABLE.[1]

While the United States was profiting by her mercantile advantages as a neutral in a material sense, she was forced to submit to many mortifications to her national pride. Chief among these was that caused by the constant impressment of sailors from on board her ships by British commanders. When Great Britain entered upon the struggle with France in 1793, she had one hundred and twenty ships of the line and more than one hundred frigates. When Napoleon controlled the powers of the Continent the war assumed colossal dimensions, and the naval armaments of Great Britain increased until it is estimated that her navy reached one thousand vessels. To maintain the crews of her squadrons she had never hesitated to resort to the press-gang; and desertions were, of course, constant and inevitable. During the American war British admirals on the Atlantic stations found it difficult to maintain force sufficient to handle their ships, and were compelled to personal sacrifice to obtain men. Then their only competition was from the American privateersmen with their hazardous and perilous service; but now the prosperous American merchantmen outbid them with higher pay and a more generous treatment. The British admiral has never owned to a higher law than that "might makes right." Necessity no less than convenience led him to execute the law as he chose to understand it, and the "right of search" was sedulously practised. This was, of course, in gross violation of American sovereignty. The offense was aggravated when, as often happened, an American-born seaman was taken from under his own flag on the assertion of a British lieutenant that he had served under the king. Further, Great Britain claimed that no subject of hers could shift his allegiance, or take military or naval service with any other power. The British government, moreover, asserted as the rule of search that the burden of proof that he was not a British subject or a British deserter lay upon the sailor claimed by the boarding officer. Yet the government of the United States submitted to the practice, and confined its complaints to cases of gross injustice.

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[1] Used by President Washington in Federal Hall, and now preserved in the Governors' Room, City Hall, New-York. EDITOR.

LIVINGSTON HOUSE.[1]

The United States asked only to be let alone. Jefferson, who had no desire for war, formulated this request, but neither of the belligerents was inclined to this rose-colored view. France wanted our assistance, and, failing to coax, Napoleon sought to drive us to granting it. England cared nothing for our alliance, but was jealous of our prosperity, and wanted our able seamen. France began her depredations on our commerce in 1799 and 1800. England continued her aggressions with occasional intermissions. Jefferson, in his message of 1804, had hopes of more amicable relations; but his message of December, 1805, made sad mention of his disappointments: "Our coasts have been infested and our harbors watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, others with those of legal form but committing piratical acts far beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured in the very entrance of our harbors, as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried others off under pretence of legal adjudication; but not daring to approach a court of justice they have plundered and sunk theirs by the way, or in obscure places where no evidence could arise against them; maltreated the crews and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering." In January, 1806, he sent in a further message, accompanied by "the memorials of several bodies of merchants in the United States." In accordance with his desire, Congress passed a non-importation act, to apply to certain articles of British manufacture, whether imported directly from Great Britain or from other places.

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[1] This house was owned by Peter Van Brugh Livingston. It is situated near Dobbs Ferry, on the Hudson. Washington established his headquarters there toward the close of the Revolution, and in November, 1783, General Guy Carleton came up from New-York to confer with him, and with George Clinton, then governor of the State, on the subject of prisoners of war, the disposal or treatment of loyalists, and the evacuation of the city. EDITOR.

GOLD RING.[1]

On April 25, 1806, less than a month from the passage of the act, a bolder and more direct outrage was committed in New-York waters. The British frigate Leander, commanded by Captain Whitby, cruising off the mouth of the harbor near Sandy Hook, fired into the American sloop Richard, a coasting-vessel, and killed one of her crew. The body was brought up to the city of New-York and buried at public expense. The citizens, excited by this uncalled-for insult, demanded reparation. The Leander was ordered from our waters, and her captain threatened with arrest should he presume to land on our shores. So also was the British sloop of war Driver. But so little was Jefferson's proclamation regarded, that the latter vessel, which carried but eighteen guns, returned the next year to Charleston Harbor,[2] defied the civil authorities, and denounced the president in an insolent letter, in which her captain demanded water, which was ignominiously supplied. Captain Whitby was called home to England, tried by court martial, and acquitted without even a reprimand.

The hollow peace of Amiens of 1802 was of short duration. Within a few months of its signature the British ambassador left Paris, and orders were at once issued by the English cabinet for the seizure of the ships of France and of her allies in British ports. The continental struggle assumed vast proportions, and in the duel between France and England the rights of neutrals were wholly disregarded. Great Britain again asserted the rule which she had attempted to establish in 1756, which forbade neutral nations to trade with the colonies of a belligerent power from which they were excluded in time of peace. In this Great Britain asserted herself to be the arbiter of international maritime law. On May 17, 1806, the ministry issued the first of the famous Orders in Council. This declared the French coast to be in a state of blockade. American vessels were admitted to carry cargoes to certain ports only, these cargoes to be only of the growth of the United States or of British manufacture. Napoleon, whose career of conquest was at its height after the battle of Jena, on November 28, 1806, issued from Berlin, the conquered capital of Prussia, the no less famous "Berlin decree," which declared the British isles in a state of blockade, and forbade all trade with the continental ports. Both of these documents were to all intents "paper blockades," and by all just conception of international law inoperative as far as neutrals were concerned. They interfered with but did not wholly check American vessels from sailing with cargoes both from French and English ports, though the ocean voyage through the British squadrons was hazardous. Gradually American trade was being narrowed to their own coasting business. Nor was this, as has been stated, unrestrained. British ships prowled on our coasts and overhauled the peaceful merchantmen of the United States in quest of seamen. The United States bill for damages increased rapidly, but the day of demand was as yet postponed to a more convenient season. The United States hesitating or failing to resist Napoleon's Berlin decree, a further and more restrictive order in council was issued by Great Britain, January 7, 1807, forbidding trade between any two French ports, or ports of allies to France, which struck directly at the American carrying-trade. On November 10, 1807, a further order in council was issued, the avowed purpose of which was to compel all nations to give up their maritime trade, or accept it through British, or through vessels under British, license.

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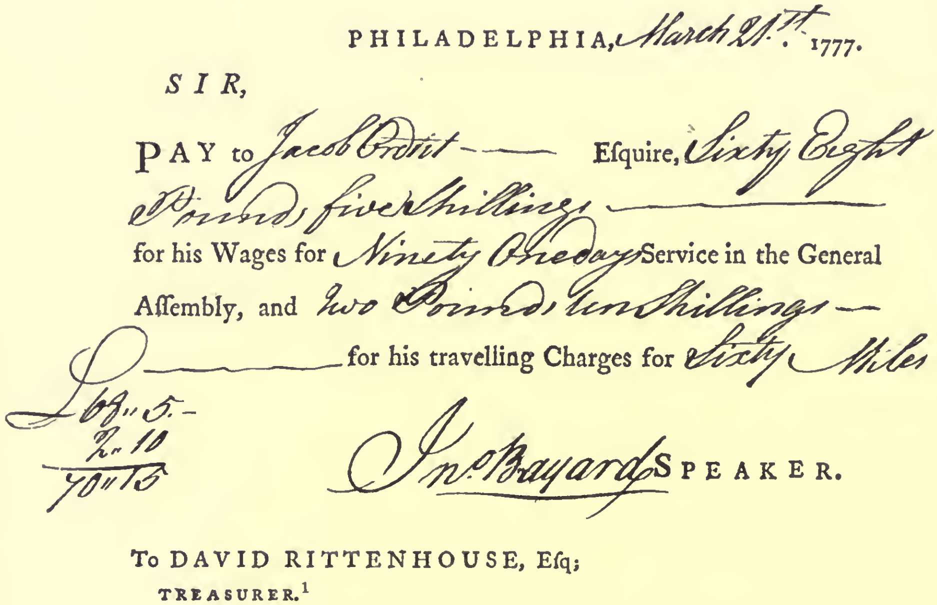
[1] This ring, containing Washington's hair, was by him presented to Mrs. James Madison, and is now the property of Mrs. Edwards Pierrepont of New-York. EDITOR.

[2] Charleston Harbor seems to have been denominated "Rebellion Roads" by the English. In answer to the proclamation, when it was served upon him, the captain wrote a letter, which he dated at "Rebellion Roads, Charleston." Among other things he said that "the proclamation of the President would have disgraced even the sanguinary Robespierre, or the most miserable petty state in Barbary." EDITOR.

In the interval between these orders British insolence went a step further. On June 22, 1807, the English man-of-war Leopard overhauled the American frigate Chesapeake, Captain James Barron commanding, while cruising off Hampton Roads. An officer of the Leopard was received on board the Chesapeake, who delivered an order from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, on the Halifax station, to "search for deserters." Captain Barron declining to allow such a procedure, the Leopard opened upon the Chesapeake an entire broadside, killing three and wounding eighteen men. Captain Barron, totally unprepared, was only able to fire a single gun in reply. The captain of the Leopard refused to accept a surrender of the Chesapeake, but sent on board an officer, who had the crew mustered and took away four men whom he claimed as deserters. Three of these men were native-born American citizens. The fourth had run away from a sloop of war, and was forthwith hanged at Halifax. The people throughout the United States were greatly enraged by this high-handed act. Jefferson said he had not "seen the country in such a state of exasperation since the battle of Lexington." Captain Barron was tried by court martial, convicted of neglect of duty in not having his ship prepared for action, and deprived of rank and pay for five years.



PHILADELPHIA, March 21st. 1777.

SIR,

PAY to Jacob Orndt —— Eſquire, Sixty Eight Pounds five Shillings ——— for his Wages for Ninety One days Service in the General Aſſembly, and Two Pounds Ten Shillings —— ——— for his travelling Charges for Sixty Miles

£68..5.-
2..10
70..15

Jno Bayard SPEAKER.

To DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Eſq;
TREASURER.[1]

The British followed up the January order in council by the bombardment and destruction of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet on July 26, without even the formality of a declaration of war. This lawless act aroused the indignation of Russia, and perhaps more than any other event engaged the sympathy of the lesser powers for the United States as the only nation which promised relief in the future from the maritime despotism of the Mistress of the Seas.

Reparation for the Chesapeake outrage was at once demanded, and became the subject of dilatory negotiation. This question, and information from Mr. John Armstrong, the American minister at Paris, of the strict interpretation of the French and British decrees, caused President Jefferson to call Congress together on October 26. Although the order in council of January had proclaimed a general British blockade of continental ports and forbade trade in neutral vessels unless they first went into British ports and paid duty on their cargoes, Jefferson awaited the answer to the demand in the matter of the Chesapeake outrage before asking any special legislation. In the second week of December, the answer of the British government arriving, with information that a special envoy would be sent over, Jefferson sent in a message with documents, showing, as he stated, "the great and increasing dangers with which our vessels, our seamen, and merchandize are threatened on the high seas and elsewhere from the belligerent powers of Europe; and it being of great importance to keep in safety these essential resources, I deem it my duty to recommend the subject to the consideration of Congress, who will doubtless perceive all the advantages which may be expected from an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States."

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[1] Reduced fac-simile of the original, in the possession of the Editor.

Albert Gallatin

In response to this direct advice an embargo act was immediately passed by the Senate and, with but little delay, by the House (December 22, 1807),—in both by large majorities. This measure is now confessed by men of all parties to have been inoperative where it was intended to act upon foreign nations, and suicidal to American commerce. Mr. Armstrong wrote from Paris that it was "not felt," and "in England it is forgotten." In the United States its ruinous effect was instant. Forbidding the export of American products not only in our own but also in foreign bottoms, it annihilated American commerce and set adrift the large number of able seamen who were needed for our own protection. Beyond this, it enhanced the cost of living by cutting off the supply of fish which entered largely into the food consumption of our seaboard population. It interfered directly with the business of five millions of people. American ships abroad remained there to escape the embargo. Some entered into a contraband trade with France, carrying over British goods under false papers; but such subterfuge did not long escape the vigilance of Napoleon, who in the spring of 1808 issued the Bayonne decree authorizing the seizure and confiscation of all American vessels. It mattered not, he said, whether the ships were English or American. If English, they were those of an enemy; if American, they had no business, under the embargo act, out of American waters. This was a step in advance of the decree he issued from Milan on December 17, 1807, which had forbidden trading with Great Britain by any nation, and declared all vessels thus engaged and all submitting to search by a British man-of-war to be lawful prizes.

The effect of the legislative blunder of the embargo act was soon apparent. It divided the United States into two hostile camps, and commerce came to a standstill. From one hundred and eight million dollars value in 1807, the exports of the United States fell to twenty-two millions in 1808—a single year. Those of New-York fell to less than six millions. The suffering caused by such a shrinkage could not be other than intense. In the commercial cities the strain was terrible. Three months of the embargo had brought numbers of the merchants and domestic traders to bankruptcy, and more than five hundred vessels lay idle at the docks of New-York alone. Of the triumvirate who ruled the Republican party and controlled the legislation of the United States at that period, President Jefferson, James Madison, and Albert Gallatin, the latter, then secretary of the treasury, alone from the beginning opposed a permanent embargo. Jefferson, inclined to peaceful measures, justified the act as tending to save our ships and seamen from capture by keeping them at home. Madison, holding colonial traditions, had faith in the force of a non-importation act, prohibiting the introduction of the produce of any nation whose acts were unfriendly while yet at peace with ourselves. Gallatin held a permanent embargo to be a useless interference with the rights of individuals, and at best a poor response to that "war in disguise," as he termed it, which Great Britain was unremittingly waging. Gallatin was the first to decide for war as the only remedy for American grievances, the only restorative for American honor.

Madison's policy to exclude all British and French ships from American ports and to prohibit all importation except in American bottoms, was not acceptable to Congress, and in the spring of 1810 an act was passed excluding only the men-of-war of both nations, but suspending the non-importation act temporarily, or for three months. Power was given to the president to reëstablish it against either nation which maintained while the other withdrew its obnoxious decrees. The same month Napoleon ordered the confiscation of all American ships either detained in France or in the southern ports of the Atlantic and Mediterranean under his control, which entailed a loss to American merchants in ships and cargoes estimated at forty millions of dollars. In December, 1810, the American ship General Eaton, of Portsmouth, N. H., from London and the Downs for South Carolina, was taken by two French privateers and carried into Calais. Diplomacy grew much confused in the passage and repeal of the decrees and counter-decrees abroad, non-importation and non-intercourse acts at home, until war alone sufficed to cut the Gordian knot. The non-intercourse act with England, passed by Congress in the spring of 1811, was the last act of the diplomatic skirmish, and pointed directly to war.

Immediately after Congress rose in May, another unpremeditated collision between an American and an English man-of-war raised the public temper to "fighting pitch." Since the affair of the Chesapeake the officers of the young navy of the United States had kept ceaseless watch for an opportunity to wipe out the disgrace to the service and the flag. All of our vessels were held at home, even those in the Mediterranean being recalled. The country had now in active service twelve vessels, viz.: three forty-fours, the Constitution, the President, and the United States; the Essex, of thirty-two, and the John Adams, of twenty-eight guns; the Wasp and the Hornet, of eighteen; the Argus and the Siren, of sixteen; the Nautilus, the Enterprise, and the Vixen, of twelve guns. Since the reduction of the naval force in 1801, not a single frigate had been added to the navy; the ships of the line authorized in 1799 having been entirely abandoned. Jefferson's flotilla of gunboats, never of any use, were not called into service, and may be disregarded. Their only possible use might have been to prevent blockades, but even this was not resorted to. The English increased their force of cruisers on the American coast, but kept at a respectful distance from the land, no longer impressing men or detaining ships. The British government did not desire open war, and collisions were avoided, their purpose of intercepting American commerce being served by a constant patrol of the seas from Halifax to the Bermudas, the line of travel of every trader which crossed the Atlantic.

Eben Hazard Pmg[1]

In the spring of 1811, Commodore John Rodgers, the senior officer of the navy afloat, whose pennant was then flying from the President, Captain Charles Ludlow, which lay at anchor in Annapolis Bay, was informed that a man had been impressed from an American brig close to Sandy Hook, by an English frigate supposed to be the Guerrière, of thirty-eight guns, Captain James R. Dacres. The commodore at once went on board his own vessel and passed the capes soon after May 1, to inquire into this now unusual procedure. On the 10th, a man-of-war was sighted about six leagues from land, to the southward of New-York. On nearing each other, shots were exchanged; a broadside followed from the stranger, which did little damage, and was answered by a broadside from the President with fatal results. Satisfied with disabling his enemy, Commodore Rodgers did not push his conquest. The next morning the vessel was found to be his Britannic majesty's ship Little Belt, of eighteen guns. There was, as usual when the British were the sufferers, a dispute as to the aggressor in firing the first shot. A formal court of inquiry justified Commodore Rodgers in his course.

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[1] The portrait of Ebenezer Hazard, an accomplished author, postmaster of New-York, and later postmaster-general of the United States, is from a pastel by Duvivier, now in the possession of his son-in-law, the venerable Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye of New-York. EDITOR.

Before the close of the year 1811 the demand for vigorous measures grew into a clamor for war with England. The young spirits in Congress, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, were eager and impatient. Clay represented the assertive, independent, aggressive element. The control of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth did not satisfy their ambitious ideas; nothing less than the invasion and conquest of Canada was in their minds, and this they supposed they could achieve by their own militia. The delay of Great Britain in the surrender of the western ports, and her constant intrigues with the Indian tribes on the frontier and covert support of their schemes, were a natural and constant source of irritation. Their military ardor and confidence had been heightened by the signal defeat of the Wabash tribe at Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, by General William Henry Harrison, with a party of regulars and Kentucky militia. Thus, while the seaboard communities dreaded an open war with England, the whole interior population were eager, even anxious, for a struggle which they believed would end in the final establishment of the rule of the United States over the entire territory of North America. The germ of the conflict of opinion between the New England States, nearly all maritime, and the West, whose only maritime interest was for the freedom of the lakes, which came to the surface in this session of Congress, grew with formidable rapidity, and later nearly rent the Union in twain.

President Madison, in his message of November 5, 1811, announced his reasons for calling Congress together (by proclamation of July 24, 1811) before the usual date of assemblage to be "the posture of foreign affairs," and "the probability of further developments of the policy of the belligerent powers towards this country which might the more unite the national councils in the measures to be pursued."

The hope entertained at the close of the last session, that the extinction of the French decrees as far as they violated our neutral commerce would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council,—a step which would have freed our commerce from destruction,—was not only disappointed, but at a moment when least expected "the orders were put into more rigorous execution." Great Britain insisted on the admission of the products and manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals, into markets shut against them by her enemy, and the United States was given to understand that in the mean time "a continuance of their non-importation act would lead to measures of retaliation." The president called attention to recent wrongs, and to the "scenes derogatory to the dearest of our national rights, and vexatious to the regular course of our trade," which had been again witnessed on our coasts and at the mouth of our harbors, and particularly to the encounter of Commodore Rodgers.

Richard Bassett[1]

The president also complained of the "rigorous and unexpected restrictions of France upon the trade of the United States." He announced that the works of defense on the more important parts of our maritime frontier had been prosecuted nearly to completion, that a portion of the gunboats had been ordered into use, that the ships of war before in commission, with the addition of a frigate, had been employed as a cruising guard on the coast, and that a force consisting of regulars and militia embodied in the Indiana Territory had marched to our northwestern frontier. He called for adequate provision to fill up the ranks, extend the term of enlistment of the regular troops, for an auxiliary force for a more limited term, for the acceptance of a volunteer corps, and for the prosecution of the manufacture of cannon and small arms. The receipts into the treasury to September 3 exceeded thirteen and one half million dollars—enough to defray expenses, pay interest on the debt, and reimburse five millions of the principal. On November 4 Madison communicated copies of the correspondence in reference to the attack on the Chesapeake, which had dragged since 1807. Lord Erskine's agreement to settle the affair in 1810 had been repudiated by his chief, Mr. George Canning, the English secretary for foreign affairs, and Francis James Jackson, who had been sent out to take his place, had been rejected as a *persona non grata* by Madison. The act of the Leopard was now disavowed by the British government.[1]

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[1] Richard Bassett of Delaware resided in New-York as a member of the United States Senate. Later he was governor of his State, and a United States circuit judge. His daughter became the wife of the distinguished statesman James A. Bayard, one of the signers of the treaty of Ghent. The vignette is from the portrait by St. Memin.
EDITOR.

In the debate on the military bill which ensued on the message, Mr. William B. Giles, senator from Virginia, declared that New-York and New Orleans would be the points attacked by Great Britain, and called on the Senate to defend New-York with all the judgment and skill at their command, fill the fortifications with the full complement of troops amply provided, call on the local militia, "and yet he should not be surprised if the British should get possession of that city." In the course of his remarks he said that the English had in Canada seven to ten thousand regular troops, and twelve to fifteen thousand well-appointed, well-furnished militia, drawn from a population of nearly three hundred thousand souls, a force which it would need twenty thousand men to subdue.[2] He pointed out that in 1776 we had 46,691 regulars in the field, exclusive of militia.

On December 3, the committee on foreign relations reporting to the House of Representatives that there were but three alternatives left to the United States by the belligerents,—viz., "embargo, submission, or war,"—it was resolved, by a vote of 128 to 62, "that the United States cannot, without a sacrifice of their rights, honor and independence, submit to the late Edicts of Great Britain and France." On the 2d, the Senate resolved "to interdict commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies," which carried letters of marque and reprisal. The affirmative vote, in which the senators from New-York joined, was 21 to 12. The same bill was passed in the House by a vote of 74 to 33, Nicholas, Calhoun, and Clay voting against the letters of marque. In the course of the debate Giles charged that Jefferson had intended and Madison did intend to allow the English to take New Orleans, and trusted to the West to defend it.

The country now began to pronounce itself. North Carolina was the first to speak. On December 31, 1811, the general assembly passed resolutions approving the sentiment contained in the message of the president, and unanimously pledging coöperation in the effectual enforcement of such "measures as may be devised and calculated to protect the interests and secure the union, liberty, and independence of the United States." The general assembly of Virginia adopted resolutions on January 25, which referred only to the wrongs committed by Great Britain under the orders in council. They declared "that however we value the blessings of peace and however we deprecate the evils of war, the period has now arrived when peace as we now have it is disgraceful and war is honorable."

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[1] The president also communicated a memorial of Gouverneur Morris and other commissioners on the opening of canal navigation between the great lakes and the Hudson River, a project of which he expressed approval because "some of the advantages have an intimate connection with arrangements and exertions for the general security."

[2] The population of the United States was, by the census of 1810, 7,239,903.

FORTS FISH AND CLINTON, 1814.

The months of January and February, 1812, passed by, and Madison was still in doubt, hesitating as to the course to pursue. He gradually yielded to the pressure of the war party, and, fortified by the declaration of his own State, on April 1 he sent to Congress a brief message recommending the immediate passage of an act to impose "a general embargo on all vessels now in port or hereafter for the period of sixty days." The measure, passed in secret session, was soon known, and many vessels got to sea before it was officially promulgated. It was intended as a note of preparation for war, was so acknowledged to be, and was so understood. The period was extended to ninety days. The first congressional district of Pennsylvania adopted resolutions in May, "approbating the measures of the Government in the preparation for war." The citizens of Arundel County, Maryland, on June 9, 1812, adopted resolutions recommending "the adoption of such measures as may place our country in a state of maritime defence and procure a redress of wrongs from the belligerent nations."

There was a different feeling in New-York and the New England States. On June 9, Mr. Abraham Smith of New-York presented a petition of the most important merchants of the city, praying for a "continuation of the embargo and non-importation acts as a substitute for war with Great Britain."[1] On June 12 a memorial was

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[1] *Memorial of New-York Merchants, June* 9, 1812.

The Memorial of the subscribing Merchants and others inhabitants of the City of New-York respectfully showeth.

That your memorialists feel in common with the rest of their fellow-citizens an anxious solicitude for the honor and interest of their country and an equal determination to assert and maintain them.

That your memorialists believe that a continuation of restrictive measures now in operation will produce all the benefits while it prevents the calamities of war.

That when the British ministry become convinced that a trade with the United States cannot be renewed, but by the repeal of the Orders in Council, the distress of their merchants and manufacturers, &c., their inability to support their armies in Spain and Portugal, will probably compel them to that measure. Your memorialists beg leave to remark that such effects are even now visible, and it may be reasonably hoped that a continuance of the embargo and non-importation laws a few months beyond the fourth day of July next will effect a complete and bloodless triumph of our rights.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully solicit of your honorable body the passage of a law continuing the embargo and giving to the President of the United States power to discontinue presented, together with a resolution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, which also deprecated war, reading as follows: "*Resolved*, As the opinion of this House, that an offensive war against Great Britain under the present circumstances of this country would be in the highest degree impolitic, unnecessary, and ruinous; that the great body of the people of this Commonwealth are decidedly opposed to this measure, which they do not believe to be demanded by the honor or interests of our nation."

The feeling in the New England States generally was opposed to a declaration of open war, and certainly the administration of Mr. Madison took no pains to change its current.[1] A memorial of five hundred and thirty-five merchants of Boston, praying for the repeal or such modification of the non-importation act as would enable "them to receive their property now in Great Britain or her dependencies," was rejected by the Senate by a vote of 13 to 6, the legislation asked being judged inexpedient. Rhode Island was more plain-spoken, and on June 9 instructed her senators "to oppose all measures which may be brought forward to involve the country in war."

It would be difficult at this distance of time to understand this indifference of the maritime section of the country to measures in defense of their own dearest rights, did we not take into account the violence of political feeling at this period. The overthrow of the great Federalist party—the party of Washington, and Adams, and Hamilton—still rankled in the minds of their followers. This resentment was aggravated by the radical political opinions held by the converts to the new doctrines of equality formulated in France in the declaration of the rights of man in 1789. These were heartily

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the whole of the restrictive system on the rescinding of the British Orders in Council.

The conduct of France in burning our ships, in sequestrating our property, entering her ports, expecting protection in consequence of the promised repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the delay in completing a treaty with the American minister, has excited great sensation and we hope and trust will call forth from your honorable body such retaliatory measures as may be best calculated to procure justice.

John Jacob Astor,
Samuel Adams,
Howland & Grinnell,
Edward Slosson,
Israel Gibbs,
Isaac Clason,
John Slidell,
John K. Townsend,
Andrew Ogden & Co.,
Thomas Storm,
Amos Butler,
Ebenezer Burrill,
Isaac Heyer,
Ralph Bulkley,
Samuel Bell,
John F. Delaplaine,
Peter Stagg,
David Taylor,
William Adee,
John T. Lawrence,
Joseph W. Totten,
Isaac Schermerhorn,
Alexander Ruden,
Joseph Otis,
Lewis Hartman,
Garret Storm,
George Bement,
Stephen A. Rich,
Abraham Smith,
Thomas H. Smith, Jr.,
Andrew Foster,
Jacob Barker,
William Lovett,
William Edgar, Jr.,
Samuel Stillwell,
Jacob P. Giraud,
John Hone,
John Kane,
Amasa Jackson,
William J. Robinson,
Joseph Strong,
Abraham S. Hallett,
Joshua Jones,
Frederick Giraud, Jr.,
Robert Roberts,
John Crookes,
Hugh McCormick,
John Depeyster,
Gilbert Haight,
James Lovett,
Leffert Lefferts,
Augustus Wynkoop,
John W. Gale,
Thomas Rich,
Samuel Marshall,
Elbert Herring.

[1] Tyler, in his "Parties and Patronage in the United States" (New-York, 1891), remarks: "Some idea of the national demoralization occasioned by the acts of the Federalists may be gained from the fact that the capture and imprisonment by the English of six thousand of our citizens cost the New England States (among the first to resist the tyranny of the British in 1775) not one half the concern that the restrictions of the embargo did for a single year." EDITOR.

espoused by Jefferson, and detested by the conservative admirers of the British constitution, the main features of which Hamilton had grafted on our own. These interesting and immortal instruments, though they were consistent, were not by any means similar either in purpose or structure.

While the two extremities of the Union were thus ranging themselves under the banners of peace and of war, the great controlling middle-State communities of New-York and Pennsylvania were as yet hesitating, watchful, and expectant. New-York was divided in sentiment. Nowhere were the political lines as strictly drawn as in New-York city. The divisions were not recent. The adoption of the constitution had only been carried by the persistence of Jay, the magnetism of Hamilton, and the personal appeals of Washington himself. The ranks of the Federalists had been since recruited from those who opposed the constitution, and for the logical reason that they represented the established order. The landed proprietors were almost to a man Federalists until the house of Livingston, for some personal affront, went over with its host of followers to the Republicans. Able as Hamilton was as a leader, he found in Governor George Clinton, Washington's mainstay in council as in war, an opponent of towering strength, tenacious and independent, as was natural to the Scotch-Irish stock from which he sprung. The autonomy of the State he had failed to secure in the popular yearning for a nation; its independence he held fast to. The marriage of his daughter with Genêt, the French minister, had brought to his banner the entire French party. He had no love for New England, because of her encroachments on what was claimed New-York territory in the Hampshire grants—a bone of contention which was a legacy of the colonial period. To him must be ascribed the defeat of the British plan to separate New England from the rest of the Union by the establishment of a line of military posts along the Hudson and the waters of Lakes George and Champlain. While the first notes of preparation for impending war were sounding, George Clinton, who had been vice-president of the United States in Jefferson's last term and the first of Madison, died, while yet in office, at his house in Washington, on April 20, 1812. His death was reported to the Senate by its president, Mr. William Harris Crawford, and to the House by his old companion in arms, Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, the famous commander of the Continental Light Dragoons, and now a representative from Connecticut. His remains were honored in New-York by what is described as a "splendid solemnity": a funeral procession, military and civil, was formed at the City Hall and in the park, and marched to the new Presbyterian church in Wall street, where an oration was delivered by Gouverneur Morris. Salutes were fired from Fort Columbus and the Battery.

George Clinton had been Madison's most formidable competitor for the presidency in 1808. At his death the scepter of his controlling influence passed to his nephew, De Witt Clinton, who was at the time mayor of the city. That gentleman's leanings were, however, toward the Federal opinions, though, in reviewing his independent career, it is difficult to assign him to any single party except that which in the fluctuating politics of New-York city he himself founded. He also became a candidate for the presidential succession; so was James Monroe, secretary of state at this period. Both of these aspiring men were eager for war, and it has been said that their rivalry forced Madison's hand in the declaration of war. In the interim between April 1, when he transmitted his message recommending an embargo, and June 1, when he sent in the message for war, Madison received his second nomination from the congressional caucus of the Republican party. The period of election fell in the autumn of the year 1812.

Jacob Morton

Madison's war message of June 1 was at the same time an insult and a defiance to the New England Federalists. Among the causes for an appeal to arms he included the charge of "a coöperation between the Eastern Tenth and the British Cabinet." He intimated that an agent had been sent by the British government to Massachusetts to intrigue "with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and adding the Eastern States to her Canada provinces." The Federal party had complete control in the five States of New England. New-York and New Jersey were rapidly drifting in the same direction. Under the sharp stimulus of Clay's oratory, the war measures were hurried through Congress, and on June 19 Madison issued his formal proclamation of war against Great Britain.

The news of the declaration of war reached New-York at nine o'clock on the morning of Saturday, June 20, 1812. A private letter of the 17th brought news that the question had been decided in the Senate of the United States by a vote of 19 to 12. The same mail brought an extra of the "National Intelligencer," published at Washington on the afternoon of the 18th, with the announcement, and an express arrived at the same time with official notice to General Joseph Bloomfield, commander of the troops and defenses in and near the harbor of New-York, whose headquarters were at the fort off the Battery. At half-past nine this officer issued his general orders,[1] with the announcement to the troops. Messengers passed through the city about ten o'clock for the northern frontier and the east. General Bloomfield, General Ebenezer Stevens, Colonel Jonathan Williams, Colonel Peter P. Schuyler, and other military officers went on board the President, Commodore Rodgers's flag-ship, at noon, and the Argus was at once put under way.

"The Columbian" (edited by Charles Holt), issued that afternoon, expressed the general regret that Congress had procrastinated the declaration until the New-York legislature, which was sitting at Albany, should have adjourned, and the express which went out in the morning could hardly reach the State capital in time to prevent its dispersion. Their time expired on July 1. "The Columbian," in the same issue, made answer to the slurs cast on New-York for "want of public spirit and ardor in the general defence": "The State of New-York, we venture to declare, has expended more money on fortifications, cannon, arms, ammunition, and military stores than all the other States in the Union in their individual capacities since the adoption of the federal constitution; and can furnish more of the implements of war of her own property at an hour's notice than all the other States together." The frigates Congress and United States, from Hampton Roads, and the United States brig Argus, from the Delaware, under orders from the government, arrived the day previous. The British frigate Belvidera and sloop of war Tartarus, which were cruising on the Fishing Banks, stood off on their appearance.

The next day it was known that the legislature of the State had adjourned on the Friday preceding, June 19, the very day of the president's proclamation. The "closing point of the negotiations" was stated in the newspapers to be the positive and official declaration of Mr. Foster,[2] the British minister, that "Great Britain will not withdraw her orders in council until France shall release the whole European continent from Napoleon's decree."

On June 20, General Stevens, of the militia, communicated to the common council General Bloomfield's general order, and added: "I shall be happy in coöperating with the honorable corporation in any measures which appear advisable for the more complete protection of the city." On Monday, the 22d, the common council enlarged their committee of defense by adding the recorder, Messrs. Augustine H. Lawrence, Elisha W. King, and George Wilson, and Alderman George Buckmaster. The original committee of defense, appointed December 2, 1811, consisted of Aldermen Nicholas Fish, John Morse, Peter Mesier, and Thomas Carpenter, and Assistant Aldermen Samuel Jones, Jr., Peter Hawes, and John Drake. Their term of service was that of the body from which they were drawn,—viz., for three years,—and expired in December, 1814. There was a strong military party in New-York. The Society of the Cincinnati had about fifty members of the New-York State branch resident in the city. Its officers were Colonel Richard Varick, president, and Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, of the 2d New-York Continental Artillery (who now commanded the artillery of the State with the commission of major-general), vice-president. Among the members were Colonel Aaron Burr; Matthew Clarkson, major and aide-de-camp; General Benjamin Lincoln; Philip Van Cortlandt, the colonel of the 2d New-York Continentals; Major Nicholas Fish, of the Light Infantry; Colonel Morgan Lewis; Lieutenant-Colonel Brockholst Livingston; Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willett; and on the rolls the well-known New-York names of Bleecker, Burrall, Codwise, Dunscombe, Fowler, Giles, Graham, Hammond, Hutton, Leggett, Pendleton, Platt, Popham, Steddiford, Stewart, Swartwout, Troup, and Van Dyck.

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[1] General Orders, Headquarters, New-York, 2d of June, 1812. General Bloomfield announces to the troops that war is declared against Great Britain by the United States. By order.
B. H. MACPHERSON, Aid-de-camp.

[2] Minister Foster to James Monroe, secretary of state, June 14, 1812: "I will now say that I feel entirely authorized to assure you that if you can at any time produce a full and unconditional repeal of the French decrees, as you have a right to demand it in your character of a neutral nation, and that it be disengaged from any question concerning our maritime rights, we shall be ready to meet you with a moderation of the Orders in Council. Previously to your producing such an instrument, which I am sorry to see you appear to consider as unnecessary, you cannot expect us to give up our Orders in Council."

KISSING BRIDGE.[1]

The feeling in New-York had been general in opposition to the declaration of war. The newspapers voiced that opinion, but the die once cast, their determination to support the administration increased. The Republican general committee, Jonathan Thompson, chairman, and John L. Broome, secretary, issued a call for a general meeting in the park. The Federalists in the city, who outnumbered the Republicans, naturally held aloof, while there were dissensions in the Republican ranks, the Clintonian branch being larger than the Madisonian. The meeting, by design or inadvertence, was only partially advertised in the newspapers. The gathering, variously estimated from seven to fifteen hundred, was small when the gravity of the situation is considered. It was held in the park at noon on Wednesday, June 24. Colonel Henry Rutgers was called to the chair, and Colonel Marinus Willett was named secretary. The act of Congress and the president's proclamation were read, and a preamble and resolutions, which are said to have been drawn by Colonel Rutgers, were submitted and unanimously adopted. These declared the necessity and justice of the war, approved the course of the government, and pledged in support "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." They read as follows:

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[1] The Kissing Bridge was situated at Fiftieth street and Second Avenue, crossing a small creek or brook. The old Boston Post Road passed over it. In 1860 it finally disappeared from among the old landmarks. Drake and Halleck celebrated it in verse. EDITOR.

In one of those awful and interesting moments with which it has pleased heaven that States and Kingdoms should at times be visited, we consider ourselves now convoked to express our calm, decided, and animated opinion on the conduct of our government.

Peace has ever been considered one of the greatest blessings that an all bountiful Creator has vouchsafed to man upon earth, while war has ever been designated as the scourge of nations; but the *same* All wise Providence has likewise permitted that in the events of time such circumstances should accrue to nations as would render it not only *necessary*, but an *absolute duty* to abandon the comforts and delights of peace in order that by a solemn appeal to arms they may be enabled to secure to themselves equally important blessings; that by encountering for a time the disasters and vicissitudes of war they may secure to *themselves* and transmit to their *posterity* those invaluable advantages to which by the laws of nature, of nations and of God they as independent governments are justly entitled.

When a retrospect is taken of the last Twelve years of our history we find recorded there the violation of one Sacred right after another. We behold one continued series of insults — one long succession of oppressions; our government with the true spirit of a republic, patiently sustaining while temporarily remonstrating until indignity has been heaped on indignity and injury heaped upon injury. With a reluctance common only to such as duly appreciate the blessings of peace, have they calmly endured and perseveringly negotiated under a pious but vain expectation that reason and expostulation would at length bring the nations injuring us to a sense of equity, and thereby avert the necessity of a resort to those ulterior measures always direful in their operation even to that party which is most successful.

Our government, mild and peaceful in its very nature, and defenceless on the ocean, has endeavored, in the very spirit of meekness, by every wise and at the same time soothing expedient, to convince the belligerent nations of the justice of our councils; of our ardent wish to conduct in all things agreeably to the established usages of nations, and in such a manner as to give them no just cause of offence; but knowing our maritime weakness in comparison with their strength, they have turned a deaf ear to the equity of our demands; and with the insolence common to superior and arbitrary power, have so accumulated the catalogue of our wrongs, that longer forbearance would be attended with the absolute prostration of our national character; an abandonment of the rights of an independent republic; and would render our government unworthy of the confidence of its own citizens and of the respect of the world.

Our government therefore with all calm deliberation and with that *solemn delay* that ever attends those who are forced reluctantly from their tranquil and beloved abodes to launch on a perilous and tempestuous ocean have finally resigned the peace of the country into the hands of the great Disposer of all events — and under His banner with a perfect conviction of the equity of their cause they have declared this country to be at war with Great Britain.

Therefore *Resolved* That we have viewed with pleasure and approbation the increasing efforts of our government to preserve to our country the blessings of peace; that we duly appreciate their able negotiations and admire their unwearied patience to promote so important an end; and that we consider them standing justified in the eyes of their fellow citizens in all the restrictive measures to which they have resorted as temporary expedients, with the hope of preventing thereby the evils of War.

Resolved That while solicitous of peace and ardently attached to its blessings, we believe that the crisis had arrived when it could be no longer with honor retained; that we therefore hold our government justified in its appeal to arms against Great Britain and yield to its decision our unqualified and decided approbation.

Resolved That as our government has now appealed to the world, it becomes the duty of all good citizens at such an eventful period to lay aside all party animosity and private bickering, to rally as becomes brethren equally involved in the welfare of their common country around the National Standard and to yield to their government an undivided support.

THE SMITH HOUSE, HAVERSTRAW.[1]

Resolved That in placing our reliance in the Most High and soliciting his benediction on our just cause we pledge to our government in support of our beloved country our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

Copies of these resolutions were sent to the president and both houses of Congress, and duly published in the press.

However reluctant the men of property may have felt to undertake a war with Great Britain, whose enormous resources the continental wars had developed, and whose navy, since the victory of Nelson at Trafalgar in 1805, held undisputed sway over both oceans, the war was hailed with joy by thousands of adventurous spirits and the large class of seafaring men who now for many years had been without congenial or profitable occupation. Money and ships were at once forthcoming, and within four months after the declaration of war twenty-six privateers were fitted out from the port of New-York, armed with two hundred and twelve guns, and manned by twenty-two thousand and thirty-nine men, experienced and daring. From its earliest history, as these pages have recited, privateering was a favorite venture of New-York citizens. Their seamen were especially qualified for the management of the fast craft which this service demanded, and for the handling of light guns usually carried by this class of vessels. The Sandy Hook pilots brought their seamanship, and the Long Island whale-boat men of the Revolution retained their traditions of bold enterprise. In the colonial days the scions of the best stock not only fitted out but themselves sailed privateers on the Spanish main, and since the opening of the China trade a sea voyage to the distant Orient was not an unusual preparation for a merchant career,—sometimes maintained for years in their employment as supercargoes on the long trading voyages which were then the habit of trade. Moreover, the dangerous commerce with the West India Islands, which swarmed with buccaneers from every clime, had familiarized them with the very kind of action which was needed. They could "hunt with the hounds or run with the hares" of the sea. In the Revolution they had not hesitated to attack men-of-war on the station at Sandy Hook, and to run large packets on the reefs was not a singular feat. The ardor of New-York in this direction was kept up by the constant repair of the war-ships of the United States to the anchorage in the lower bay. In the very first days of the war of 1812, a notable incident encouraged their belief in their ability to cope with the skilled captains and the trained tars of Admirals Nelson and Collingwood.

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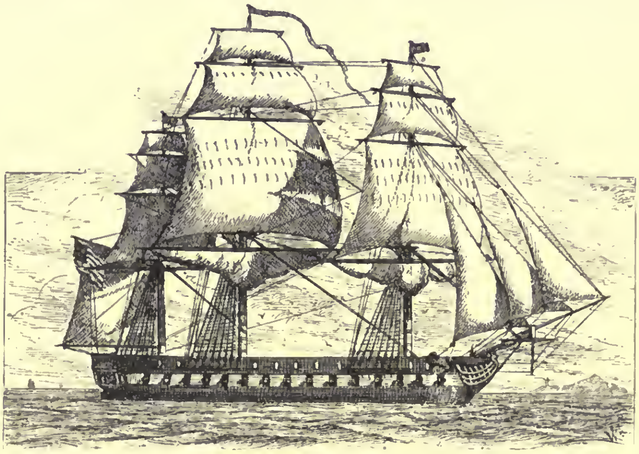
[1] At the house of Joshua Hett Smith, son of William Smith, the historian, standing on what is now called Treason Hill, near Haverstraw, on the Hudson, Major André met General Arnold, on the morning of August 22, 1780, and arranged the plan of the surrender of West Point. The house can be seen from the river. EDITOR.

Isaac Hull

It has been stated already that the young leaders of the war party in Congress looked to successes on land and territorial conquest, and had an indifference to the field which the ocean afforded. And yet the triumphs of our young fleet in the Revolution, the alarm which John Paul Jones excited in English homes, and, later, the brilliant achievements in the Mediterranean, the heroes of which were still in the prime of their service, might have inspired better counsel. Madison's cabinet were said to have without exception opposed the increase and use of our navy; indeed, somewhat after Jefferson's idea in imposing the embargo,—to save our vessels by laying them up. The advice of Captains Charles Stewart and William Bainbridge, who happened to be in Washington at the time of the declaration of war, determined Madison to bring the navy into active service. One of the chief causes of the war being the impressment of our seamen, it seems to-day surprising that their ardor in defense of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights"—the cry under which our greatest triumphs were won—should have been either passed by or deprecated.[1]

The president's proclamation reached Commodore Rodgers at New-York on the 20th. With it came orders to sail on a cruise against the enemy. His squadron consisted of his own ship, the President, 44; the United States, 44, Captain Stephen Decatur; the Congress, 38, Captain Joseph Smith; the Hornet, 18, Captain James Lawrence; and the Argus, 16, Captain Arthur Sinclair—in all five ships, carrying 160 guns. The British force cruising off the coast consisted of eight men-of-war, carrying 312 guns, with a number of corvettes and sloops: quite enough to watch American movements and make any concerted action or descent either on the Canadian coast or the West India Islands hazardous if not impracticable. The United States could ill afford to try the issue of a single naval action with a superior force. Rodgers was aware that the homeward-bound plate fleet had sailed from Jamaica on May 20, under convoy of two small vessels carrying together 44 guns, which he might strike in the Gulf Stream.


THE CONSTITUTION.

Within an hour from the time that he received his instructions, Commodore Rodgers, who was in entire readiness, put to sea. He passed Sandy Hook with his squadron on the afternoon of June 21, and ran southeast. An American sail, spoken that night, reported having seen the Jamaica ships. The squadron crowded sail. Early in the morning of the 23d an enemy's frigate was descried, and a general chase was made. The President, a fast ship, soon distanced the rest of the squadron. The wind failing, Rodgers, despairing of overhauling the frigate, opened with his chase guns. He discharged the forecastle gun himself. This was the first shot fired in the war. The fourth fire exploded one of the battery guns, killing and wounding sixteen men, and throwing into the air the forecastle deck, on which Rodgers was standing. One of the commodore's legs was broken in his fall. The British commander lightened his ship by throwing overboard his boats and his water-tanks, and got away. It proved later to have been the frigate Belvidera, 36, Captain Byron. On July 1 the squadron struck the wake of the Jamaica vessels, which they recognized by the tropical debris (fruit, etc.) which floated on the sea, to the eastward of the Banks of Newfoundland. On July 9 an English letter of marque was taken by the Hornet, Captain Lawrence, and it was learned that the Jamaica fleet, eighty-five sail, was seen the night before, under convoy of a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig. The chase was abandoned on the 13th, within a day's sail of the chops of the Channel, and Rodgers returned to Boston by way of the Western Islands and the Grand Banks. The result was meager—seven merchantmen taken and one American recaptured. The cruise lasted seventy days.

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[1] The beautiful American ship of war Alliance, which had been pronounced a perfect frigate by the high authority of the French construction and naval men, was the last of the Revolutionary navy, and was sold in 1785. In 1794, in consequence of the Algerine spoliations, Congress ordered four frigates of 44 and two of 36 guns. Two of the first and one of the second class were built. In 1798, the United States had but three frigates, the Constitution, the United States, and the Constellation. After the affair of the Chesapeake in 1807, President Jefferson, with an apparent distrust of our ships, asked Congress for no more, but recommended the building of additional gunboats, which carried the number up to two hundred and fifty-seven. It was not till 1808 and 1809 that a number of new frigates were ordered and soon after completed.

BILLET-HEAD.[1]

The report of the Belvidera caused Captain Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, of the Shannon, senior officer of the British squadron, to concentrate it at once, in the hope of intercepting Rodgers's return. It hovered off New-York early in July, and made several captures—among others of the Nautilus, 14, which left the harbor soon after Rodgers in the hope of taking some English Indiaman, fell in with the British squadron the next day, and, unable to get away, struck to the Shannon. This was the first war vessel taken on either side in this contest. The Nautilus had made a proud record in the Tripoli war.

When the war opened, the Essex, 38, was in New-York harbor undergoing repair. She was ordered to sea with an armament of carronades only, in spite of the protests of Captain David Porter, her commander, and put out of harbor on July 3. On her foretopgallant-mast she carried a white flag lettered in blue, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." On the 11th she fell in with the Minerva, 32, convoying seven troop-transports, each with about two hundred men on board.

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[1] The original figurehead of the Constitution was a bust of Hercules. This was shot away during the war with Tripoli, and replaced by the billet-head shown in the engraving. The latter was the one borne by the Constitution during the war of 1812, and is now supported on a post at the head of the dry-dock in the navy-yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts. EDITOR.

On the way from Barbadoes to Quebec, Porter cut out one of the transports, took out her men, and stood back for a fight. The Minerva declined an action. Porter's men were thoroughly trained as boarders, but the short range of his guns did not permit of his cutting out the Minerva. One of the youngest of the midshipmen of the Essex on this cruise was David Glasgow Farragut, whose fame to-day almost rivals that of England's great admiral. On August 13 the Essex overtook and captured the British sloop of war Alert, which she disarmed and sent in as a cartel to St. John's. The Essex returned to New-York on September 7, having made ten prizes containing four hundred and twenty-three men.

In this month of July, also, the Constitution, 44, Captain Isaac Hull, returned from a run to Europe, and sailed into the Chesapeake, where a new crew was shipped, many of whom had never been on board a vessel of war before. On the 11th she left Annapolis and stood to the northward. On the 17th she fell in with the Guerrière, Captain Dacres, which had joined Broke's squadron. The Nautilus had been taken by them the day before, and was now manned by a British crew and flying British colors. Only by the exercise of the greatest ingenuity, by coolness and precision and the steadiness which Hull had already obtained from his fresh men, was the noble frigate enabled to extricate herself from the formidable net into which she had fallen. The three days' chase and the escape are historic in the American navy. Hull had fairly outmanœuvered Broke and Byron. Soon after the chase the British squadron separated, and Hull went into Boston on July 26. On August 2 the Constitution sailed in an easterly course, but met no enemy. Cruising along the coast of Nova Scotia from the Bay of Fundy to Newfoundland, she took her station off Cape Race. Here she captured two British brigs and recaptured an American one, but a British sloop of war escaped.

On the 19th, cruising south, Captain Hull heard from a Salem privateer of a British frigate still further to the southward. Standing in that direction, he found the stranger to be the frigate Guerrière, Captain Dacres, this time alone. The Englishman hauled up his courses and took in part of his sail, and made ready to engage. Hull made his own preparations with the greatest deliberation, cleared for action, and beat to quarters. At five o'clock in the afternoon the Guerrière hoisted three English ensigns and opened fire. The Constitution set her colors one at each masthead and one at the mizzen-peak. Hull answered the English fire with a few guns as they bore. The Englishman showing a disposition for a hand-to-hand fight, yard-arm and yard-arm, the Constitution drew closer, and in a few minutes, as the ships were side to side, the Guerrière's mizzenmast came down, shot away. As the vessels touched, both crews prepared to board, but the fire was so hot and the sea so heavy that neither party succeeded. As the Constitution shot ahead the Guerrière's foremast fell, and, carrying with it her mainmast, the proud ship lay a helpless wreck. As the Constitution returned to deliver a raking fire, the enemy's colors were lowered. The next morning, the Guerrière having four feet of water in her hold, Hull sent on board and took off the prisoners. The wreck was set on fire and soon blew up. Hull, encumbered with his prisoners, returned to Boston, where he arrived on the 30th. He brought in two hundred and sixty-seven prisoners, among whom were ten Americans who had refused to fight their countrymen. Hull himself brought the intelligence of his victory. He announced it to the secretary of war by despatch from "United States frigate Constitution, off Boston Light." When the frigate arrived in the harbor she was met by a flotilla of gaily decorated boats, and Hull was greeted on his landing by an immense assemblage and welcomed to a splendid entertainment by the principal citizens of both parties.

From Boston Hull made a progress almost triumphal. He reached New-York city early in September, where he was received with equal enthusiasm. Dacres's desire to meet an American frigate was already known in New-York.[1] A subscription was raised and swords purchased by the citizens of New-York and presented to Hull and his officers. Hull was voted the freedom of the city by the common council on the 7th, and on the 14th he was requested to sit for his portrait to be placed in the picture-gallery of the City Hall,[2] known as the Governors' room, where the portraits of the several governors of the State are preserved, as also those of Washington and other distinguished persons. From New-York Captain Hull proceeded to Philadelphia, where the citizens in general meeting voted to him "a piece of plate of the most elegant workmanship, with appropriate emblems, devices, and inscriptions," and a like piece of plate to Lieutenant Charles Morris, in the name of the citizens of Philadelphia.

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[1] Three days before the action, the John Adams, Captain Fash, from Liverpool, was spoken by the English frigate. Upon Fash's register, which he deposited in the New-York custom-house, the following lines were found written: "Captain Dacres, commander of his Britannic Majesty's frigate Guerrière, of 44 guns, presents his compliments to Commodore Rodgers, of the United States frigate President, and will be very happy to meet him or any other American frigate of equal force to the President, off Sandy Hook, for the purpose of having a few minutes' *tête-à-tête*."

[2] "At a Common Council, held the 7th day of September, 1812, the Common Council of the City of New-York, considering a naval establishment all important to the protection of our commerce and to the defence of our country and viewing the recent capture of the British Frigate Guerrière by the American Frigate Constitution as not only illustrating the advantages of a navy, but as reflecting the highest honor on the intrepidity and skill of Captain Hull, his officers and crew, Esteem it their duty as the Municipal Government of this great commercial city to express their sentiments on this occasion, and to present the thanks of the Citizens of New-York to the gallant officers and seamen who achieved this brilliant victory, and they

"*Resolve* That the Freedom of the City be presented to Captain Hull in a golden box with an appropriate inscription. And that his Honor, the Mayor, be requested to forward the same with a copy of these resolutions."

"At a Common Council held the 14th day of September, 1812, *Resolved* That as an additional tribute of respect from this Corporation to Captain Hull, he be requested to honor them with a sitting for his portrait to be deposited in the picture-gallery of the City Hall, and transmitted to posterity as a memorial of the high sense entertained by this Corporation of the brilliant victory obtained by the United States Frigate Constitution, under his command, over the British Frigate Guerrière, Captain Dacres, in his action on the 19th August, 1812." "Burghers and Freemen of New-York," New-York Historical Society Collections, 1885, pp. 368, 369.

On his return to New-York from his southern tour, the ceremony of presentation of the freedom of the city to Captain Hull took place in the mayor's office at the City Hall, on December 28. A committee, consisting of Aldermen Fish and Mesier, and General Jacob Morton, introduced the commodore, when Mayor De Witt Clinton rose and addressed him. The mayor then presented the certificate of election to the freedom of the city, and a gold box finely embossed and chased, with the scene of the battle engraved in enamel. Hull replied briefly in a modest manner, and the freeman's oath was administered. The Constitution, from her wonderful exemption from damage by the enemy's guns, was already familiarly known as "Old Ironsides."[2]

I've often heard of your Wasps and Hornets but little thought such diminutive Insects could give me Such a Sting!!

"A WASP ON A FROLIC."[1]

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[1] A stirring song, now almost forgotten, commemorating the victory of the Wasp over the Frolic, was sung in public gatherings and in the streets; one verse concluding with the lines:

> "And long shall John Bull rue the terrible day
> He met the American *Wasp* on a *Frolic*."

Mr. Charles, a Philadelphia artist, published a colored caricature, of which the above is a reduced fac-simile. EDITOR.

At a Common Council held the 28th day of December, 1812. The Board assembled in the Mayor's Office. De Witt Clinton, Mayor, President.

Upon motion, the Common Council adjourned to their Chamber, for the purpose of conferring upon Captain Isaac Hull of the United States Frigate Constitution the Freedom of the City, agreeably to a former Resolution.

It being announced that Captain Hull was in waiting, a Committee, consisting of Alderman Fish, Mr. Lawrence and the Clerk of the Common Council, were deputed to introduce Captain Hull into the Common Council Chamber. This was accordingly done, when his Honor addressed Captain Hull as follows:

In behalf of the Common Council I have the Honor of presenting you with the Freedom of this City and communicating their high sense of the courage and skill displayed by yourself, your officers, and crew in the capture of the British Frigate Guerrière.

Deeds of valor and achievements of glory are, at all times, cherished by patriotism and rewarded by true policy, but when we consider that our recent victories on the ocean have exhibited the American character in the most interesting light, have created a new character in the annals of naval warfare, and have been the principal means of establishing our navy on a respectable and permanent basis, it must be universally admitted that actors in these scenes of heroism are preëminently entitled to the gratitude of their Country.

That Commerce is essential to our prosperity, that it cannot flourish without protection, and that it cannot be protected without a navy, are truths too evident to be denied, and too important not to be appreciated by the intelligence and public spirit of America.

We cannot withhold on this occasion our approbation of your generous and benevolent treatment of the vanquished. It demonstrates the natural alliance between courage and humanity, and in mitigating the calamities of war, it reflects honor on our national character.

The Freeman's oath, as prescribed by Law, was then administered to Captain Hull by the Mayor, and the certificate thereof, enclosed in a superb Golden Box prepared with suitable Emblems, were delivered to him.

Captain Hull expressed the deep sense he felt at the honors thus conferred upon him. That Box and its highly valued contents, he pledged himself to preserve as an incentive to his zealous and most strenuous exertions in the cause of his country wherever future good fortune should afford him an opportunity. To have it believed, he said, by so highly respectable a body as the Corporation of the City of New-York, that an action of his had contributed to so desirable an event as the establishment of a navy on a permanent Basis, was a source of pleasing reflection which would only cease with life.

After which Captain Hull retired.—"Burghers and Freemen of New-York," pp. 371–375.

The effect of this victory was startling on both sides of the Atlantic. In the twenty years during which Great Britain had been at war with almost every continental power, and in the course of "about two hundred single conflicts," her ships had been defeated but five times. American ships and American seamanship were spoken of in contempt. The Constitution had been ridiculed by the British press as a "bunch of pine boards under a bit of striped bunting." She had now outsailed England's finest ships and reduced to a wreck one of her choice frigates. Only a short time before a London newspaper had said: "There is not a frigate in the American navy able to cope with the Guerrière." On hearing the news of the action, the London "Times" said: "It is not merely that a British frigate has been taken after what, we are free to confess, may be called a brave resistance, but that it has been taken by a new enemy, an enemy unaccustomed to such triumphs and likely to be rendered insolent and confident by them. He must be a weak politician who does not see how important the first triumph is in giving a tone and character to the war. Never before in the history of the world did an English frigate strike to an American; and though we cannot say that Captain Dacres under all circumstances is punishable for this act, yet we do say there are commanders in the English navy who would a thousand times rather have gone down with their colors flying than have set their brother officers so fatal an example." Stress has been here laid upon this memorable contest because it was the first of a glorious series of naval triumphs which together forever destroyed the belief, which in England was settled as a religious faith, in British invincibility at sea.

W Jackson[1]

Hull, immediately after his two exploits, gave up his command, in order that others might reap their share of laurels. At this time there were a number of gallant officers without a ship to command. He was succeeded in the Constitution by Captain William Bainbridge, one of the heroes of the Tripoli war. Raised to the rank of commodore, Bainbridge was transferred from the frigate Constellation,

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[1] Major William Jackson was aide and secretary to Washington during his residence, as president, in New-York. Later he was assistant secretary of war, and for more than a quarter of a century secretary of the Society of the Cincinnati. The portrait is copied from a miniature by Charles Willson Peale. His picture was also painted by Trumbull. EDITOR.

38 guns, then fitting for sea at Washington, and placed in command of a squadron consisting of the Constitution, which was thoroughly refitted at Boston; the Essex, 32, Captain Porter; and the Hornet, 18, Captain Lawrence. Bainbridge hoisted his pennant on the Constitution on September 15 at Boston harbor, where the Hornet was also lying. The two ships sailed to the southward on October 26; Porter, who was with the Essex on the Delaware, receiving orders to rendezvous at the island San Jago.

Before Commodore Bainbridge was ready for sea, Commodore Rodgers, whose squadron was also in Boston, left that port on October 8 with the President, United States, Congress, and Argus. On October 12 the frigate United States, which, like the President and the Constitution, carried forty-four guns, separated from the squadron,—Captain Decatur, who commanded, taking an eastward course. On October 25 she fell in with the British thirty-eight-gun frigate Macedonian, Captain John S. Carden. The English ship was in admirable order: so well manned and armed that when the news of the capture of the Guerrière was known in England she was pronounced to be the one British frigate of a force to cope with the American forty-fours. Captain Carden, among the bravest and ablest of English seamen, believed in her superiority. His men were in high discipline, and had been constantly engaged in action before this cruise. Though rating thirty-eight, she carried forty-nine guns, and was a much faster vessel than the United States. Notwithstanding these advantages, if not superiority, in an action the closing incidents of which did not take more than seventeen minutes, and during which the ships were never close enough for the effective use of grape or musketry, the Macedonian, by the better gunnery of the United States, received nearly one hundred shots in her hull, and, being reduced to a complete wreck, struck her colors. Eight American seamen were found on her rolls. They had been compelled to fight, and three were killed. The others joined the American service, as did also a fine French band which had been captured from a French frigate and had been duly impressed after English fashion. So little injury was done the United States that she was ready for action again in half an hour. The Macedonian was refitted with jury-masts, was safely brought in through the fleets which blockaded our coasts, put in to Newport, but soon after joined the United States, which Decatur took in to New London on December 4.

Following so closely upon the triumph of the Constitution, the joy in America and the mortification in Great Britain were equally intense. Canning said in parliament that it was a matter "that could not be thought too deeply of. . . . The spirit of our [the English] seamen had been unconquerable, and any diminution of the popular opinion with respect to that glorious and triumphant spirit was to his mind a dreadful and alarming consideration." The State legislatures of New-York and Massachusetts passed resolutions of compliment to Decatur and his officers. Those of Pennsylvania and Virginia each voted him a sword, as did the city of Philadelphia. The city of New-York, from whose port Decatur had sailed and where he was daily expected to arrive with his prize, was greatly excited, and prepared for him triumphal honors. The corporation of the city, as in the case of Hull, tendered him the freedom of the city in the usual gold box, ordered his portrait for their gallery, named a committee — Aldermen Fish, Peter H. Wendover, and Lawrence — to arrange for a dinner to all the naval heroes, directed the display of the national flag from the City Hall, requested General Morton, the military commander, to order a national salute, the captains of vessels in the harbor to hoist their colors, and that all the bells in the city be rung for one hour. Nor were the warrant officers forgotten. The corporation voted to give them and the crew of the United States a dinner on board the ship, should Commodore Decatur consent.

TOWER, HALLETT'S POINT.

While the senior officers with the large ships were winning glory, there occurred one lesser affair which rivaled either of the more important actions in dash and seamanship. On October 13 Captain Jacob Jones sailed from the Delaware in the sloop of war Wasp, 18 guns. Her object was to overhaul a fleet of fourteen merchantmen which left the bay of Honduras in September, bound for England, under convoy of the British sloop Frolic, 19 guns. On the 18th the fleet was in sight. A sharp action ensued, which ended in the vessels coming together, when the Wasp's crew boarded the Englishman without opposition. Of the Frolic's crew of one hundred and nineteen men not twenty were unhurt. The flag was lowered by Lieutenant Biddle of the Wasp with his own hand. This was an even contest, and the success of the Americans was again due to their superior gunnery. Unfortunately, Captain Jones could not bring his prize into port. Fallen in with a few hours later by the Poictiers, a British seventy-four, Captain Jones, with the Wasp and her prize, was taken into Bermuda. The merit of the action was none the less. The officers were promoted; Congress voted gold and silver medals to the captain and officers, and two thousand five hundred dollars prize-money. The State of Delaware voted Captain Jones a sword and a piece of plate. The corporation of the city of New-York, on November 3, on the motion of Alderman Lawrence, voted him a sword and the freedom of the city.

Lieutenant Hamilton, son of the secretary of the navy, carried Decatur's report of his victory to Washington. He reached there on the evening of a grand ball to the officers of the navy. Commodore Hull was present, and Captain Stewart of the Constellation. The ball-room was decorated with the colors of the Guerrière and the Alert, which were presented to Mrs. Madison, the wife of the president, by Captains Hull and Stewart. The president sent a message to Congress, which on its receipt voted gold medals to Hull, Decatur, and Jones, and, in more effective compliment to the navy, authorized the construction of four ships of the line and six frigates like the Constitution and United States. The arrival of the United States and Macedonian in New-York was delayed by the difficult passage of Hell Gate. The city authorities, impatient of the delay, while the press of the country was ringing the praises of the victors, induced Decatur to leave his vessels in Long Island Sound and come up to the city on Tuesday, December 29, 1812, to the entertainment prepared. This banquet was given at the City Hotel, which stood at the corner of Broadway and Thames street, on the site of the Old Province and State Arms, and was now kept by Gibson. Hull, who had received the freedom of the city the day before, was also present.

At five o'clock five hundred gentlemen sat down. The mayor presided. The room was decorated as a "marine palace." It was "colonnaded round with the masts of ships entwined with laurels and bearing the national flags of all the world. Every table had on it a ship in miniature with the American flag displayed. In front, where the president sat with the officers of the navy and other guests, and which was raised about three feet, there appeared an area of about three feet by ten covered with green sward, and in the midst of it was a lake of real water in which floated a miniature frigate. Back of all this hung the main-sail of a ship twenty-three feet by sixteen feet." Decatur and Hull sat respectively on the right and left of the president. At the toast "To our Navy" the great mainsail was unfurled, and displayed an immense transparency representing the three recent naval victories in honor of which the magnificent dinner was given.

The Macedonian was brought into port on January 1, 1813, where the citizens greeted her with great joy as a New Year's gift. New Year's was always the whitest of white days in the calendar of the New-Yorker of earlier days. On Thursday, January 7, the corporation of the city entertained the crew of the United States in the same banquet-room, the decorations of which had been retained. This interesting feast was directed by Aldermen John Vanderbilt, Buckmaster, and King. Alderman Vanderbilt delivered the address of welcome to the sailors, of whom there were about four hundred present. They had marched to the hotel in a sort of popular triumph. After dinner Decatur brought in an invitation to attend the theater. The drop-curtain represented the fight of the United States and the Macedonian; the orchestra played national airs, and a band of children bore transparencies with the letters of the alphabet which, grouped, formed the names of Hull, Jones, and Decatur.[1]

Yet another was to be added to the glories of this opening of what is sometimes called the second war of American independence. Commodore Bainbridge, in the Constitution, accompanied by Lawrence in the Hornet, sailed from Boston on October 20. Leaving the Hornet off San Salvador to lie in wait for the British sloop of war Bonne Citoyenne, which was about to sail for England with a large freight of specie,—one half million pounds,—Commodore Bainbridge, on the 29th, fell in with the British frigate Java, 38 guns, bound for the East Indies with a number of officers. A hot action ensued, which lasted nearly two hours—an action of manœuver within musketry range, in which the Constitution, suffering little herself, deliberately silenced all of the enemy's guns by her own superior handling and gunnery. At the end of the action the Java was "a riddled and entirely dismasted hulk." Owing to his long distance from port and the badly disabled state of the prize, Bainbridge destroyed the Java on January 3, and, first making San Salvador, where he landed and paroled his prisoners, sailed on January 6, 1813, and reached Boston on February 22. At San Salvador he left Lawrence in the Hornet. That gallant officer had sent a challenge to the British commander of the Bonne Citoyenne, pledging non-interference, with the fight he proposed, by the Constitution. But the combat was declined.

WASHINGTON HALL,
BROADWAY.

Lawrence continued the blockade until the arrival of the British man-of-war Montagu on January 24 drove him into port. As night came on he wore ship and stood out unmolested into the open sea, taking prizes. On February 24, off the mouth of the Demerara River, he fell in with two British brigs of war—the Espiègle, 18 guns, at anchor; the Peacock, 24 guns. Colors were hoisted on both sides, and a hot fire was begun by broadsides at half pistol-shot and musketry from the tops. In just fourteen minutes the Peacock surrendered, hoisting her ensign union down as her mainmast went by the board. Lieutenant William B. Shubrick, sent on board, reported her sinking. A second boat's crew from the Hornet endeavored to save the vessel, but she suddenly settled and sank, carrying with her some of her hands who were rummaging below. The Hornet's victory again was due to the superior handling of the guns. The Espiègle lay in sight, but did not come out, and Captain Lawrence, crowded with his prisoners and short of water, stood for home, and anchored in Holmes' Hole at Martha's Vineyard on March 19. It may here be said that the officers of the Peacock, on their arrival in New-York, published a card of thanks to the officers of the Hornet. In every one of these four victories the conquered Englishmen bore testimony to the courteous consideration of their captors.

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[1] The Macedonian was placed under the command of Captain Jones, while still under the orders of Captain Decatur.

HENRY ECKFORD'S HOUSE.[1]

The same honors paid to their predecessors in victory were voted to Bainbridge and Lawrence. On the arrival of the Constitution, Captain Bainbridge, on February 15, was received with tumultuous applause by the citizens of Boston. Rodgers and Hull accompanied him in the procession to the Exchange Coffee House. Thanks were voted by the legislature, then in session, and a grand banquet given on March 2 at the Exchange Coffee House. March 1, 1813, the common council of New-York presented to Commodore Bainbridge the freedom of the city and ordered his portrait for their gallery, and on March 29 paid the same honors to Captain Lawrence. Other States joined in these demonstrations, and Congress voted thanks, medals, and prize-money because of the necessary destruction of the prizes.

During all this period the harbor of New-York was closely blockaded by the British men-of-war; even our frigates could not run the gauntlet, availing themselves of the narrow and dangerous strait of Hell Gate to the Sound. Once in the open sea beyond Montauk, they had opportunities to find or force an offing. It was fortunate for the administration of Mr. Madison that these naval successes occurred at the beginning of the contest. They inspirited the war party in the very places which Madison's cabinet and the Western politicians had ignored, disregarded, and even insulted in their declarations. The ships they proposed to shut up in port as unable to defend themselves had humbled British pride, while the land forces had made but a sorry beginning in the proposed conquest of Canada. In the first six months of the war there had been as many encounters with British cruisers, in every one of which the United States were the victors. Moreover, over three hundred British merchantmen had been captured and brought into port, including those taken by New-York and other American privateers.

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[1] Henry Eckford was an eminent ship-builder, at whose house in Love Lane, near the present Twenty-first street, De Kay, Drake, Halleck, and other literary men were frequent guests during the second decade of the century. Drake married Mr. Eckford's daughter. EDITOR.

The Veteran Corps of Artillery was the first organization to volunteer in New-York. They were commanded by John Delamater, who had served in the militia during the Revolution. They were invited by notice to meet at the new arsenal in Hubert street, and to take their station at the North Battery at the foot of that street. They assembled and took possession of the fort, by permission of General Bloomfield. The uniformed corps of militia, in April, 1812, consisted of ten regiments in two brigades, one battalion of riflemen, three regiments of artillery, one squadron of cavalry, one company of flying artillery, and the company of veteran artillery already mentioned —in all about three thousand men. The population of the city was about ninety-eight thousand persons, of whom fifteen hundred were slaves. The number subject to military duty was about twelve thousand men. The two brigades were commanded by General Peter P. Van Zandt and General Gerard Steddiford; the artillery, by General Morton — all three veterans of the Revolution. Major James Warner commanded the city cavalry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Francis McClure the riflemen. On April 21, 1812, Governor Tompkins issued his orders for the State military formation from his headquarters in New-York city.

There were four arsenals in the city in 1812—the State arsenal, corner of Elm and Franklin streets; the United States arsenal on Bridge street near the South Battery; the United States magazine and arsenal at the foot of West Twelfth street; and the United States arsenal on the Parade, now Madison Square, at the junction of the old Boston Road and the Middle Road. These buildings were two or three stories high, of stone and brick, well constructed, and inclosed by high walls. There were two forts, one about one hundred yards in front of the Parade at the Battery, connected with it by a drawbridge. Officially known as the Southwest Battery, it was called, after the war, Castle Clinton. It was built about the year 1811, on the plans of Lieutenant Joseph G. Totten, of the United States Engineers. This was the military headquarters. Off Hubert street, in the Hudson, was the North Battery, about two hundred yards from the shore, to which there was a drawbridge thirty feet wide. It could carry twenty heavy guns in one tier. Its fire crossed with that of the Southwest Battery. Later it was called the "Red Fort."

Outside of the city were several works—Castle Williams, on Governor's Island (on its westward projection); Fort Columbus, on the middle of the island; Fort Wood, on Bedlow's Island (a mortar-battery); on Ellis or Oyster Island, a circular battery mounting fourteen heavy guns. On the eastern shore of Staten Island there were three batteries ready for garrison—Fort Richmond, Fort Morton, and Fort Hudson. All three would be later commanded by Fort Tompkins, not yet above the foundation. These works had all been built by Colonel Jonathan Williams, of the Second United States Artillery, and chief engineer of the United States. Together they carried two hundred and eighty-four guns, and required a force of three thousand seven hundred gunners. The forts in the harbor were under command of Colonel Henry Burbeck, and the navy-yard and flotilla were commanded by Captain Isaac Chauncey. On July 12, 1812, the common council received a report from the governor of the State and the secretary of war favoring further fortifications. On June 27 the governor directed General Stevens, by division orders, to require General Morton to order out such part of the artillery not already called for upon the requisition of General Bloomfield. In this order the governor says: "His Excellency confidently hopes that the General [Stevens] will exert his talents, his influence, and his official authority to produce a vigorous prosecution of the war."

SPUYTEN DUYVIL.

The Fourth of July was celebrated with "a degree of splendor," says the "Columbian," "never witnessed at any former period on the occasion." There was a review before noon by Generals Bloomfield, Stevens, and Morton, and a parade on the Battery, followed by an address in the evening by John Anthon, before the Washington and

Hamilton societies at Washington Hall. On July 8 arrived news of Napoleon's decree from St. Cloud, April 26, 1812, declaring "the decrees of Berlin and Milan are definitely (from the first of November last) considered as no longer in force as far as regards American vessels," destroying the last cause of complaint against France, and the one strong argument of the Federalists against the war with Great Britain as one of the aggressors on American rights.

S Van Rensselaer

It is curious to read in the "Columbian" of July 9 a proposal by "one of '76" to place cannon on every wharf within a covered way protected by cotton-bales, the device abandoned by Jackson at the close of the war. July 3 was observed as a day of fasting and prayer by recommendation of Governor Tompkins. In August the first double steamboat was put on the Powles Hook ferry, and excited great admiration. On August 14 there was artillery practice in the harbor, the target being a hulk provided by Governor Tompkins. The practice showed that 254 out of 314 shot took effect, the hulk being fired by hot shot from one of the militia commands. On the same day General Bloomfield was relieved from the command at New-York by the secretary of war, and General John Armstrong appointed to the post.

Notwithstanding the blockade of New-York by a British squadron of five vessels carrying two hundred and ten guns, besides many smaller armed craft, there arrived between April 6 and August 22, 1812, no less than one hundred and forty-two ships, eighty-four brigs, and forty schooners, some with British licenses. The first privateer, the Bunker Hill, left the port on July 6, 1812. Before the middle of October, twenty-six privateers, carrying two hundred and twelve guns and two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men, had left the port, taking their course through Long Island Sound toward the British cruisers. Of these the largest was the General Armstrong, which carried eighteen long nines and a twelve-pounder, and was manned by one hundred and fifty men. These vessels were chiefly built in New-York, where there were three large ship-yards: that of Adam and Noah Brown, on the East River at Houston street; that of Christian Bergh, on the East River near Gouverneur's Slip, where the President was built; and that of Henry Eckford, on the East River near that of Bergh, who built the fleet on the lakes. The Oneida, Commodore Chauncey's flag-ship, was also built by him. Napoleon greatly assisted the privateers by an order that all prizes taken by Americans should be received in French ports on the same terms as though captured by French vessels. Soon the British Channel swarmed with American privateers, who had a close shelter in the French ports near by. There were numerous militia reviews during the year, the most notable of which was on the anniversary of the evacuation of the city by the British. There was a general parade, and in the evening a large company, including Governor Tompkins, Generals Armstrong, Morton, and Paulding, dined at Mechanics' Hall, corner of Park Place and Broadway.

When Congress met on November 2, 1812, in conformity with the act passed at the preceding session providing the time for the next meeting, President Madison sent in a message which gave but sorry satisfaction to the hopes of the military party. He announced that prior to the declaration of war a force had been sent to the Michigan territory "to intercept the hostile influences of Great Britain over the savages and obtain the command of the Lake in that part of the Canada borders." This force, under command of William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, who had been made a brigadier-general, consisted of regulars and volunteers, in number about two thousand men. By some blunder in the war department the declaration of war was nearly two weeks on the way to him, and was known in Canada some days earlier. His orders to take possession of Malden, fifteen miles below Detroit on the Canada side of the river, reached him at Detroit on July 9. He crossed on the 12th and issued a proclamation to the Canadians, which was of no effect. Being without artillery, the capture was decided to be too hazardous an undertaking, and he recrossed the river on August 7. The enemy had already anticipated his attempt at invasion by the seizure of the American post at Mackinaw, commanding the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, which capitulated on July 10: an affair doubly important because of its influence on the Indian tribes. The British colonel, Henry A. Proctor, receiving reinforcements, and joined by the savages, defeated Hull's detachments, and Hull, disheartened, retreated to Detroit. Meanwhile Fort Dearborn, which stood at the mouth of the Chicago River, on ground which is now within the limits of the city of Chicago, was abandoned by Hull's orders, and the captain commanding the small garrison was on his retreat when his force was ambushed by the Indians and compelled to surrender, many of the women and children being mercilessly scalped, and the savage trophies carried to Colonel Proctor, who had offered a premium for American scalps. On August 15, the British general, Isaac Brock, who had assumed command at Fort Malden, with his force, in which were six hundred savages under the lead of Tecumseh, the famous Indian chieftain, marched on Detroit. On Brock's arrival before the fort the white flag was hung out, and Hull surrendered the fort and garrison and the whole Territory of Michigan, of which he was governor. This occurred on August 16, and terminated the miserable campaign. Three days later the naval commander of the Constitution redeemed the honor of the flag and the name of Hull, which had otherwise become a byword in American history for incompetency or cowardice.

Tecumseh, who seems to have followed the example of Pontiac in an endeavor to unite all the neighboring tribes to recover their hunting-grounds on the northwestern territory, flushed with the successes before the forts at Mackinaw, the Chicago River, and Detroit, planned desultory attacks on the other frontier posts. In August a force of Kentuckians, raised to reinforce Hull, had been placed under command of General Harrison, the victor of Tippecanoe. On the fall of Detroit it was marched through the Ohio wilderness to the relief of Fort Wayne, where Captain Aaron Rhae was closely beset by a joint force of British and Indians. This was the scene of Josiah Harmar's defeat in the Miami campaign of 1790. On the approach of Harrison's relieving force the besiegers withdrew. Fort Harrison, which stood on the Wabash River on the site of the present city of Terre Haute, was held by Captain Zachary Taylor with a small force. Invested by the savages and the blockhouse set on fire, the post was stoutly held, and, after a hot struggle, the attempt to capture it was foiled. This occurred on September 3. Fort Madison, which stood on the bank of the Mississippi near the site of the city of St. Louis, was attacked on September 5 by a force of two hundred Winnebago Indians. It was ably defended by Lieutenant Hamilton, and on the 8th the savages withdrew. Besides these concerted attacks there were sundry skirmishes with the Indians, the most noted of which was that of Colonel Ball with a mounted command on the bank of the Sandusky, in which the chiefs fell. This chastisement insured the quiet of the settlements for many years.

The invasion of Canada was not abandoned because of Hull's surrender. On the night of September 20 Captain Benjamin Forsyth took a party of Americans from Cape Vincent by water to the village of Gananoqui, where, after a skirmish in which he defeated the opposing force, he burned the military storehouse and returned to the American shore. On October 2 the Canadians replied with a much more formidable expedition against Ogdensburg. They crossed the river from Prescott opposite, in forty boats, under the escort of two gunboats; the movement being covered by the fire of the British batteries at Prescott. General Jacob Brown, who commanded at Ogdensburg, with the American battery and a company of riflemen received the flotilla so warmly that it returned to Prescott without having made a landing.

The force with which General Brock took Detroit included two British war vessels. To these the surrender added the American brig of war Adams, which the British named the Detroit. This leaving the United States without any force on the upper lakes, Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott of the navy was sent to Buffalo to organize a flotilla, and a detachment of men was ordered up from New-York city, where seamen were abundant. In October the Detroit and a smaller vessel, the Caledonia, which had done service at the capture of Mackinaw, came down Lake Erie and anchored off Fort Erie. On the night of the 8th they were surprised by Lieutenant Elliott. The Caledonia was run ashore and secured, the Detroit captured. Elliott fought the British batteries from the captured vessel, but finding he could not tow her out of their reach, and the vessel drifting ashore on Squam Island, he abandoned her, carrying off his prisoners. Boarded by a British party, they were driven off by the American batteries, and she was thus the point of fire for both sides. In the night she was again boarded by the Americans and burned.

FORT GANSEVOORT—"THE OLD WHITE FORT."

After the capture of Detroit the British force employed was withdrawn to the Niagara River, which became the scene of the autumn campaign. General Stephen Van Rensselaer, in command of the American forces, planned an expedition to capture Queenstown, which commanded the end of the portage between Ontario and the upper lakes. The American force was six thousand men—regulars, militia, and volunteers. On October 13, after some previous blunders and one unsuccessful attempt, a crossing was made. Two hundred regulars under Lieutenant-Colonel John Chrystie, and the same number of militia under Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, were to cross before daybreak and storm the heights. Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott placed a battery on Lewiston Heights to protect the crossing. The regulars and a few of the militia had crossed, when they were met at the landing by a force of the enemy. Pushing on, line was formed by Captain John E. Wool at the foot of the heights, when they were attacked in front and on flank. Though without artillery, Wool stood his ground. Van Rensselaer's militia on the left were less severely treated. Both Wool and Van Rensselaer were badly wounded. The Americans fell back to the river to reform, and were reinforced. By a skilful movement Wool turned the British battery, which he captured so suddenly that General Brock, who was standing near, had not time to mount his horse, and at sunrise the American flag was flying over the works.

Brock ordered up reinforcements from Fort George, but without waiting their arrival took the lead of the defeated troops and moved up the slope to recapture the works. They were repulsed by a charge of bayonets. As Brock rallied his men for a second assault, he fell, mortally wounded. All attempts to avenge his death were in vain. Soon after Scott and General William Wadsworth arrived with reinforcements. Wool, weak with loss of blood, turned over the command to Scott. The British general Roger H. Sheaffe brought up the reinforcements from Fort George, but General Van Rensselaer could not persuade the militia to cross the river to Scott's support. Scott held his ground against a flank attack by the Indians, who were under command of John Brant, son of the famous Mohawk chief Thayendanegea (or Joseph Brant), which he repelled by the bayonet. General Sheaffe bringing up his whole force, Scott was compelled to retreat, but finding escape cut off, all the boats having been allowed to float down the river, or to be taken by the enemy, he surrendered his force, carrying the flag of truce through the Indian line in person. Thus ended the battle of Queenstown, where, as with Francis the First at Pavia, "all was lost but honor."

CLARKSON ARMS.

The stoppage of trade was not the only grievance to the merchants of New-York. This was unavoidable in a state of war; but their property was seized also under what were in many cases wholly innocent breaches of the law. Mr. Madison, in his message of November 4, 1812, called attention to this subject: "A number of American vessels which were in England when the revocation of the orders in council took place, were laden with British manufactures, under an erroneous impression that the non-importation act would immediately cease to operate, and had arrived in the United States." The forfeitures incurred under the act were not remitted by the officers of the government, and Mr. Madison asked Congress to consider the subject in the light of equity and the public interest. Madison accompanied his message with petitions for remission from the leading merchants of New-York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Haven, Richmond, and Albany. The New-York memorial was plain-spoken: "The citizens of New-York had no idea that under the hard circumstances of their case their own government would either forfeit their property or mulct them when they intended no violation of the laws of the country." The memorial was accompanied by affidavits.[1]

The congressional committee reported that it appeared that the orders in council were revoked by Great Britain June 23, 1812, and that the declaration of war only reached England on July 30. Thereupon a temporary embargo had been laid on American vessels, but the next day they were permitted to continue to take cargoes of British merchandise consigned to the United States, being provided for that purpose with "licenses protecting them, notwithstanding the existing hostilities, against capture by British cruisers." The time of obtaining licenses was limited to September 15, 1812. Congress declined to legislate, and turned the matter over to Albert Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury. Gallatin, in reply, recommended that the one half of the forfeitures that would fall to the share of the collectors should be remitted, but that the United States should benefit by the extra profit secured on their importations and retain at least so much of its half of the fines. Among the New-York merchants examined by the congressional committee were John G. Coster, John Mason, William Irving, and Abram R. Lawrence. Mr. Irving testified that for some of the English goods there was "a ravenous demand," army contractors bidding one over another. Mr. Coster had imported to the amount of £20,000 sterling. But while, notwithstanding these grievances, New-York sustained the war with patriotic enthusiasm, Mr. Madison had to report "that Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to furnish their required contingents towards the defence of the maritime frontier."

Wm Smith[2]

It is a question whether Great Britain ever during this contest entertained any purpose of general conquest or of subjugating any of the parts of the United States. Her designs on New Orleans were evident later, and there was no doubt a vague but undeclared hope that by a starvation process she might isolate New England from the Union and perhaps attach her to her Canadian dominions. To the union of the States New-York was, by her position, irrevocably committed, and she early recognized the vast amount of territory it enabled her to command for her trade. The old Anti-Federalist idea of autonomy had been long abandoned by her.

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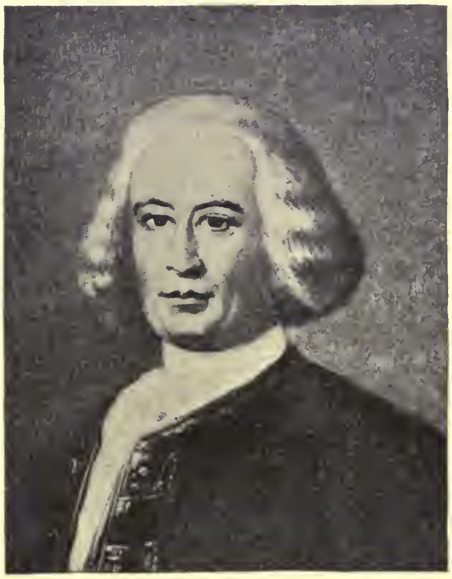
[1] Affidavits in matter of forfeiture before committee of Congress, November, 1812: Charles Osborne, Cornelius Heyer, H. Van Wagenen, John Stoutenburgh, William Irving, Nathaniel Richards, John Dodgson, John Mowatt, Jr., Eliphalet Williams, Robert C. Cornell, John B. Dash, Benjamin W. Dwight, John R. Willis, Isaac Cary, Joseph Cornell, William W. Mott, James Jenkins, Francis B. Winthrop, Jr., Moses Judah, Garret B. Abeel, Edward Lyde, George Newbold, Seabury Tredwell, Leonard Kip, James J. Roosevelt, Charles Smith, Jr., Robert Lee, Ebenezer Irving, James S. Bailey, Joseph Curtis, Henry King.

[2] Colonel William Stephens Smith, a native of New-York city, married the only daughter of John Adams. He was aide-de-camp to Washington, and in 1813–15 was a member of Congress. For many years he was president of the State Society of the Cincinnati. The portrait is copied from the painting by Stuart. EDITOR.

The failure of the two Canadian campaigns of 1812 brought New-York face to face with the problems of the lake defenses. England preceded us in a naval force on these great inland seas. In 1808, under the general authority to construct gunboats, the president had empowered Lieutenant Melanchton T. Woolsey to contract for two vessels on Lake Champlain and one on Lake Ontario. The latter, a regular brig of war, was armed in the spring of 1809 with sixteen twenty-four pounders. A temporary arrangement being made with England, however, the vessel, which was named the Oneida, was not put on the lake till the next year. The British had several vessels, of which the Royal George, of twenty-two guns, was the largest. In July, 1812, the British fleet had made an attempt to take the Oneida at Sackett's Harbor, but Commander Woolsey, taking position with her at the entrance to the harbor, easily drove the enemy off. In October, 1812, Captain Isaac Chauncey took up from New-York a force of officers, seamen, and ship-carpenters, and a quantity of naval stores. He purchased and fitted a number of schooners, which, with the Oneida, carried forty guns and four hundred and thirty men. Before winter set in he chased the Royal George into Kingston, attacked the batteries, and cut out two small prizes, and about the same time an expedition crossed from Black Rock, and assaulted and captured the batteries at the head of Niagara River.

The closing of the harbors by the ice put a stop to all active operations; but numerous vessels were built, and when navigation opened in the spring of 1813, General Henry Dearborn, commanding the land forces, and Commodore Chauncey were ready for fresh operations. A joint military and naval expedition undertook the capture of York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, where the British, under command of General Sheaffe, had one large vessel, the Royal George, and were building another. It sailed, fourteen vessels, on April 25. The town was captured on the 27th, after an action in which Major Benjamin Forsyth, with the American riflemen, distinguished himself, and General Zebulon M. Pike, commanding the forces, was mortally wounded. The British military stores were destroyed, and the vessel on the stocks set fire to by Sheaffe. The government buildings were burned by the Americans—an unfortunate precedent. The Royal George had sailed two days before.

The capture of Fort George, on the western side of the Niagara River, two miles from its mouth, was then undertaken by Dearborn. The American troops were commanded by General John P. Boyd, who succeeded General Pike. Major Forsyth commanded the riflemen, Colonel Alexander Macomb the artillery, Colonel Moses Porter the light artillery, Commodore Chauncey, who had brought down supplies and a reinforcement from Sackett's Harbor, directed the fleet, and Captain Oliver Hazard Perry had hurried to the scene from Lake Erie to take part in the action. The troops were landed on the 27th. Colonel Scott, supported by the light artillery, carried the heights, and, the first man to enter Fort George, he hauled down the colors with his own hand. In the absence of the American force at the western end of Lake Ontario, the British general Proctor and Sir James Yeo, who commanded the fleet (four war vessels, a brig, two schooners, and two gunboats), attempted a surprise of Sackett's Harbor at the eastern end. The enemy appeared off the harbor on May 28, 1813, captured twelve of nineteen boats which were bringing up reinforcements to the Americans from Oswego, and landed on the 29th. The day was nearly lost when General Brown retrieved its fortunes, and the British took to their boats. Fortunately the Americans had themselves set fire to their stores and vessels.



ROBERT LIVINGSTON.[1]

Other minor actions followed in the course of the summer: A night affair at Stony Creek, where, in an indescribable confusion, both the American brigade commanders were made prisoners, and the British general lost his way in the woods. The American troops, however, made a safe retreat to Fort George. An attempt to surprise the British depot of supplies at Beaver Dam, seven miles from Queenstown, resulted in an ambush from which the lieutenant-colonel commanding extricated himself with skill, only to fall into a ridiculous snare. Duped by a trick, he surrendered to an insignificant force, and had the mortification to see his men, in spite of the terms of capitulation, stripped of their clothing by the savages. The country was indignant at this

[1] Robert Livingston, third lord of the manor, born 1708, died 1790. The portrait is copied from the original in the possession of Eugene A. Livingston, Esquire, of New-York. EDITOR.

disgrace, and General Dearborn, who commanded the northern department, was removed.[1]

The third affair was an attack on Black Rock, near Buffalo, where the Americans had a dockyard and storehouses. The surprise, led by the British lieutenant-colonel Bisshop, was complete; the buildings were fired, guns spiked, and the spoliation nearly complete when an American force, hastily gathered by General Robert B. Porter, put an end to their operations and drove them in disorder to their boats. Commodore Chauncey, during this summer, repeatedly tried, in vain, to bring Sir James Yeo to a decisive naval encounter. This officer declined invariably, seeking refuge under the guns of the British fort. On October 8, Chauncey caught a squadron of seven gunboats used by the enemy as transports, of which he took and brought in five with their cargoes of troops. The campaign closed with Lake Ontario essentially in American possession.

Stephen Decatur

Meanwhile a memorable naval encounter had given the United States similar command of Lake Erie. In the winter of 1812–13, two large brigs, to mount twenty guns each were laid down at Presque Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania), where there is a fine harbor; a force of ship-carpenters was sent up from New-York city, and several schooners and gunboats were there constructed. The timber was felled from neighboring woods and used green. All the other material, iron and naval stores, was transported by land, chiefly from New-York, on wagons. A low-water bar protected the harbor, and prevented the entrance of the British cruisers which held the Lake and hung off the port. Captain Perry, who was then in command of the flotilla of gunboats at Newport, Rhode Island, seeing no chance of getting to sea in a sloop of war, volunteered for the lake service, and was ordered to take command on Lake Erie. He arrived at Buffalo in March, 1813, with a number of officers and a few men. He aided Commodore Chauncey in the disembarkation which captured Fort George. The fall of this post brought on that of Fort Erie, and left the Niagara frontier in control of the American army.

Perry now repaired to his own command, and by June 12 had gotten the vessels detained on the Niagara River past the enemy's batteries. These vessels consisted of four schooners (one a prize) and a sloop. A few days after, he sailed from the outlet of the lake for the harbor of Presque Isle, slipping by the British fleet, which were in the offing, unobserved until it was too late to intercept him. The two brigs laid down at Presque Isle in the winter and launched in May were now nearly ready for sea. They were the Lawrence, on which Perry hoisted his flag, and the Niagara. The schooners also were in the water. The bar, hitherto a protection, was now a serious obstacle to getting out the brigs. It had but seven feet of water, and was half a mile outside the harbor. The Lawrence, lifted over by an ingenious contrivance, received her armament outside, and her guns were instantly trained broadside on the enemy. The Niagara was taken over with less difficulty, the schooners passed easily, and when the British fleet appeared on the morning of Monday, August 5, Perry had nine vessels, carrying fifty-five guns and four hundred men. Hardly was his squadron in the water when Captain Robert H. Barclay, who commanded the British fleet,—six vessels, carrying sixty-five guns and about the same number of men as the Americans, his flag-ship being the Detroit, of 19 guns,—sailed up the lake. Perry followed in pursuit, and after cruising several days, went into Put-in Bay, where he drilled his men with muffled oars for a boat attack.

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[1] Henry Dearborn was a distinguished officer of the Revolution. It was the corps of bayonets under his command which, with Morgan's riflemen, decided the battle of Stillwater (or Saratoga). He was Jefferson's secretary of war through his two administrations.

A Macomb

On September 10, the British squadron was seen and signals given by Perry to get under way. This time the enemy formed into line. Perry did the same, and, as he approached, displayed a blue flag on which was the legend, "Don't give up the ship." Action having begun, the enemy's heaviest ships concentrated their fire on the Lawrence, disabling her, and killing so many of her men that she dropped out of the fight, and Perry transferred his flag to the Niagara — Captain Elliott, her commander, passing down the line of the American vessels in a small boat with Perry's order to close up to half pistol-range, and taking command himself of one of the last vessels. A confusion in a manœuver of the English vessels gave Perry the opportunity to sail through the enemy's line, delivering broadsides from both sides. A close action ensued, and the British colors were shortly struck. Perry at once sent to General Harrison, who commanded the northwestern army, a despatch announcing his victory: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." In this sanguinary encounter, a number of Perry's men were negroes. Congress voted gold medals to both Perry and Elliott, whose great services Perry generously acknowledged in his official report.

Wm Henry Allen[1]

On October 23, Perry's squadron transported General Harrison's army to Buffalo, and on the 25th Perry resigned the command of the upper lakes to Captain Elliott and returned to the seaboard, where he was commissioned captain, his commission dating the day of his victory, and soon after appointed to the command of the Java, a new frigate fitting out at Baltimore. By the capture of the British fleet the waters of the lakes on the New-York border were entirely cleared of the enemy, and the rejoicings in the city were great. The common council, on October 4, tendered Commodore Perry the freedom of the city in a gold box, and requested him to sit for his portrait. Mayor Clinton, in transmitting the resolutions to the commodore at Newport, alluded to the battle of Lake Erie as "an event without parallel in the annals of our country, which gives you distinguished rank among the celebrated men that reflect lustre on the American name, and which has dispensed the blessings of security and tranquillity to a most important and extensive portion of the United States."

At the time of Perry's victory General Harrison had completed his plan of campaign. Governor Isaac Shelby, the old hero of the Revolution, was on the march in person with eleven regiments of Kentucky mounted volunteers, who had flocked to his standard when they heard of the battle of Lake Erie. Pressing on, he reached the lake on September 14, in time to meet a part of Perry's squadron; the remainder of the army arriving on the 15th and 16th. The embarkation began on the 20th. On the 25th five thousand men were encamped upon the Middle Sister Island. On the 27th Harrison's address to the men was read on each vessel, and the fleet of sixteen armed men-of-war and one hundred boats moved up into the Detroit River. Perry commanded the water movements, Harrison those of the army. Landing a few miles below Malden, the army marched on that town, Governor Shelby in advance. The town was evacuated, and the public buildings were in flames. Colonel Richard M. Johnson with his mounted regiment reached Detroit shortly after, and crossed to Sandwich. A land march in chase of the flying British was agreed upon, while Perry sent a part of his squadron in pursuit of the vessels which had taken the artillery and baggage up Lake St. Clair. Perry followed in person to the mouth of the Thames, and, landing, found General Harrison. General Proctor, constantly flying, to the disgust of Tecumseh, at last made a stand on the river Thames, and awaited the approach of the Americans in battle order on the morning of October 5. Harrison, accompanied by Commodore Perry and Colonel Lewis Cass, took a post on the right of the American army near the river. At the call of a bugle the advance moved forward. The cavalry dashed into and broke the first and second British lines, and, wheeling right and left, attacked the rear. Proctor's army surrendered as fast as they could throw down their arms. Proctor himself fled in his carriage. The bugle ordering the attack on the right was answered by a bugle on the left, and Colonel Johnson led his mounted men against Tecumseh's savages. There was a hand-to-hand fight, but, reinforcements coming up, the Indians broke for the forest. Tecumseh, the last great Indian chief, was slain — tradition says by Johnson's own hand.

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[1] Among the disasters of the year 1813 may be mentioned the loss of the Argus, and the death of Lieutenant William H. Allen, commanding her. The Argus left New-York on June 18, carrying William H. Crawford as United States minister to France. Eluding British cruisers, she successfully landed the minister. Allen then imitated Admiral Paul Jones, cruising in British waters: in thirty days he had destroyed twenty English merchantmen. At the end of that time the Argus met the Pelican of the British navy, August 14, 1813. In the severe combat which ensued Allen was mortally wounded, and his ship captured. He was buried at Plymouth with military honors. Allen street, New-York, commemorates his name.
EDITOR.

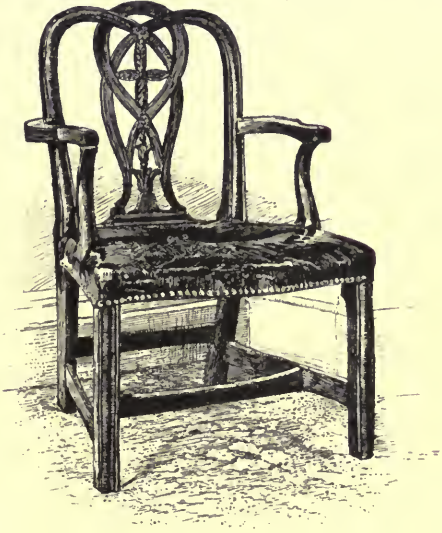
This total annihilation of the British army west of Ontario, added to the victory on Lake Erie, by which all that Hull surrendered was recovered and the honor of the flag restored, was hailed with delight everywhere. Not the least of its consequences was the total breaking up of the Indian confederacy of the Northwest, desertion of their British allies, and kinder feelings to the Americans because of their humane treatment by Harrison. In New-York, on October 23, the new City Hall was splendidly illuminated, as also Tammany, Washington, and Mechanics' Halls, the theater, and numerous private residences. On one of the windows of the City Hall was a transparency with "Don't give up the Ship." In front of Tammany were a portrait of Harrison receiving hostages from the Indians and a representation of the battle of Lake Erie. The expedition for which Harrison's troops were embarked on their return by Commodore Perry was intended against the British at Burlington Heights, on the west side of Lake Ontario, but the purposes of the war department changing, they were moved in November to Sackett's Harbor, after which General Harrison joined his family at Cincinnati.

The military operations of 1813 were not to close without a bitter disappointment to the country and fresh alarm to the State of New-York. General Armstrong, a veteran of the Revolution and at the time secretary of war, planned in February, 1813, a campaign for the conquest of Lower Canada by the capture of Montreal. The northern army was in two wings: the left at Sackett's Harbor, under command of General James Wilkinson, a Revolutionary officer who had seen much service; the right at Plattsburg, under command of General Wade Hampton. Wilkinson, an old personal friend and companion in arms of Secretary Armstrong, was to lead the invading force, and Hampton was expected to support the movement. Unfortunately there was no good feeling between the commanders, Hampton maintaining that his was an independent command. The consequences were naturally disastrous.

Wilkinson, assembling the troops from Fort George on the Niagara, gathered his forces at Grenadier Island, near the outlet of the lake into the St. Lawrence. Hampton was to march to the northward and join forces with him at the mouth of the Chateaugay, when together they were to move on Montreal. On October 5 Wilkinson moved his force down the St. Lawrence. The line of boats was five miles long. The British batteries at Prescott were run by night, but others being met with posted along the bank, Colonel Macomb, with a picked corps, supported by Forsyth's riflemen, the cavalry, and General Brown's brigade, crossed the river to clear the bank. They were constantly engaged. Soon the Americans' rear was disturbed by a force from Kingston which Commodore Chauncey had failed to prevent leaving that harbor. On the 10th the expedition reached the Long Rapid, where it was disembarked. The British concentration was now complete in the rear, and was supported by gunboats. A battle was inevitable. General Wilkinson being too ill to leave his bed, General Boyd took command. The British advance was attacked and routed by General Robert Swartwout's brigade, which then fell on the British right, and General Leonard Covington on the British left. The day was raw; the ground, rough and heavy, was fought over back and forth. General Covington fell, mortally wounded. After an engagement of two hours the American reserves were brought up, and the British making no further demonstration, the Americans retired to their boats.

Although not a defeat, this affair, which is called the battle of Williamsburg or Chrystler's Field, was not a victory. On this field Lieutenant William J. Worth, later a hero of the Mexican war, was distinguished. Without further regard to the danger to his rear, Wilkinson resumed his movements and passed down the Grand Rapids. At Cornwall he received despatches from General Hampton with word from that officer that he would not join the expedition or take any further part in the invasion of Canada. Hampton had been ignominiously repulsed in a forward movement down the Chateaugay. On receipt of these despatches, it was decided by Wilkinson in a council of war to ascend Salmon River and go into winter quarters. This ended the elaborate but ill-judged campaign.

The British general Gordon Drummond took immediate advantage of the situation which the weakening of the force in Fort George and in the Niagara River afforded him. Recalling the troops which Wilkinson's stoppage of operations released, he moved on Fort George, which the American general McClure immediately abandoned, firing the village of Newark on his retreat. The term of the militia had expired on December 9, and McClure's force was reduced to sixty men. Drummond, taking possession of the but partially destroyed village, where he found tents, artillery, and abundant ammunition uninjured, on the night of December 18 crossed the Niagara River, surprised Fort Niagara, marching in through the open gate, and bayoneted the garrison in their sleep. The same day the British general Phineas Riall came from Queenstown to Lewiston, which he sacked and burned; the savages committing their usual atrocities. From Lewiston Riall marched through the villages of Youngstown, Tuscarora, and Manchester (now Niagara Falls), all of which he destroyed, driving the inhabitants houseless into the woods in the cold, inclement season. Checked, however, by the destruction of the bridge over Tonawanda Creek, Riall retraced his march and crossed back to Canada.



WASHINGTON'S CHAIR.[1]

General Amos Hall, of the New-York militia, hurried to Buffalo, which was in wild alarm. A force gathered of about two thousand men, but partly armed and almost undisciplined. On December 29 General Riall, sent over by Drummond, attacked the American camp with a body of regulars and Indians. General Hall's militia fought well, but, their center being broken, became disheartened and could not be rallied even to defend the village and bring away the women and children. Lieutenant David Riddle, of the United States regulars, with eighty men, being refused aid by Hall, redeemed the honor of the United States army by going in unsupported and saving the arsenal stores. Buffalo and Black Rock were sacked and burned, and the inhabitants massacred without mercy. The gains of the year were all lost save the Territory of Michigan, which Harrison had retrieved at the battle of the Thames. The cost of these northern campaigns was enormous. "It was estimated that the conveyance of each cannon to Sackett's Harbor had cost a thousand dollars. The flour for Harrison's army, by the time it reached the troops, had cost a hundred dollars a barrel." This is not surprising when it is remembered that through the vast unsettled country of New-York and Ohio the supplies were all carried on packhorses, while the forage to feed them was carried on other horses.

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[1] This chair was used by Washington on the occasion of his inauguration, in New-York, as President of the United States. EDITOR.

The year 1813 was, in its history, as checkered on the ocean as on the land. It could hardly be expected that the career of triumph of 1812 would be continued without interruption. One of its disasters came home to the hearts of the people of New-York. Captain Lawrence, on his return from his dashing cruise in the Hornet, which he made by Holmes' Hole and through Long Island Sound to New-York without meeting an enemy, was transferred to the frigate Chesapeake. This vessel had just returned from a long cruise, and was lying in Boston harbor, where the blockade was but loosely maintained, the President and Congress having both gotten an offing without interference; and it seemed as though the officers of the British frigates Shannon, 38, and Tenedos, 38, which were on the station, did not desire a meeting. When the Chesapeake was ready to sail, however, the Shannon, Captain Broke, appeared in the offing. He had that day sent a challenge to Captain Lawrence to meet him at some latitude and longitude to be agreed upon,—a message which Lawrence did not receive, else he might have fought under other conditions. On the forenoon of June 1, 1813, the Shannon appeared in the bay. The Chesapeake was then lying in President Roads. Her crew was somewhat disaffected because of unpaid prize-money. At noon she lifted anchor and stood out. Lawrence, because of the state of his crew, to whom he was a stranger, having joined his ship only a few days before, reluctantly ordered his decks cleared for action. As the first gun was fired the excitement in Boston was intense, the population of the city thronging to the housetops.[1]

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[1] The mother of the writer of these pages, then a girl of fourteen, related to him that from the roof of her father's house on Fort Hill she heard the guns and saw the smoke of the action.

After a short and sanguinary conflict, which closed with the boarders of the Shannon passing through the Chesapeake from stern to forecastle without serious resistance,—Lawrence having fallen mortally wounded at the critical moment when the ships fouled, and all his officers being incapacitated,—the Chesapeake surrendered. The last orders of Lawrence as he was carried below, shot a second time and through the body, were "Tell the men to fire faster and not give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks." As soon as the action was over both ships made sail for Halifax. Captain Lawrence died of his wounds on June 6. His lieutenant, Ludlow, also died of his wounds, a few days later.

Henry Rutgers

The withdrawal of the British cruisers from the blockade of Boston harbor, while New-York and the Chesapeake were so effectually closed that it was impossible even for the frigates to get out, excited an uneasy and jealous feeling in these ports. In December, 1813, President Madison informing Congress that a contraband trade was carried on at Boston and that the British frigates when off the coast had been supplied from the shore, a fresh embargo was laid on the exportation of goods of any character, produce, livestock, and specie. The balance of the naval account for the year 1813 was, however, greatly to the credit of the United States. The Americans had taken twenty-six British men-of-war of five hundred and sixty guns. The British had taken seven American men-of-war of one hundred and nineteen guns.

But few British ships of war were on the northern Atlantic coast in 1812, but in January, 1813, an English squadron, under Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, was reported off Sandy Hook. The United States flotilla of gunboats, under command of Commodore Jacob Lewis, was unable to get from the station on the East River to the lower bay because of the ice. On January 22 the enemy's ships were seen off the lighthouse at Sandy Hook, and the city was in alarm. The forts were ready, except the new construction not yet finished. The volunteer regiments accepted by the government for defense of the harbor and city were enlisted for one year for that service only. There were several independent companies: one of infantry, the "Iron Grays,"[1] of seventy men, commanded by Captain Samuel Swartwout; one of cavalry, the New-York Hussars, commanded by Captain William Craig. In these companies were enrolled many prominent citizens. On March 13 a veteran corps of artillery was organized under Captain John McLean. A marine corps was formed by the shipmasters and mariners. On March 15, by Governor Tompkins's report, there were about thirty-five thousand troops in actual service. He stated that twelve thousand men were needed for a defense of the city and harbor.

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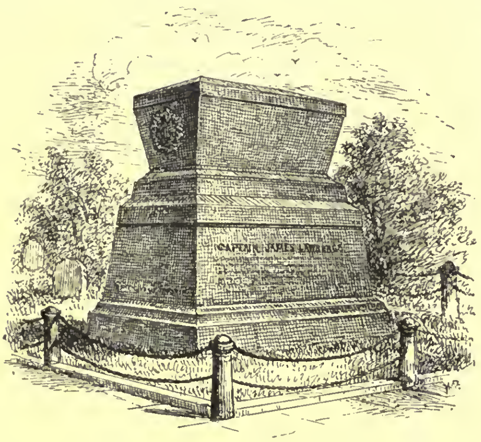
[1] Among the last survivors of this much-admired and fashionable corps were Fitz-Greene Halleck,—who celebrated it in song,—Gouverneur S. Bibby, Stephen Cambreling, Dr. Edward Delafield, Hickson W. Field, James W. Gerard, and General Charles W. Sandford. EDITOR.

On March 20 signals announced the approach of a fleet of ships. The batteries were manned, the flotilla ready for sailing, and the new fort at Sandy Hook, with some heavy guns mounted, was in charge of five hundred Jersey Blues who encamped near by. The vessels proved to be merchantmen. The Sea Fencibles, composed of mariners, sailors and boatmen, commanded by Captain Lewis, with the nominal title of commodore, by the spring of 1813 had increased to one thousand men. General Armstrong, who from August, 1812, had commanded in New-York, was appointed secretary of war January 13, 1813. The command then fell to Colonel Burbeck of the United States Artillery. He was an able officer of the Revolution from the beginning to the close, and had later seen service on the western frontier. In February the recruiting service of the United States in New-York city was placed under the direction of Colonel Jonas Simonds and Colonel Macomb, who was later transferred to frontier service in the Niagara district. Colonel Simonds commanded the Sixth United States Infantry, Colonel Macomb the Third United States Artillery. Many of their officers were of New-York. On March 20, General George Izard of South Carolina was assigned by President Madison to the command of New-York city, and made his headquarters at Castle Clinton, later Castle Garden. Breastworks were erected on the water-line about the Battery Parade. There was at this time a public garden in the Battery Park. State street and the lower end of Broadway were the site of fine private residences. In February, 1813, De Witt Clinton was reappointed mayor of the city by the council of appointment, which was then Federalist. Clinton's leanings were in that direction, but both parties, Federalists and Republicans, were content with his management of public affairs.



TOMB OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE.

The disastrous result of the Russian campaign freeing a large number of British ships from the continental service, the enforcement of the blockade of the United States became closer, and fears of invasion were entertained at all of the large seaports. The fortifications about New-York were strengthened in May. At the close of the month the British blockading vessels were ordered to admit no more neutral or licensed trading vessels by the passage of Long Island Sound. On May 24, Alderman Fish, from the committee on defense, presented a draft of a memorial to the general government inviting their attention to the inadequate number of United States troops in the forts. The memorial was adopted, and Alderman Mesier and Assistant Alderman King were appointed a committee to present it to the president and Congress. It read as follows:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States.

The Common Council of the City of New-York, in behalf of the people of the city, most respectfully represent that having made application to different constituted authorities for the protection of this city, and still finding it in a very critical and exposed situation, they consider it their solemn and indispensable duty to make this representation as the last resort to the constitutional guardians of the common defence and general welfare. When the Constitution of the United States guarantees each State against invasion it undoubtedly declares that all the means or the powers of the National Government shall be used for the purpose of defence. In calling upon the Senate and House of Representatives to perform the guarantee enjoined by the federal compact we wish to be explicitly understood that we solicit no partial indulgence or particular favor.

The great portion of the revenue which is collected in this city; the valuable commerce which is here carried on; the immense wealth which is here accumulated, and the extensive and severe distress which might be produced in this part of the Union, must render it an object of the first importance to the policy as well as the cupidity of the enemy to make a successful attack upon this place, and when it is considered that hostile ships of war are at this moment cruising within twenty-five miles of this city and that with a favorable wind ships of the line can come up to our wharves in two hours from the ocean, it must be admitted that there is as great if not greater reason to apprehend danger here than at those places on the waters of the Delaware and Chesapeake which have been menaced by the approach of the enemy.

With full confidence in the commanding officer assigned to this place, and without the most distant intention of criminating any branch of the government, we still deem it our duty to state in the most explicit manner that we are now in a more dangerous situation than we have been in for a number of years. The number of men stationed in the different forts is wholly inadequate, and no call has been made on the Militia to supply the deficiency. In this last respect we are peculiarly situated, for while less exposed places in other parts of the United States are garrisoned at the expense of the United States, we are deprived of this mode of defence; and while we readily admit that large expenditures have been made for the erection of fortifications in this port, yet we are at the same time constrained to state that the important works at Hendrick's Reef, on the adjoining heights of Long Island, at Sandy Hook, at the Battery on this island, and at Fort Gansevoort are in a very imperfect state; and the pass to this City by the Sound is entirely undefended, and it is well understood that a ship of the line can approach us in that direction with very inconsiderable risk as to the navigation.

To enter into a more detailed account of our situation would be unnecessary and perhaps improper, but as we consider the object of this memorial of the highest importance to the prosperity of this City and the extensive Country with which it is connected by commerce and the ties of mutual interests, we have authorized a committee of this board to repair with it to the seat of government, and to make such other respectful representations as the emergency of the case and our very critical situation imperiously require, and they will be specially chargeable to state to your honorable body that every measure in the power of your memorialists will be promptly adopted to promote the means of defence presented by the General Government, and we are fully persuaded that our fellow citizens will also cheerfully and unanimously coöperate.

The new Congress met on this day (May 24). New-York was represented by Egbert Benson and Jotham Post, Jr., both Federalists. The platform on which they were elected was "Liberty, Peace and Commerce." The State was represented in the Senate by Rufus King and Obadiah German. Governor Tompkins was reëlected for three years in April, and on May 31, without waiting for action by Congress, he, by general orders, directed all commanders of brigades to fix places of rendezvous in case of invasion, and report to General Stewart, whose orders were to be "implicitly obeyed by all militia officers within the southern district." In consequence there was an immediate thorough organization of the several commands, and regulations were devised and published to meet all probable contingencies.

JAY'S GOLD SNUFF-BOX.[1]

All parties celebrated the Fourth of July, but there was little harmony on the occasion. The 4th falling on Sunday, the celebration was held on Monday, the 5th. General Morton's brigade, and Major James Horner's squadron of cavalry paraded early in the day, independently. Marching to the Parade on the Battery, they were there dismissed. The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was active in its demonstration, but the numbers were reported as small. They had abandoned their old badges and wore no buck-tails on their hats.

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[1] The gold snuff-box presented by the corporation of the city of New-York to the Hon. John Jay, is now the property of his grandson John C. Jay, Esq. EDITOR.

The atrocities of the Indians on the frontier made it politic for them to discard the Indian costume which they usually wore on this day. The Federalist organizations, the Washington, Benevolent, and Hamilton societies, were in full force. The Veteran Corps of Artillery wore badges of mourning on their swords in respect to the memory of General Pike and Captain Lawrence, the latest victims of the war. This was the only military body which took part in either of the civic processions. It marched with Tammany at the call of Captain McLean. Both celebrations ended with a grand dinner. The Federals dined at Washington Hall, where about three thousand people were assembled. The Rev. Dr. John Mason of the Presbyterian Church opened the proceedings with prayer, and the address was by Gouverneur Morris, Federalist in tone but thoroughly patriotic in spirit.

The first notice of the declaration of blockade came from Thomas Barclay, late British consul, now British agent for the exchange of prisoners. On July 2 he notified John G. Bogert, the Russian vice-consul, of the proclamation of Admiral Warren, in accordance with the Regent's orders of May 26, declaring the "ports of New-York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah and the River Mississippi to be in a state of strict and vigorous blockade; and that the blockade will be enforced by his Majesty's ships of war in Long Island Sound, off Sandy Hook, and elsewhere." At the end of July the British had on our coast eighty vessels of war. Robert Fulton had invented torpedoes for the destruction of vessels, and Congress had in March authorized the payment of the value of any English vessel thus destroyed by individuals not in the United States service. In June a schooner, the Eagle, was fitted out with explosives of another character. Sailing up the Sound, she was designedly allowed to fall into the hands of the boats of the British frigate Ramillies, and being brought alongside the man-of-war, blew up, killing an officer and ten men. Sir Thomas Hardy, commander of the Ramillies, was indignant, and threatened dire vengeance against every American vessel that should fall into his hands. Repeated attempts to destroy the Ramillies kept the Commodore in constant motion, and in August he threatened to fire the towns on the coast of the Sound. There was a constant petty trade going on with the British ships off Gardiner's Bay blockading New London, by which they were supplied with fresh provisions: an abuse which caused the secretary of the navy to issue a stringent order on July 20.

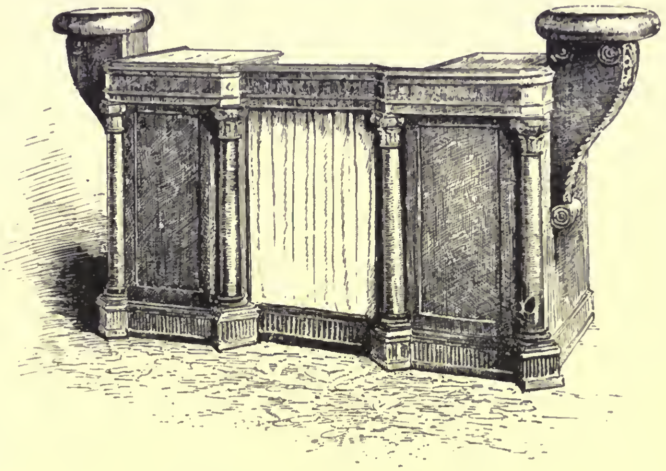
In view of the many disasters of the campaign, President Madison, in August, designated September 9 as a day of "humiliation, fasting and prayer." In accordance with the proclamation, the common council requested the citizens to desist from labor and business on that day. The day preceding, the mayor and common council went in a small boat to review the flotilla of gunboats under Commodore William Lewis, stationed at Spermaceti Cove, below Sandy Hook, and to inspect the fortifications. While the review was in progress news came that the British ships were approaching New-York by way of the Sound, and a frigate and sloop of war had anchored off Rye Neck, ten miles east of New Rochelle. The flotilla instantly embarked their field-pieces and, twenty-six in number, stood up the bay. Passing through Hell Gate in the night, they came within range of the nearest British frigate about noon. The man-of-war sailed toward the flotilla and fired a number of shots. The range was too long for the artillery of the gunboats to do any execution. The British then stood away to the eastward, and the flotilla returned to Sandy Hook.

On the morning of September 13, the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow arrived at Harlem overland from Salem. They were taken by water and placed on board the Alert, lying off the navy-yard. The colors in the harbor were all displayed at half-mast. The common council, on the 14th, ordered a funeral procession, the details of which were announced in the newspapers in black-bordered columns. The original route was designated to be from the Battery through State, Whitehall, Pearl, and Wall streets to Trinity Church; but in view of the great number of societies who applied for place in line, the route was changed to be from the Battery through Greenwich street to Chambers street and Broadway to Trinity Church. The line was formed at ten o'clock in the morning, but, says the "Columbian" (the evening paper), "so unusual was the concourse which assembled to pay the last public tribute of respect to our gallant countrymen and follow their remains to their final repose, that the solemn duties were not yet performed nor the line of march completed when our paper went to press." Twenty to thirty thousand people are said to have gathered along the line of march, the weather being exceptionally fine. The burial services were conducted by Bishop John Henry Hobart. Among the marines in the procession were part of the crew of the Hornet when the Peacock struck to Lawrence. The procession was estimated to have included six thousand persons marching four abreast. On this sad occasion the rival Federalist and Republican societies hushed their discords.

On October 20 General Dearborn superseded General Izard in command of the military district of New-York. That day the British ships again appeared in the Sound, near the city, and committed some petty depredations, and again Commodore Lewis took up his flotilla from the bay. The British had already withdrawn on his arrival. Evacuation Day was celebrated this year with unusual animation, the veterans taking a leading part. They dined, after performing the duties of the day, at the old Revolutionary hostelry, Fraunces'

Tavern. This was the last military parade of the year. General Morton's brigade and Major Warner's squadron were reviewed on the Battery by Generals Dearborn, Stevens, and Morton. There was a public dinner by the common council, and subscription dinners at Tammany Hall and Washington Hall.

General Harrison arrived in the city after his successful campaign on November 28. When, in October, resolutions were introduced in the common council for the gift of a sword and the presentation of the freedom of the city to General Harrison, they were defeated by the Federalists, by a vote of twelve to five, for some political reason not now easy to understand. An election had since taken place, which had resulted in an equal division of the board of aldermen and assistants between the Federalists and Republicans. Mayor Clinton had a casting-vote, and, as has been stated, was a Federalist. So was Recorder Josiah Ogden Hoffman. Governor Tompkins received General Harrison with great distinction. The State Republican committee entertained him with a grand dinner at Tammany Hall. Colonel Rutgers presided. The military dignitaries were present, but the mayor was not. The Federalists, not to be outdone, gave a dinner to Commodore Bainbridge, in honor of his victory in the Constitution over the Java. General Stevens gave the first volunteer toast, "The President and Congress at sea. May the message and reports from them be in the spirit of the Constitution."[2] The Republicans retorted with a dinner to Commodore Perry on January 14, 1814. The board was not, however, graced by high officials, civil or military. Governor Tompkins was busy at Albany, and the army officers were convened there also for the court martial of General Hull.



PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S DESK.[1]

In December, 1813, Don Thomas Stoughton, Spanish consul at New-

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[1] Used by General Washington in Federal Hall, Wall street, and now to be seen in the Governors Room, City Hall, New-York. EDITOR.

[2] It may be as well to note here that General Stevens, in offering this toast, intentionally perpetrated a pun, the point of which lay in the fact that the President and Congress were the respective names of two United States frigates which had succeeded in running the blockade. See page 270. EDITOR.

York, received official notice that Admiral Warren had, on December 2, declared that after the 6th no vessels should be permitted to leave Long Island Sound. The bays and ports on the Long Island shore of the Sound were all occupied, but no molestation was given to the inhabitants. This ended the career of the New-York privateers. As New-York depended on this coastwise trade for supplies in food and clothing, the close blockade, at a time of year when land transportation was difficult, was excessively annoying.

Governor Tompkins, who had presided over the affairs of New-York since 1807, arranged at Albany, during the winter of 1813–1814, with Colonel Winfield Scott the plans of a campaign for the relief of the border in the spring of 1814. Scott was made brigadier-general in the United States army. Taking command of the troops at Plattsburg, Scott moved to the Niagara, while General Brown went to Sackett's Harbor. Western New-York was then a wilderness. Arrived at Buffalo, Scott formed a camp of instruction. Toward the end of June, General Brown arrived at Buffalo, and a plan being concerted, the troops crossed the Niagara River from Black Rock on July 3, and, landing in two columns, one below and one above Fort Erie, invested the place, which at once surrendered. On the 4th Scott marched on Chippewa. General Riall did not await his arrival, but, taking the initiative, moved his army forward and attacked the Americans on the plain of Chippewa early in the morning of July 5. By able generalship and a skilful tactical movement at the critical moment, Scott gained a complete victory, the British retreating across the river.

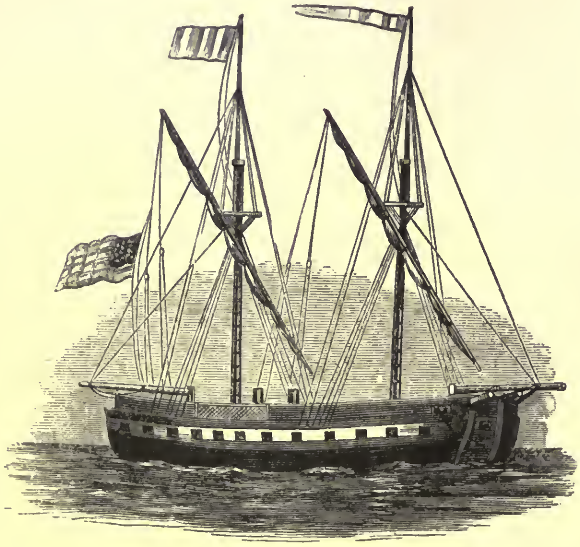
James Madison

On the 7th the American army crossed Chippewa Creek and marched on Fort George. This place General Brown found too strong for reduction, except by siege-guns, and marched his forces back to Queenstown. On the 25th, learning that the enemy had sent a force across to Lewiston, Scott was sent forward on the road to the falls to threaten the forts and force their return. Not far from Table Rock, British officers were seen on horseback, and soon after the enemy was met in Lundy's Lane in superior force. Scott held his ground, capturing General Riall and his staff, until he was reinforced at dusk by General Brown. Notwithstanding the darkness, the action continued hotly. Generals Brown and Scott both being wounded, General Eleazar W.

Ripley took the command, repulsing every assault until the British withdrew, and an hour later he was at Chippewa with the entire American force and all the wounded. Soon after he withdrew to Buffalo, and the troops were posted at Fort Erie. General Drummond now took command of the British troops, and, after busy preparation, marched on Fort Erie, which he attempted to storm. The assaulting columns were all repulsed with heavy loss. A siege was then begun by regular approaches, but the works were surprised by a sortie of the Americans, the guns dismounted, and the magazine exploded after a sanguinary struggle. On September 21, General Drummond raised the siege and withdrew beyond the line of the Chippewa. In October Fort Erie was dismantled, and the Americans recrossed the Niagara to the United States side.

D. P. Madison

Meanwhile, interesting events had occurred at the eastern end of the American line. In February, General James Wilkinson, whose army lay at French Mills, moved it to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, whence, on March 3, he marched into Canada with four thousand men. He found his progress blocked by a small force strongly posted on the Sorel in a stone mill and blockhouse. Finding it impossible to dislodge them except by heavy guns, which the condition of the roads prevented his bringing up, General Wilkinson abandoned the expedition and returned to Plattsburg. This aggressive movement was replied to by a series of petty attacks. In May Sir James Yeo, with his fleet, and General Drummond made a concerted movement on the dilapidated works at Oswego. The fort was gallantly defended, but at last abandoned. The British, finding that the strength of the village of Oswego on the opposite shore of the river was not what they had expected, withdrew. A few days after a British squadron threatened Charlotte, at the mouth of the Genesee River. General Porter removed the women and children and called in the militia, whereupon the ships bombarded the town, after which they withdrew. In May also two British gunboats, attempting to capture a flotilla on which were the guns destined for a new war vessel building in Sackett's Harbor, fell into a snare and were captured, and the guns safely taken in. They were for the Mohawk, which, launched on June 11, 1814, brought up the number of Chauncey's squadron to nine vessels, carrying two hundred and fifty-one guns. In August General Izard, who had succeeded Wilkinson in command, marched from Plattsburg to the Niagara River, which he crossed with about eight thousand men to attack General Drummond on the Chippewa. After a skirmish Drummond withdrew to Fort George and Burlington Heights, and Izard, unenterprising, retired on Black Rock.



FULTON THE FIRST.[1]

The British government in November, 1813, driven to the wall by the second offer of mediation by their great ally, the Emperor of Russia, made proposals to James Monroe, then secretary of state, to treat directly with the United States, and commissioners were appointed to meet the American commissioners at Ghent. There seems little doubt that these negotiations were retarded on the British side, while one great effort was made to rectify their Canadian frontier by the conquest of that strip of land which Clinton had secured for the State of New-York, and which lay along the waters of Champlain.

The British plan of operations was essentially that pursued by Burgoyne in 1777 (then known as the king's plan). The British army in Canada was reinforced by veterans of the Peninsular war, and Sir George Prevost was ordered to pursue Burgoyne's route. Taking advantage of the absence of Izard on his Niagara expedition, Prevost issued a proclamation to the American settlers near Lake Champlain, calling on them to renounce allegiance to the United States; and on September 1 he crossed the border on what has been called the second invasion of New-York. Like Burgoyne, he found his march impeded by felled trees, choked streams, and broken bridges. Moving

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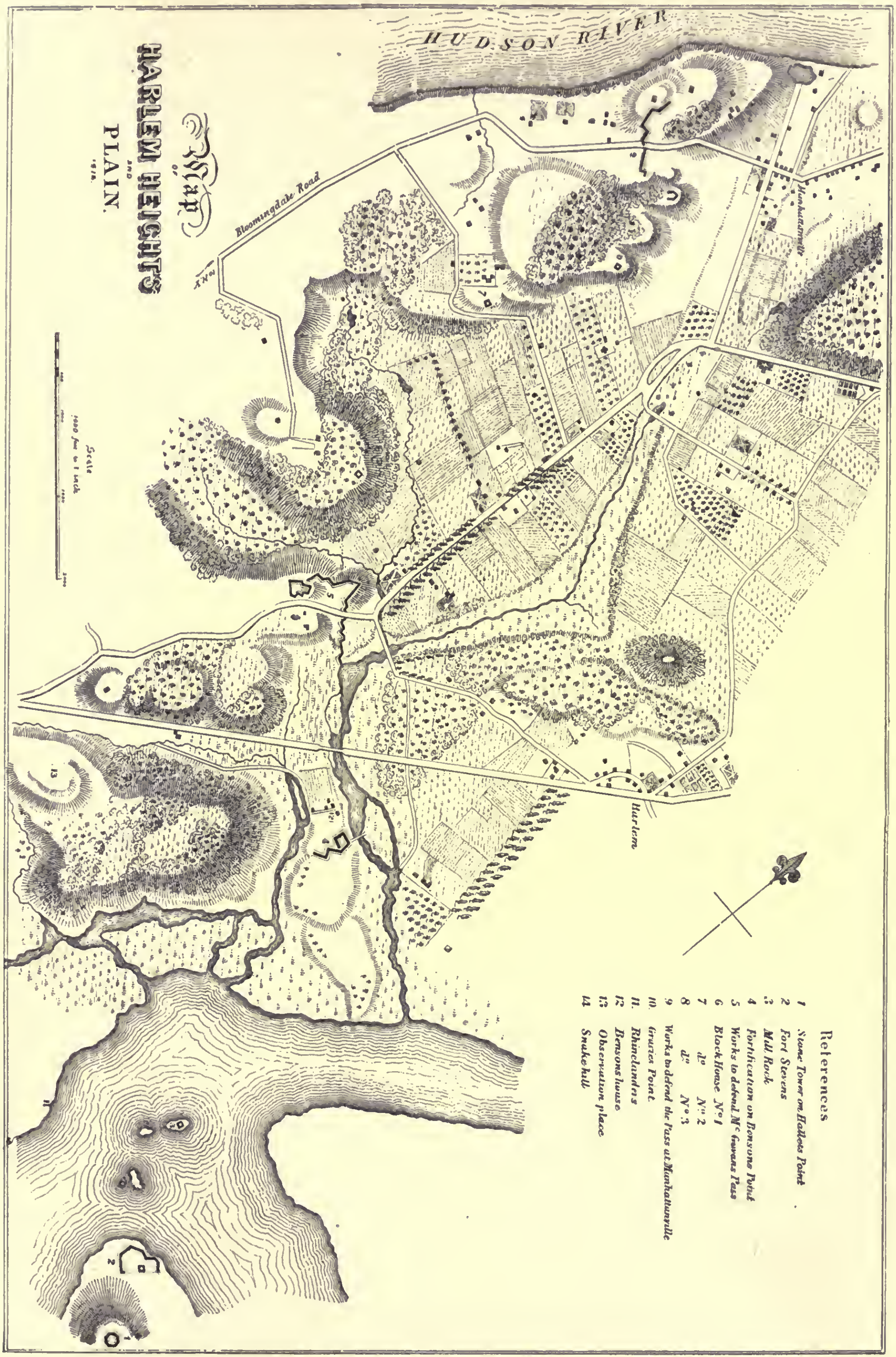
[1] Notable among the defenses provided for the city was a steam war-vessel, planned by Robert Fulton, and called Fulton the First. Her keel was laid in June, 1814, and she was launched with great public rejoicings on October 29. Her machinery was then put aboard, under Fulton's personal directions, and it was as a result of over-exertion in connection with this labor that the inventor died in February, 1815. In May the machinery was tested, and on July 4 a successful trip was made to the ocean and back. Not till September, however, was her armament completed, and then war had long ceased. She was a structure resting upon two boats and keels, separated from end to end by a channel fifteen feet wide and sixty-six feet long. One of these boats contained the boiler, the other the machinery. The paddle-wheel was placed in the space between. With her full armament on board, she attained a speed of five and a half miles an hour. EDITOR.


Map of HARLEM HEIGHTS and PLAIN. 1814.
Scale 1000 feet to 1 Inch
HUDSON RIVER
Bloomingdale Road
Manhattanville
Harlem
References
1 Stone Tower on Halletts Point
2 Fort Stevens
3 Mill Rock
4 Fortification on Bonsons Point
5 Works to defend Mc Gowans Pass
6 Block House No 1
7 do No 2
8 do No 3
9 Works to defend the Pass at Manhattanville
10. Grasses Point
11. Rhinelanders
12 Bensons house
13 Observation place
14 Snake hill

slowly, while waiting the arrival of the fleet on Lake Champlain, under Commodore George Downie, he reached Plattsburg on the 6th. Plattsburg was held by General Macomb with a force of fifteen hundred men. The fleet arrived on the 11th at the foot of the lake, and eight thousand men advanced to the assault. The attempt to ford was made at three places, but repulsed at each. The success of the American resistance was, however, determined by a naval battle, one of the most celebrated in our history, and curious in the annals of marine encounters from its peculiar features.

Tobias Lear[1]

The fleet which Commodore Downie brought to enter the bay was materially greater than that of Captain Thomas McDonough, who commanded the American squadron. Downie's chief reliance was on his flag-ship, the Confiance, which carried a frigate armament of thirty long twenty-fours on a heavy-gun deck. The British flotilla consisted of sixteen vessels, with ninety-five guns, and one thousand and fifty men; the American, of fourteen vessels, with eighty-six guns, and eight hundred and fifty men. McDonough had determined to fight at anchor, and so placed his ships that the British could only win a passage by forcing it under a broadside fire. His flag-ship, the Saratoga, he ingeniously arranged so that, by a kedge-anchor and hawsers on the quarters, he could bring her broadside to bear in any desired direction while her bow remained stationary. The English advanced in steady line, and a terrible broadside fire was opened on either side, that of the Confiance sweeping the Saratoga's deck, and for a moment checking her response till the dead and wounded were sent below. McDonough's ingenious arrangement enabled him to cripple his heavier antagonist, the Confiance, who clung closely to him until, after a fight of over two hours, the British colors came down. Commodore Downie had fallen early in the action. The victory was complete. General Prevost gave up his plan of campaign, and returned hastily to Canada. Thus ended the second invasion of New-York State. Her northern frontier was once more secure, nor was it again disturbed during this war.

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[1] Colonel Tobias Lear, who died in 1816, was for several years private secretary to Washington in New-York and elsewhere, and filled various diplomatic positions. His portrait is copied from a miniature in the possession of a granddaughter. He was related to Mrs. Washington. EDITOR.

The city of New-York, which had been anxious since the beginning of the year, began to breathe again more freely. The common council tendered to Captain McDonough the usual honors of the freedom of the city and the addition of his portrait to their gallery; on September 26, and on October 10, complimented General Brown in the same manner for his victory on the Chippewa; and on November 21 extended similar honors to General Macomb for his services on the frontier in command "of a small army acting in concert with a body of militia hastily assembled from the State and Vermont."

Privateering, as has been stated, was always a favorite profession in the city of New-York. Of the two hundred and fifty-one commissions in the entire war, New-York sent out fifty-five,—a number only, and that but slightly, exceeded by Baltimore. They were similar if not alike in size and armament, fast sailers, and carried an eighteen-pound gun mounted in swivel on deck. The most celebrated of those which sailed from New-York were the Governor Tompkins, which took the Mary Ann off the Madeira Islands with a cargo valued at sixty thousand dollars. Soon after this capture she chased a large vessel, which proved to be a British frigate. The little vessel was severely handled, but by the use of her sweeps got away. A still more notable affair was the capture, by the General Armstrong of New-York, of the Queen, armed with sixteen guns, and carrying a cargo valued at three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. On another occasion the Armstrong engaged, off Surinam, what she supposed to be an English privateer, but turned out to be an English frigate carrying twenty guns. After an action of three quarters of an hour, the Armstrong got away. In July, the Yankee, a fishing-smack, was fitted out in New-York harbor to capture the British sloop of war Eagle. A calf, a sheep, a goose, and three fishermen were placed on deck, while below lay forty men with muskets. Overhauled by the Eagle, and ordered to report to the commodore, at the signal-word "*Lawrence!*" the men concealed rose together, fired, and at one volley killed three of the enemy, and drove the rest below. The sloop of war struck without firing a gun, and was taken up to New-York, where the people were crowded on the Battery celebrating independence. Little wonder that the British people, exasperated to madness, demanded the annihilation of the American navy, and that English newspapers urged that American merchantmen should be compelled to exhibit in large letters on their mainsails: "Licensed to carry guns pursuant to a British act of Parliament"; and this only to protect them against the pirates of the Mediterranean or the ladrones of China.

The declaration of war found the city of New-York in a poor state of defense, notwithstanding the efforts of the general government. In the year 1798, when war was daily expected with France, the subject of the fortifications received careful study. The opinions of the old officers were obtained and compared. Aaron Burr favored a system of martello towers, but Mangin's plans were essentially adopted. A military command was appointed, with Hamilton at its head. Governor Jay called a special meeting of the legislature at Albany, which provided the means, and the mayor and citizens of New-York aided in the raising of funds in accordance with the provisions. The war scare over, the same apathy prevailed until the affair of the Leander caused a temporary alarm. In 1807 the city was defenseless, the Narrows and the Hell Gate passage being without a fortification. In the spring of that year the general government, alarmed at the drift of our foreign relations, began a systematic work of harbor fortification, but it had dragged slowly. As the blockade which the British now established became more rigid, the citizens took alarm. In May, 1813, Senator Rufus King presented a memorial from the New-York common council praying that measures might be adopted for their greater security and protection. This petition was referred to the secretary of war, General Armstrong. The common council, in the summer of 1814, issued a public call to a general public meeting to concert measures of defense.

In pursuance of this call, the citizens gathered in the park in front of the City Hall on August 11, 1814. Colonel Rutgers was chosen chairman, and Oliver Wolcott, Adams's secretary of the treasury, secretary. A committee was appointed, consisting of Drs. Samuel L. Mitchill and William J. McNevin, with Messrs. Wolcott, Richard Riker, Anthony Bleecker, and William Sampson, to draft resolutions. Colonel Willett made a spirited address, at the close of which Riker presented the resolutions, which were unanimously agreed to. They pledged union in arms, a defense to the last extremity, and urged all classes to enroll in the militia or the naval service, and to aid in the prosecution of the public works.[1]

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[1] New-York Resolutions, August 11, 1814:

Resolved, That the citizens here assembled will, to the last extremity, defend their city. *Resolved*, That we will unite ourselves in arms with our brethren of the country, and on the first approach of the enemy, make it a COMMON CAUSE. *Resolved*, That humbly confiding in the favor of the Almighty, we hope to prove ourselves not unworthy of that freedom won by the heroes of the Revolution; and trust that the enemy they vanquished will receive from us a similar defeat. *Resolved*, That we highly approve of the measures for public defence which have been devised by the government of the United States, by his excellency the governor of the State, and by the corporation of this City; and that we will coöperate in carrying the same into effectual execution. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the citizens generally, to meet, as soon as may be practicable with convenience, in their respective wards, for the purpose of electing discreet and efficient committees to promote the execution of the following objects. 1. To complete the voluntary enrollment of persons exempted by law from military service. 2. To encourage the enrollment of seafaring citizens for service in the harbor or as artillerists; and 3. The enrollment of citizens for voluntary labor on the public works. *Resolved*, That it be the special duties of the ward committees to provide, under the direction of the corporation of the City, for the relief and protec-

In August, 1814, a committee of young gentlemen issued an address to the spirited and patriotic young men for the organization of the militia. It was signed by Isaac Merrick, David Ludlow, Stephen Keen, John M. Elliott, George Lovejoy, and S. B. Brega. The purpose was to raise a battalion of volunteer infantry. A part of the plan is curious. "A cheap, neat and becoming uniform is fixed upon, calculated rather to give a soldierly appearance than to attract and please the eye of childhood. It is simply as follows: A blue broadcloth roundabout, narrow rolling collar, single-breasted, buttoned in front with bell buttons, a row on each side the collar — will cost about fifteen dollars. Beaver of a straight crown, about nine inches high, helmet front, diminishing gradually towards the back, leaving there only half an inch brim; a waving red plume, the staff of which is supported by a stripe of broad gold lace running from the base or rim of the hat and forming a cockade near the top with a narrow band of lace — will cost at the utmost not more than ten dollars. Cartouch box covered with red morocco, secured round the waist by a belt of the same to which the bayonet's scabbard will be affixed — will cost five dollars"; — the total cost of the outfit so far being thirty dollars. Yellow nankeen pantaloons, black handkerchief, boots, together with a musket, completed the equipment. The roll was in the hands of Mr. George Asbridge at No. 9 William street, corner of Beaver street. A reference to Longworth's directory shows that this Asbridge was a printer.

The resolution adopted for the enrolment of voluntary labor to complete the defenses was responded to with enthusiasm. The mechanics, who from the days of the Stamp Act had been ardently patriotic, turned out in organized bodies to aid in digging and constructing the fortifications. Militia companies were raised, and offices for the enlistment of sailors opened. Castle Clinton — later well known as Castle Garden, because applied to purposes of popular amusement — was built at the southwest point of the island. A battery, which was named the North Battery, was thrown up at the foot of Hubert street, and Fort Gansevoort at the foot of Gansevoort street. Fort Columbus was built on Governor's Island, where General Stevens had erected the earthwork and barracks in 1798; and Castle Williams on the same island. On Bedlow's Island a strong star fort was erected (now the site of Bartholdi's noble and gigantic statue of Liberty), and on Ellis Island a circular battery. The Staten Island

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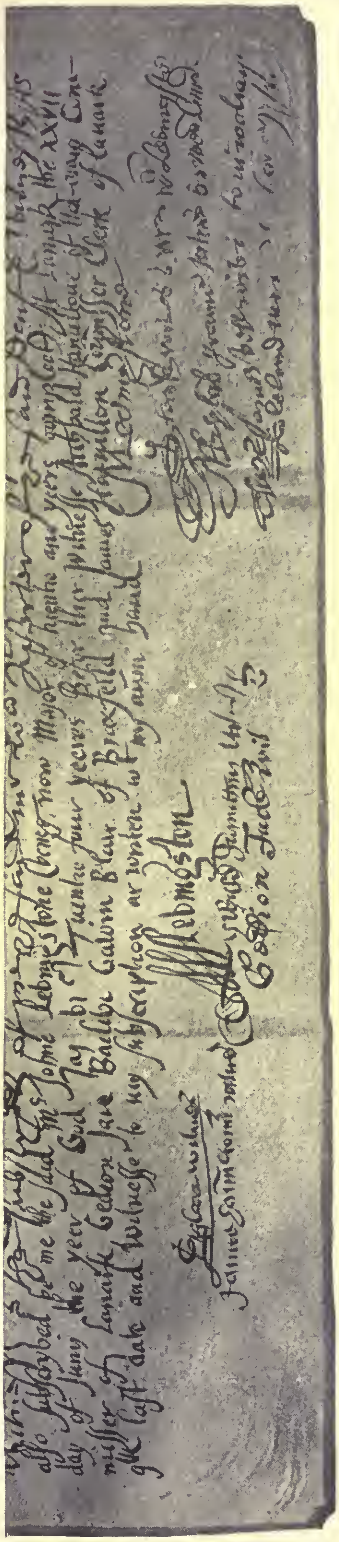
tion of the families of such persons as may be absent on public duty, and also, to provide in the best manner practicable, for the protection of such helpless persons and their property, as in case of alarm may be desirous of moving into the country. *Resolved*, That we will endeavor to promote concord, and will discountenance all attempts to weaken the patriotic efforts of good citizens. *Resolved*, That we will endeavor to discover and subject to the animadversion of the laws, all persons who shall be concerned in any illicit commerce or improper intercourse with the enemy.



shore was commanded by Fort Richmond, a strong construction of stone on the high ground; Fort Tompkins, on a still greater elevation in the rear; and Fort Hudson, nearly on the shore-line below. As the passage at the Narrows is very short, as the name implies, and the channel draws close under the Staten Island highland, these afforded an almost sure defense. On the opposite side, in the upper bay, was Fort Diamond, later Fort Lafayette, a still stronger work built on made ground and commanding the water-line. Together these mounted five hundred guns, and amply protected the entrance against any floating armament of the period.

The entrance from the East River to the Sound just west of Hell Gate was commanded by Fort Stevens on the Long Island shore at Hallett's Point, named after General Stevens, who superintended its construction, and whose country-seat was at Mount Bonaparte, the old Hallett farm being at Hallett's Cove near by. This low stone battery was again commanded by a round tower on high ground in the rear; opposite, across the stream, whose rapid waters, surging around numerous rocks, rendered passage dangerous except to skilled pilots, was a similar work at Benson's Point. Strong works guarded McGowan's Pass on the Harlem road and the pass on the western side of the island on the Bloomingdale road, a line of block-houses being thrown up between.

In August a requisition was made by Congress for twenty thousand men to be stationed in and about the city. The corporation of New-York raised the necessary funds, under pledge of reimbursement

Fac-simile of a portion of an original deed in the handwriting of the Rev. John Livingston of Ancrum, at Lanark, June 27, 1624. He was the father of Robert Livingston, founder of the famous New-York family. This ancient and interesting document is among the archives of Colzium House, Stirlingshire, Scotland. EDITOR.

by the United States. Enlistment proceeded with such speed that by September 1 all the artillery and infantry of the city and county were consolidated and mustered into the United States service, under their own officers, their pay, rations, and regulations being those of the regulars. Governor Tompkins and General Morgan Lewis were the post commanders. The entire detached division was placed under the command of General Stevens.[1] The seamen enrolled were placed under command of Commodore Decatur, who, on the transfer of Commodore Rodgers to the Guerrière in the spring of 1814, had been assigned to the command of the President,—the United States (his old ship), and the Macedonian, his prize, having been removed up the Thames above New London in April of that year and dismantled. Here he had been joined by Captain James Biddle, who brought down the Hornet from New London, passing the close blockade with consummate skill and safety.

The idea was general that New-York would soon be attacked by a powerful expedition of land and sea forces, and a descent was daily expected. The cruise of the President was therefore countermanded, and Decatur was ordered to remain in the city and take entire charge of the naval defense. Advantage was taken of Decatur's presence in the city to confer on him the municipal honors voted to him by the common council. On November 14 a committee, consisting of Aldermen Peter Mesier and John Munson, introduced him to the common council at the City Hall. Mayor Clinton, in his address to him, said that "the city looked to him as one of her most efficient protectors in the hour of peril"; and, alluding to the many successes at sea, said: "Sir, during the Revolutionary War, our contest with France and the Barbary powers, and in the present war with Great Britain, the gallantry and skill of our seamen have been constantly gaining upon the admiration of mankind. Wherever they have approached an Enemy victory has almost invariably attended the American flag. The Great Lakes, the Mediterranean Sea, the British Channel, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, bear witness to their illustrious exploits, and they have elevated America to the pinnacle of naval glory." When Decatur left the hall he was saluted by the citizens who had "assembled to witness the honors paid to their gallant countryman." The number of men enrolled for the force under his orders, including man-of-war's-men on the ships and gunboats, and the Sea Fencibles,—a kind of naval militia,—exceeded five thousand. These Decatur thoroughly trained, while at the same time disciplining the crew of the President as a sort of body-guard, manœuvering them in person. His squadron consisted of the President, his flag-ship, 52 guns; the new sloop Peacock, 20 guns; and the Hornet, 20 guns. Destined for the East Indies, these ships now lay at anchor in the bay, closely blockaded by a superior force of British cruisers.

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[1] This officer had served in the Continental army from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. He entered New-York on the day the British evacuated the city, as lieutenant-colonel of the Second Continental Artillery, which was essentially a New-York regiment. Entering into business, he was at this time one of the leading merchants of the city. After the death of Hamilton, he was the acknowledged head of the veteran Revolutionary element of the city. While not partizan, his sympathies were with the Republican party. He had been Lafayette's chief of artillery, and his house was the rendezvous of many French officers and gentlemen who visited New-York.

The militia of the city were regularly drilled several hours a day, the battalions twice in each week, the regiments once a week, the brigade once a fortnight; and General Stevens, who was a strict disciplinarian of the Steuben school, reviewed them in parade three or four times in the course of their three months' service. In a grand review held by Governor Tompkins at the close of the campaign, the corps consisted of over twenty-three thousand men,—all, except five hundred United States regulars, being volunteers. The army of the United States was busy on the frontier of the State, but New-York city was sufficient unto herself and amply able to defend her important port and shores.

During the entire period of the war De Witt Clinton held the office of mayor.[1] Though opposed to the war in the beginning, and in fact the candidate of the peace wing of the Republican party in 1812, against Madison, he nevertheless was cordial and patriotic in his support of all the measures for defense. The Republican party was divided into two sections—the Madisonians, who had their headquarters in Tammany Hall, which was built in 1811; and the Clintonians, or Martling-men, so called from their old place of meeting at Martling's Long Room.[2]

The hesitation of New England as to the propriety and policy of the war had, as has been seen, caused distrust in Washington as to their fidelity to the Union, which in its turn caused apprehension in the Eastern States that in the conditions of peace they might be left to the mercies of Great Britain. A committee of the Massachusetts legislature, reporting on the state of public affairs, suggested that the moneys raised for the prosecution of the war should be retained for her own defense, and not expended elsewhere. A convention from sympathizing States was recommended, to provide "some mode of defence suited to the circumstances and exigencies of those States." A call was issued, and delegates from every New England State met at Hartford on December 15, 1814. The sessions were held with closed doors, and excited alarm throughout the country. The convention adjourned finally on January 5, and made a report which, ill-judged as the movement was, went no further than to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States restricting the powers of Congress and of the executive to declare and make war, etc. The evils which this separatist movement might have caused were happily averted by the signing of the peace. New-York, thoroughly loyal to the Union although the greatest sufferer by the war, cut off as she was from the contraband trade, was profoundly disturbed by this agitation on her eastern border.

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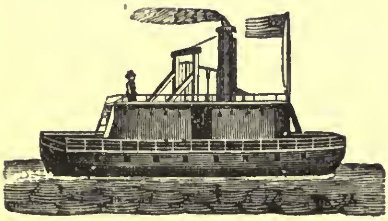
[1] Disgusted with the political quarrels and the height of party feeling, he resigned the mayoralty in 1815.

[2] The name Democrat was first adopted by the Republicans of New-York at the charter election in 1816, and then only by one section of the dominant organization. The Federalists steadily declined after the peace, their best element supporting De Witt Clinton in the subsequent political struggles in the city and State.

RESIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS IN GHENT.

From the beginning of the war the support of the treasury of the United States came chiefly from the Middle States. Of the loan of sixteen millions authorized by Congress in December, 1812, New-York took $5,720,000, Pennsylvania $6,858,400, Maryland $2,393,300, while New England subscribed for but $486,700, and the Southern States $541,000, together but little over one million dollars. The extremely small subscription in New England (Boston taking but $75,300) can only be explained by a fixed determination not to support the war, based on a belief in the dissolution of the Union. The influence of Mr. Gallatin saved the loan, David Parish and Stephen Girard in

Philadelphia, and John Jacob Astor in New-York, all personal friends of the great financier, taking over ten millions for themselves and their friends. All three of these men were foreign-born. This was Mr. Gallatin's last financial transaction. Between June 1, 1811, and June 1, 1814, the specie in the Massachusetts banks increased from $1,706,000 to $7,326,000 in the latter year. Of the $41,010,000 supplied to the government in various ways from the beginning of the war to the close,—the end of the year 1814,—the Eastern States contributed $2,900,000, the Middle States $35,790,000, the Southwestern States $2,320,000, and, moreover, four fifths of the floating debt on January 1, 1815, was held by the cities of New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the District of Columbia. An application of the text, "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," seems not inappropriate in a review of this selfish public policy. The capture of Washington by the British in August, 1814, precipitated a general suspension of the banks of the United States, including those of New-York city. The depression of the currency in New-York was from seven to ten per cent. (much less than the average of that in other cities). The price of commodities increased one half. The banks of New England, continuing their policy, within a little over a year drew to their vaults over eight millions of dollars of specie, one half the entire stock of the United States.



New-York and Brooklyn Ferry.

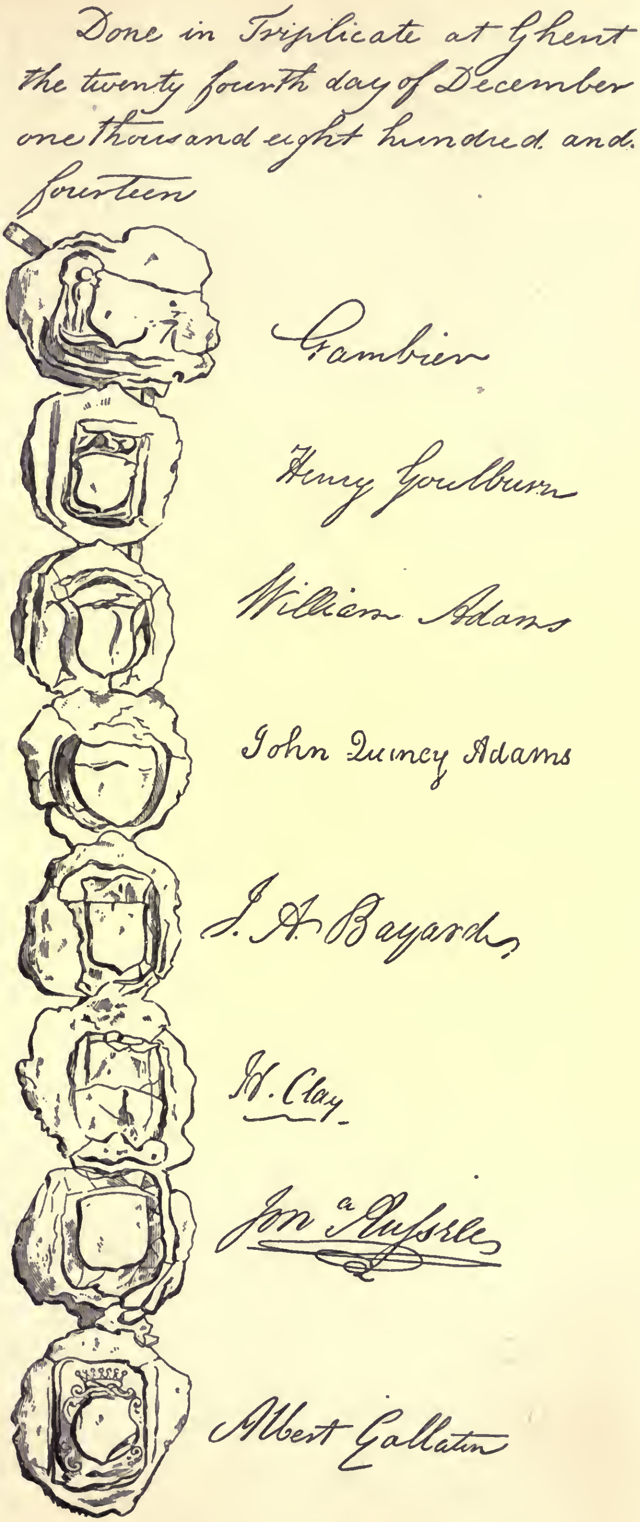
SUCH persons as are inclined to compound, agreeable to law, in the Steam Ferry-Boat, Barges, or common Horse Boats, will be pleased to apply to the subscribers, who are authorized to settle the same.

GEORGE HICKS, Brooklyn,
JOHN PINTARD, 52 Wall-st.

Commutation for a single person not transferable, for 12 months,	$10 00
Do. do. 8 months,	6 67

May 3, 1814 6m.

The negotiations undertaken in England for peace had not been embarrassed, thanks to the vigorous defense of New-York territory, by any conquests which Great Britain might pretend to claim under the principle of the *uti possidetis* (hold what you possess)—a claim which, when advanced by Lord Bathurst, the American commissioners had peremptorily refused to admit. Upon this Lord Liverpool determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war with the troops now at liberty in Europe, when Wellington frankly told him that the British held no territory in the United States in other than temporary possession. The news of the burning of Washington did not discourage but strengthened the American commissioners in their determination to surrender nothing. The treaty of Ghent was signed on Christmas day, 1814, on the basis of the American instructions, viz., the *status quo ante bellum*. Neither country gained or gave up anything. Nothing was said of the employment of the savages, nothing conceded as to the impressment of seamen; no concession on the other hand as to the navigation of the Mississippi, or the fisheries. Yet the United States had received another lesson as to the importance of union, and England had learned to respect the flag which now floated over her conquered frigates. The lesson taught her regulars at the battle of the Chippewa was repeated at New Orleans by General Andrew Jackson several days after the peace was signed. It was fortunate, as it completed the assertion of the sovereignty of the United States over every inch of its territory, not by agreement in articles, but by the supreme arbitrament of arms.



Done in Triplicate at Ghent the twenty fourth day of December one thousand eight hundred and fourteen

Gambier

Henry Goulburn

William Adams

John Quincy Adams

J. A. Bayard

H. Clay

Jon.a Russell

Albert Gallatin

The glorious news of the battle of New Orleans reached New-York city on February 6, 1815. In the midst of the rejoicings for this satisfaction for the burning of Washington, the still more satisfactory news of the signing of the treaty of Ghent was received in the city on the night of Saturday, February 14, 1815. The treaty itself reached the city by express in twenty-six hours from Washington on the 25th. There were universal rejoicings. There were dinners by all the societies and a grand public dinner on Washington's birthday, the committee upon which comprised such men as Augustus M. Lawrence, John A. King, Jonathan Goodhue, Philip Hone, Dominick Lynch, George Brinckerhoff and William Neilson, Jr. And on the same appropriate day a general illumination was ordered by the common council and universally obeyed by the citizens. The war was over. Discord was hushed, and an era of peace and good will was entered upon.

LAWRENCE AND LUDLOW.

So far as known, the last survivor of the famous engagement between the Shannon and Chesapeake in Boston Harbor, seventy-eight years ago, is Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, G. C. B., who, since the death of Sir George Sartorius in 1885, has been the senior admiral of the British navy. He has just completed a century of existence, having been born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, April 12, 1791. As he was entered on the books of the navy in May 1, 1795, he has been in the naval service for ninety-six years! Sir Provo may be said to have been the actual captor of the always unfortunate Chesapeake, the first lieutenant of the Shannon having been killed and Captain Broke seriously wounded, so that the command devolved upon Wallis, the second lieutenant, who carried his own frigate and her prize, the Chesapeake, into Halifax, where, among the thousands awaiting their arrival, was his own father, then chief clerk in the navy-yard. For young Ludlow, the second officer of the American frigate, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, Wallis did everything in his power, and he was among the chief mourners at his funeral in Halifax.

In a letter addressed to the writer, dated February 18, 1890, from his estate in the south of England, Sir Provo says: "I regret to state that I cannot give you any account of Captain James Lawrence more than to say that we on the Shannon thought him a gallant fellow, who brought the Chesapeake into action in first-rate style, who was mortally wounded, and I never saw him alive. Lieutenant Ludlow lived for about ten days after our arrival at Halifax, but died, to the great regret of all of us. He was a fine, gentleman-like fellow, and they are both deserving of being kept in memory by their countrymen."

Wallis was a midshipman on the Cleopatra when captured after a long action, in 1805, by the French frigate Ville de Milan. For his gallantry and good conduct in the affair in Boston Harbor, June 1, 1813, although only twenty-two, he was made a commander, received the thanks of the British government, and was soon after given the command of a small ship of war, the youngest officer of the British navy then enjoying that distinction. All this, it should be remembered, happened before the battle of Waterloo was fought, and but a few years later than the death of Lord Nelson at Trafalgar. In 1847 Wallis was appointed aide-de-camp to the queen. Four years later he was made an admiral, and in 1857 was sent out as commander-in-chief on the Atlantic coast of America, hoisting his flag on board the line-of-battle-ship Cumberland.

In 1860 the admiral was created a K. C. B., soon afterward a G. C. B., and in 1863 arrived at full flag rank as admiral of the fleet. As already mentioned, Sir Provo has been for the last six years the father of the British navy. Until a very recent date he was one of the dock commissioners of Southampton, and the venerable sailor is still in the enjoyment of a fair measure of health and strength for a man who is almost as old as the Constitution of the United States, and who was a sturdy lad of nearly nine when George Washington died in the last month of the year 1799.

Among the many souvenirs of his long life of a century there is, perhaps, none that Sir Provo appreciates and values so highly as a beautiful sword presented to him by the commander of the Shannon for his gallantry in the action with the Chesapeake. A few lines concerning this gallant officer and good friend of Sir Provo's will perhaps form a suitable pendant to this brief notice of the aged admiral.

J. Lawrence

Philip Bowes Vere Broke was born at Broke Hall, near Ipswich, September 9, 1776. He was bred to the sea from the age of twelve, and, after passing through all the intermediate grades, was promoted to a captaincy in 1801. He was placed in command of the Shannon six years later, and sailed for Halifax in August, 1811. On the first day of June, 1813, after having sent a challenge to Captain Lawrence, which he never received, and while cruising off Boston, he fell in with the Chesapeake. A severe engagement ensued, during which Lawrence was twice wounded. Broke, at the head of fifty or sixty men, boarded the American frigate, and succeeded in driving the survivors of the crew below, but was himself disabled for life by a blow on the head from the butt-end of a musket. For this victory, which greatly elated the enemy, several of whose frigates we had recently captured, Broke was knighted, and the Tower of London guns were fired. Sir Philip never went to sea again, but lived for nearly three decades the life of an English country gentleman at Broke Hall, and died in London, January 2, 1841.

James Lawrence, who possessed what old Fuller quaintly calls "a handsome man case," and was one of the most gallant officers of the war of 1812, was born at Burlington, N. J., October 1, 1781, being five years younger than Broke. He entered the navy in 1798, and in 1811 attained to the rank of captain. Early in the second war with England, when in command of the Hornet, he won a great victory over the Peacock. After this success, Lawrence was given command of the frigate Chesapeake. A few days after his arrival in Boston the Shannon appeared in the offing, and the Chesapeake immediately went out to meet her. After exchanging a few broadsides, the Chesapeake fouled the Shannon; Lawrence fell mortally wounded, and was carried below, saying, "Don't give up the ship." Captain Broke saw his opportunity and boarded the Chesapeake, whose flag was soon after hauled down. Several incidents of the action show that the crew of the Chesapeake were lacking in discipline. They were for the most part newly shipped and imperfectly trained, while the Shannon was noted for excellent gunnery practice, and her captain had supplied sights for the guns at his own expense. In size and armament there was not much disparity between the ships. Neither was seriously injured during the action, but the loss of the Chesapeake was forty-four killed and ninety-nine wounded, while the Shannon's total loss was only eighty-five. The remains of Lawrence and Ludlow were restored to their country, by whom they were received with public honors and buried in state in Trinity churchyard, New-York city. The bitter disappointment that was caused by the loss of the Chesapeake might have led the public to criticize the conduct of Lawrence in accepting a contest for which he was so poorly prepared, had it not been for his tragic fate and his dying injunction, "Don't give up the ship." If he erred in admitting chivalric traditions into modern warfare, it must not be forgotten that he associated with them both courtesy and humanity in the very highest degree.

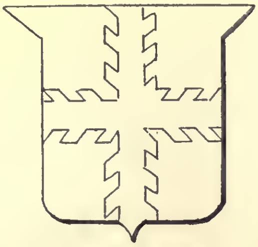
When Lawrence fell, there being no first officer on board the Chesapeake, the command devolved upon Augustus C. Ludlow, the second lieutenant, who was almost immediately mortally wounded, as were also Lieutenant James Broome, U. S. M. C., and Courtlandt Livingston, a midshipman. Ludlow, after the surrender of the frigate, was removed to the Shannon, where he became an object of solicitude to Second Lieutenant Wallis, who left nothing undone to save the life of the young sailor of only twenty-one, Ludlow being but a few months his junior. He was born in Orange County, N. Y., and came of a fighting family, being the youngest of four brothers, all holding commissions in the United States navy. He was with Lawrence in the Hornet when the great victory was gained over the Peacock, and he now shares the same grave with the hero in Trinity churchyard. Justice Story, in his glowing eulogy on Lawrence and Ludlow, well says: "Nor can we forget the gay, the gallant, and noble-hearted Ludlow. Though the history of his life be short, yet it can never be uninteresting to those whose hearts beat high with the love of their country. Scarcely was he twenty-one years of age, when, like the blooming Euryalus, he accompanied his beloved commander to battle. Never could it have been more truly said:

"His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant.

"He was, indeed, worthy of the confidence and friendship of Lawrence. His soul was formed for deeds of active valor and martial enterprise. . . . The bodies of these heroes may molder away and become indistinguishable from the common mass of mortality, but their spirits, we trust, shall repose in the bosom of heaven, and their fame, their spotless fame, shall perish but with the country of their birth."—THE EDITOR, in "Illustrated American," June, 1891.

MORRIS ARMS.

CHAUNCEY ARMS.



LAWRENCE ARMS.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RETURN OF PEACE, AND COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL

1815–1825

THE conduct of New-York city during the war of 1812, in view of the severe blow she had received to her commercial prosperity, was no slight proof of patriotism; for many of her citizens who, at the beginning of the war, were rich, found themselves, when the treaty of peace was signed on December 24, 1814, ruined. The condition in which New-York was at the close of the war, as well as the extravagant demonstrations of joy with which the news of the termination of hostilities was received, is thus graphically described by the late Francis Wayland, president of Brown University, who was an eye-witness of the scene:

John Stevens

"It so chanced that, at the close of the last war with Great Britain, I was temporarily a resident of the city of New-York. The prospects of the nation were shrouded in gloom. We had been, for two or three years, at war with the mightiest nation on earth, and as she had now concluded a peace with the continent of Europe, we were obliged to cope with her single-handed. Our harbors were blockaded; communications coastwise between our ports were cut off; our ships were rotting in every creek and cove where they could find a place of security; our immense annual products were mouldering in our warehouses; the sources of profitable labor were dried up; our currency was reduced to irredeemable paper; the extreme portions of our country were becoming hostile to each other; and differences of political opinion were embittering the peace of every household; the credit of the Government was exhausted; no one could predict when the contest would terminate, or discern the means by which it could much longer be protracted.[1]

"It happened that, on a Sunday afternoon in February, 1815, a ship was discerned in the offing, which was supposed to be a cartel, bringing home our Commissioners at Ghent from their unsuccessful mission. The sun had set gloomily before any intelligence had reached the city. Expectation became painfully intense, as the hours of darkness drew on. At length, a boat reached the wharf, announcing the fact that a treaty of peace had been signed, and was waiting for nothing but the action of our Government to become a law. The men on whose ears these words first fell, rushed in breathless haste into the city, to repeat them to their friends, shouting, as they ran through the streets, 'Peace! Peace! Peace!' Every one who heard the sound repeated it. From house to house, from street to street, the news spread with electric rapidity. The whole city was in commotion. Men, bearing lighted torches, were flying to and fro, shouting like madmen, 'Peace! Peace!' When the rapture had partially subsided, one idea occupied every mind. But few men slept that night. In groups they were gathered in the streets, and by the fireside, beguiling the hours of midnight by reminding each other that the agony of war was over, and that a worn out and distracted country was about to enter again upon its wonted career of prosperity."

PEACE SPREADS HER INFLUENCE O'ER THE ATLANTIC SHORE
CONCORD BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA

MEDAL COMMEMORATING PEACE.

At the time that the news of peace was received, Samuel G. Goodrich happened also to be in the city. Speaking of the joyful effect produced, he adds similar testimony to that of President Wayland. "I had gone in the evening," he writes, "to a concert at the City Hotel. While listening to the music, the door of the concert-room was thrown open, and in rushed a man breathless with excitement. He mounted on a table, and swinging a white handkerchief aloft, cried out, 'Peace! Peace! Peace!' The music ceased; the hall was speedily vacated. I rushed into the street, and oh, what a scene! In a few minutes, thousands and tens of thousands of people were marching about with candles, lamps, torches, making the jubilant street appear like a gay and gorgeous procession. The whole night Broadway sang its song of peace. We were all Democrats, all Federalists! Old enemies rushed into each other's arms; every house was in a revel; every heart seemed melted by a joy which banished all evil thought and feeling. On Monday morning I set out for Connecticut. All along the road the people saluted us with swinging hats and cries of rejoicing. At one place, in rather a lonesome part of the road, a schoolmaster came out with the whole school at his heels to ask us if the news were true. We told him it was; whereupon he tied his bandanna handkerchief to a broom, swung it aloft, and the entire school hosannaed, 'Peace! Peace!'"

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[1] The following lines, entitled "Hard Times," are quoted from a New-York newspaper, published in New-York city at the close of the war of 1812:

"No business stirring, all things at a stand,
People complain they have no cash in hand.
'Dull times' re-echoes now from every quarter,
Even from father to the son and daughter.
Merchants cry out, 'No money to be had,'
Grocers say the 'times are very bad';
Mechanics work, but they can get no pay,
Beaux dress genteel, and ladies, too, are gay.
Cash very scarce, dancing twice a week—
Business dull—amusements still we seek.
Some live awhile, and then, perhaps, they fail,
While many run in debt and go to jail.
The females must have ribbons, gauze, and lace,
And paint besides, to smooth a wrinkled face;
The beaux will dress, go to the ball and play,
Sit up all night, and lay in bed all day,
Brush up an empty pate, look smart and prim,
Follow each trifling fashion or odd whim.
Five shillings will buy a good fat goose,
While turkeys, too, are offered fit for use.
Are those bad times, when persons will profess
To follow fashions, and delight in dress?
No! times are good, but people are to blame,
Who spend too much, and justly merit shame.'

MRS. JOHN MORTON.[1]

Nor were the effects of the peace confined merely to natural outbursts of delirious delight or to sentimental gushes of feeling. An increased material prosperity was at once apparent. Under the changed condition of affairs every industry, as if touched by the wand of an enchanter, awoke to new life and vigor. Instead of "ships rotting in every creek and cove," as so graphically described by Dr. Wayland, the different ship-yards of the city resounded from morning till night with the blow of the hammer, as keel after keel of new vessels was daily laid; in place of our "immense annual products mouldering in our warehouses," vessels could not be built or chartered fast enough to convey these products to foreign consumers; and in lieu of the "sources of profitable industry being dried up," the streets were filled with artisans plying their several vocations, and with laborers going to and from their daily toil. In the counting-houses, where a short time previous a few clerks yawned languidly over their desks, all was bustle and animation, as, briskly engaged with foreign correspondence, their faces beamed with satisfaction at the prospect of services being well requited. New buildings, public and private,

[1] Mrs. Maria Sophia Morton, mother of General Morton, who died at the house of her son-in-law, President Quincy of Harvard University, in 1832, aged ninety-four years. From a portrait made by Charles Balthazar Julien Fèvre de St. Mémin in New-York in 1797. EDITOR.

sprang up in different sections of the city with marvelous celerity; and the wharves, no longer green with mold, and tenanted solely by the water-rat, were lined with ships waiting only for favoring gales to whiten the ocean with their sails, and bear the flag of the United States into ports where for so long it had been unseen and almost totally forgotten. The city, no longer a "deserted village," presented the appearance of an immense hive teeming with human bees, in which no drones were either known or allowed. Squalor had given place to splendor, poverty to affluence; a full tide of prosperity had set in, and shrewd speculators, who knew how to take advantage of its flood, were making rapid fortunes.

Jn: Ferguson[1]

In short, notwithstanding the terrible drain upon the financial resources to which she had been subjected during the war, and the crippling of her commerce, New-York bore the strain nobly. In this same year (1815) Mr. Isaac Bronson, in a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Public," stated the active capital of the banks of the city to be $13,515,000. It may also be truly said of the New-York banks at this period, as well as in 1839, 1857, and the late civil war, that they spared no effort to keep the country on a specie basis, and to avert the calamities which have fallen upon it from excessive issues of paper—a disaster to which the old quotation may fitly be applied:

. . . facilis descensus Averni;
. . . .
Sed revocare gradum, . . .
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

No sooner was the treaty of peace signed than the great continental powers hastened to stretch forth a helping hand to the republic; and every nation in Europe was anxious to solicit her trade. Great Britain alone, chafing under her defeat, remained for a long time sullen, and by unfriendly legislation endeavored to cripple the commerce of the United States in general, and that of New-York city in particular.

Indeed, almost ruined as the city had been by the war, such were her internal resources that she recovered rapidly. On March 26, 1819, the first savings-bank was incorporated. Its name was the "Bank for Savings of the City of New-York," and its plan was devised by John Pintard, to whose sagacity New-York owes so many of its most useful and thriving institutions. The deposits of this savings-bank from July 3 to December 27, 1819, reached the sum of $153,378, representing 1527 depositors. Three years after (1822) the first life insurance was also established in the city, under the name of the "Mechanics' Life Insurance and Coal Company." Its act of incorporation, which bears date February 28 of that year, carried with it the "power to make insurance upon lives, to grant annuities, and to open, find out, discover, and work coal beds within this State." A further example, moreover, of the rapidity with which the city, as well as the United States generally, recovered from the baneful effects of the war may be found in the fact that the amount of revenue collected by the United States government rose from $4,415,362 in 1814, to $37,695,625 in 1815, of which $16,000,000 was derived from the port of New-York alone.[2] In 1816, also, the famous "Black-Ball Line" of packets to Liverpool was established, and in 1824 the line to Havre, the latter employing twelve ships; in addition to which there were weekly lines to Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. The average time taken by the "Black-Ball" packets outward was twenty-two days, and the homeward voyage twenty-nine days. Steam, however, was in a very short time to change the entire mode of ocean navigation, as well as that of land travel.

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[1] The influential political opponents of De Witt Clinton succeeded, in 1815, in displacing him as mayor and having John Ferguson, who was grand sachem of the Tammany Society, appointed in his place. This was done with the understanding that Ferguson was shortly to resign, be made surveyor of the port, and that Jacob Radcliff was to be named as mayor. Accordingly Ferguson occupied the position only from March to June. Radcliff, who had been mayor in 1810, continued in the office till 1818, when Cadwallader David Colden received the appointment. He was the grandson of the lieutenant-governor, and was born at the family seat near Flushing, L. I. The grandfather, and David Colden, the father, were loyalists, the latter removing to England in 1784. The grandson, however, returned, practising law in New-York city, and about 1796 was appointed district attorney. In the war of 1812 he served actively as a colonel of volunteers. Upon relinquishing the mayoralty he was elected a member of Congress. He cordially encouraged all movements for the promotion of educational or industrial objects, published a memoir of the Erie Canal, was superintendent of the Morris Canal, and wrote the life of Robert Fulton, to whom he had given substantial support when so many ridiculed his great invention. Mr. Colden married Maria, youngest daughter of Bishop Provoost, and died in 1834. EDITOR.

MRS. MURRAY'S HOUSE, MURRAY HILL.[1]

The winter of 1817 was unusually severe. As late as February 15 the Hudson River was frozen over from the city to the New Jersey side, so that people crossed on the ice from shore to shore. "Several gentlemen," records the "Evening Post" for February, "set out for a sleigh-ride on the ice from Flushing to Riker's Island, where they arrived in safety. This was the first sleigh that was ever known to visit the island, and, as it passed down the bay, it drew forth numbers of people on the shore to view so singular an event."[1] The succeeding year (1818) also witnessed the same intensity of cold, Long Island Sound being entirely closed by ice between Cold Spring and the Connecticut shore. The Hudson likewise was again frozen so firmly that heavy teams crossed to the Jersey side. Many persons, like the Canadians when the ice-pont forms on the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Point Levi, sought to make gain out of this unusual circumstance. Accordingly, they erected tents on the ice, and sold in them liquor, roasted clams and oysters. An attempt was also made to roast an ox, but the experiment failed, on account of the ice becoming weak near the furnaces where the cooking was done.[2]

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[1] Mrs. Murray was the wife of Robert Murray, and mother of Lindley Murray, the grammarian. Her husband was one of the foremost Quakers in commercial circles in the city. His country-seat (represented above) was near Fourth Avenue and Thirty-seventh street, amid spacious grounds,—the present Grand Central Station occupying what was then one of his corn-fields. It was here that the chief British officers were so charmingly entertained by Mrs. Murray for two hours, while General Putnam with a large detachment of the Continental army, retreating in great haste before a superior force, successfully reached the main body at Harlem Heights. The section of the city from Thirty-fourth to Forty-second streets and from Lexington to Sixth avenues is generally known as Murray Hill. EDITOR.

[2] In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, the total amount of the revenue from customs for the United States was $157,167,722, of which $109,207,786 was received from the port of New-York—more than two thirds of the total amount.

Lindley Murray

In the same year (1818) the legislature of New-York—De Witt Clinton, Governor—ordered the remains of General Montgomery to be removed from Canada to New-York city.[3] This was in accordance

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[1] In this connection it will be recalled that in the winter of 1780–81 the cold was so intense as to freeze the bay solid from New-York city to Staten Island—thus enabling Sir Henry Clinton to bring up heavy artillery from Staten Island to New-York.

[2] An amusing anecdote was told at this time of a certain Jeremiah Batman, around whose tent the ice had become quite thin from the effects of the stove and several days of mild weather. One of his customers, happening to step upon a weak spot outside the tent, broke through, and was struggling in the water, when a friend put his head inside of Batman's tent, saying: "Jerry, there is a man gone down your cellar!" "Is it so?" asked Jerry. "Then it is about time for me to leave these premises." The man, however, was finally extricated, the tent struck, and all were safely taken to the New-York shore on a sled.

On account of this severe winter provisions were considered very dear. At the present day, however,—and let the reader notice in any newspaper the daily prices obtaining in Washington Market, for instance,—the prices that then ruled would be considered remarkably cheap. The following are quotations taken by the writer from the "Columbian" of December 5, 1818:

Best beef, per lb	12½c.
" " " cwt	$7 to $12
Pork, per lb	10c.
" " cwt	$8
Veal, per lb	10c.
Mutton, "	8c.
Turkeys (good), apiece	$1.56
Fowls, per pair	56c.
Geese, apiece	50c. to 56c.
Butter, fresh	33c.
" in firkins	23c. to 26c.
Potatoes, per bbl	56c.
Turnips, " "	31c.
Cabbages, per 1000	$6 to $7
Wood, oak, per load	$2.25
" walnut, "	3.50
" pine, "	1.62½

[3] A correspondent of the New-York "Commercial Advertiser" of July 7, 1818, writing from Quebec, and referring to this event, says: "After resting in peace for forty-two years within the

with the wishes of the Continental Congress, which, in 1776, had voted the beautiful cenotaph to his memory that now stands in the front (or rather the rear[1]) wall of St. Paul's Church in Broadway. When the funeral cortége reached Whitehall, N. Y., the fleet stationed there received it with appropriate honors; and on Saturday, July 4, they arrived in Albany. After lying in state in that city over Sunday, the remains were taken to New-York, and on Wednesday, July 8, deposited, with military honors, in their final resting-place at St. Paul's. Governor Clinton, with that delicacy for which he was always remarkable, had informed Mrs. Montgomery when the steamboat Richmond, with the body of her husband, would pass her mansion on the North River. At her own request, she stood alone on the portico at the moment that the boat passed. It was now more than forty years since she had parted from her husband, and they had been married only two years; yet she had remained as faithful to the memory of her "soldier" (as she always called him) as if alive. The steamboat halted before the mansion, the band played the "Dead March," a salute was fired, and the ashes of the venerated hero and the departed husband passed on. The attendants of the Spartan widow now appeared, but, overcome by the tender emotions of the moment, she had swooned and fallen to the floor.[3]

VAN CORTLANDT SUGAR-HOUSE.[2]

The gallant dead, though surrounded by the turmoil of a busy city,

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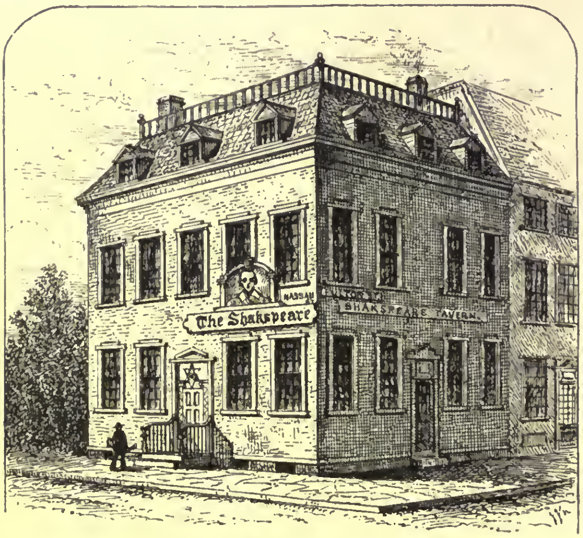
walls and under the sod of this garrison, the skeleton of General Montgomery was on Saturday last raised from its place of deposit, and took its departure for New-York, where it is destined to a more distinguished place of interment in the Church of St. Paul of that city."

[1] It is really the *rear* wall of St. Paul's, since the church was intended when built to *front* on the Hudson River.

[2] The Van Cortlandt sugar-house was used as a prison during the Revolution. It stood adjoining the northwest corner of Trinity churchyard. Of the three sugar-houses which became historic by reason of this usage, Livingston's, on Liberty street, was destroyed in 1840; Van Cortlandt's was demolished in 1852; and Rhinelander's, as noted in the preceding volume, was not torn down till the present year — 1892. EDITOR.

[3] Janet Livingston, the sister of the distinguished Chancellor Livingston, and the wife of General Montgomery, met the latter when he was a captain in the British army, on his way to a distant frontier post. The meeting left mutual tender impressions. Returning to England soon after, Montgomery disposed of his commission, and, emigrating to New-York, married the object of his attachment. But their visions of anticipated happiness, upon a farm at Rhinebeck-on-the-Hudson, were soon ended. He was called upon to serve as one of the eight brigadier-generals in the Continental army. He accepted sadly and with misgivings, declaring that "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." His excellent wife made no opposition; and, accompanying him as far as Saratoga (now Schuylerville, N. Y.), received his last assurance, "You shall never have cause to blush for your Montgomery." Nor did she; for he fell bravely at Quebec. In person General Montgomery was tall, graceful, and of manly address. At the time of his death he was only thirty-nine years of age. Shortly after the occurrence narrated in the text Mrs. Montgomery wrote to a niece as follows: "However gratifying to my feelings, every pang I felt was renewed. The pomp with which the funeral was conducted added to my woe. When the steamboat passed with slow and solemn movement, stopping before my house, the troops under arms, the dead march from the muffled drum, the mournful music, the splendid coffin canopied with crape and crowned with plumes—you may conceive my anguish, I cannot describe it. Such voluntary honors were never before paid to an individual by a Republic, and to Governor Clinton's munificence much is owing."

is still (1892) permitted to rest beneath the turf made radiant by the unsullied blossoms of early spring. The brave Wolfe, who fell on nearly the same spot sixteen years previous, sleeps within the splendid mausoleum of Westminster Abbey. But as we stand over the unpretentious grave of Montgomery, we recall the quaint and beautiful language of Osborne: "He that lieth under the herse of heavenne is convertible into sweet herbs and flowers, that maye rest in bosoms that wolde shrink from the ugly bugs which may be found crawling in the magnificent tomb of Henry the VII."


NASSAU
The Shakspeare
FULTON ST.
SHAKSPEARE TAVERN.

THE SHAKESPEARE TAVERN.[1]

On February 22, 1819, a grand ball was given by the Fourteenth Regiment, in honor of General Andrew Jackson, at the City Hotel.[2] The ball was attended by the general in person, and was far ahead, in elegance and brilliancy, of anything of the kind before known in the city. The large dining-room of the hotel was crowded, and the toast "To General Jackson: so long as the Mississippi rolls its waters to the ocean, so long may his great name and glorious deeds be remembered," was replied to by the general, who proposed "De Witt Clinton, Governor of the great and patriotic State of New-York," to the utter confusion of the "Bucktails," who regarded Clinton as their bitterest foe. General Jackson, perfectly independent of all parties, had conceived a great admiration for Mr. Clinton, although he was at that time personally unacquainted with him—hence the toast. Upon this toast being given, the greatest confusion ensued, amid which the general left the room.[1]

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[1] The Shakespeare Tavern stood on the corner of Fulton and Nassau streets, where, until lately, was situated the "Commercial Advertiser" building, recently destroyed by fire. "It was originally a low, old-fashioned, massive edifice, built of small, yellow bricks, two stories high, with dormer-windows on the roof. . . . The building was erected many years before the Revolution, but in 1822 a modern extension on Fulton street, three stories high, was added. Thomas Hodgkinson, whose brother John was at one time manager of the Old Park Theater, bought the house in 1808, and under him it soon became and long continued a great resort for the wits of the day. . . . The 'Shakespeare Tavern,' in fact, was to New-York what the 'Mermaid' was to London in the days of Shakespeare, or later the 'St. James Coffee-house,' and the 'Turk's Head,' in the time of Reynolds, Garrick, and Goldsmith. . . . Here De Witt Clinton was wont to discuss his pet project, the Erie Canal; here Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Sands, and Percival, and Paulding, and Willis Gaylord Clark met in social converse, and passed many a merry jest and brilliant repartee. . . . Henceforth let no one say that New-York has no memories save those of the temples of the money-changer." (History of New-York City, by William L. Stone, Jr., pp. 488–490.) The Shakespeare Tavern, upon the death of Hodgkinson, passed into the hands of his relative, James C. Stoneall, "by whom the interior was remodeled and modernized, and it continued to maintain its wonderful reputation and popularity until the building was demolished in 1836. For more than a quarter of a century the Shakespeare Tavern was a favorite place of resort of the first citizens of the city, and was distinguished for the superior character of its refreshments and the quiet comfort which pervaded the entire establishment. Merchants, politicians, and artists of distinction gathered, by day and by night, beneath its hospitable roof, and it was the acknowledged military headquarters of all the leading organizations in the city" (History of the Seventh Regiment of New-York, by Colonel Emmons Clark). EDITOR.

[2] The City Hotel, the principal public house in the city, and called before and during the Revolution the City Tavern, belonged to the De Lan-

Mrs E C Genet presents her
Compliments to Mr Little

Nor was this ball the only compliment paid to Jackson. On his first arrival in the city he was received with great éclat by the municipal authorities, and with well-deserved honors at the hands of the people. A military review was given him on the Battery, and the freedom of the city in a gold box in the park. He was afterward escorted by a regiment of cavalry to visit the venerable General Ebenezer Stevens, then living, at an advanced age, on Long Island, near Hell Gate. Stevens had commanded the American artillery during the battles preceding the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and Jackson had defeated Sir Edward Packenham and a greatly superior force at New Orleans. More than half a century had elapsed between the two great events, and the visit of the young and popular general was a graceful compliment paid to the venerable warrior of another age.

cey estate, and was situated on the west side of Broadway, occupying the present site between Cedar and Thames streets. It is said that John Adams, when a delegate to the first Continental Congress, stopped here on his way through New-York to Philadelphia. It then bore the sign of "The Bunch of Grapes." During the Revolutionary war it was also known by the name of "Rubalet's," and was a great and favorite resort of the military. In 1784 it passed into the hands of John Cape, and was called in his advertisements the "State Arms of New-York." The house had a large ball-room where dancing assemblies were held, as were also subscription balls under the direction of managers. The assemblies were renewed at the close of the Revolution, the first being held on the evening of Thursday, December 18, 1783. The celebrated loyalist editor, James Rivington, in announcing this ball, stated that he had "for sale a supply of white dancing gloves for gentlemen, silk stockings, dress swords and elegant London cocked hats." It was sarcastically remarked at the time that these "were probably the stock of the outgoing officers of the British army."

[1] Conversations by the writer with the late General Prosper M. Wetmore. This ball called forth several squibs and criticisms from "Croaker" (the editor of which was Fitz-Greene Halleck, the celebrated "quiz" and satirist of that day). In the first number of the "Croaker" appeared the following lines by Drake:

> "I 'm sick of General Jackson's toast;
> Canals are naught to me;
> Nor do I care who rules the roast,
> Clinton or John Targee."

Halleck, also, took his full share in the fun. One of his earliest contributions to the "Croaker," entitled "The Freedom of the City in a gold box to a great General," is in his happiest vein. One stanza from another of his productions on the same topic is here given. The poem is entitled "The Secret Mine, sprung at a late supper."

> "The songs were good, for Mead and Hawkins sung 'em,
> The wine went round, 't was laughter all and joke;
> When crack! the General sprung a mine among 'em,
> And beat a safe retreat amid the smoke.
> As fall the sticks of rockets when you fire 'em,
> So fell the Bucktails at that toast accurst,
> Looking like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,
> When the firm earth beneath their footsteps burst."

The following year (1820) witnessed the burning of the old Park Theater (on Park Row, near Ann Street),[1] which occurred on May 25 of that year; and such was the fierceness of the fire that scarcely an article of the wardrobe or the scenery was saved. The flames were so brilliant as to illuminate the entire city, causing the tall spires of Trinity and St. Paul's to stand out in bold relief against the sky. In a very few minutes after the alarm was first given, thousands of the citizens had gathered upon the housetops gazing mournfully upon the scene. The fire department, conscious of the numerous witnesses of its efforts, exerted itself nobly, but to no avail, and the following morning showed nothing but charred ruins. Nor was the sadness with which this calamity was received unreasonable. No spot at that time was surrounded by such hallowed associations, nor consecrated by so many endeared recollections, as the old Park Theater. Here had Prospero and Caliban, summoned by the wild fancy of Shakespeare, hushed the assembled multitude to silence; or, again, Dogberry convulsed them with laughter. It was at this place that that curious scheme of a "Beefsteak Society" — modeled after its celebrated prototype in London — was first devised by the witty harlequin Rich. Here were held the adjourned meetings of the "Shakespeare Tavern," and the "Belvedere Club,"[2] and, in "ye olden tyme," were seen on its boards, Kemble, Babcock, Ludlow, Seton, Hoffman, Kean, Mathews, and the elder Booth. Upon its stage, also, were performed for the first time in America many of the plays of the most distinguished writers whose names were then, as they are now, household words. Sheridan's "School for Scandal," Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," and Charles Lamb's most witty productions were here first introduced to an American audience. Within its walls, also, diplomatists, authors, scholars, and men celebrated in every department of life had come to pass away a leisure hour, and while doing so had gleaned many hints that have contributed greatly to their success. That its loss was greatly deplored is evident from the tone of the newspaper press after the event. "But why," said a New-York newspaper in commenting upon and apostrophizing its loss the day after, "dwell longer upon the event? Thy shrine, around which poets, statesmen and philosophers have loved to linger — the home of the muses, the delight of the gay — no longer meets and cheers our vision. Thy sacred walls, within which have so often been gathered the choicest spirits of the time, have crumbled beneath the hand of the destroyer. No longer shall our citizens be permitted to drink from thy classic fountains the sparkling intellectual draughts which thou, a second Ganymede, wast wont to serve; nor shall they ever again gaze upon thy Ionic portals. Yet, it was something noble; it was in harmony with thy character to perish thus gloriously. Time, with his mouldering fingers, was not allowed to pollute thee with his touch, nor yet to wither thy unfading laurels. Think not that thou shalt be forgotten! Thy site is classic ground! Every stone of thee is immortal. Like the Dragon's teeth of old, thy ruins shall rise instinct with life, proclaiming thy undying fame. Thou shalt be a household word which children shall lisp around the hearth and fireside; and as succeeding ages shall roll away, and the ivy clings to thy mouldering towers, so shall the minds of men cling to thy memory and embalm thee in their heart of hearts."

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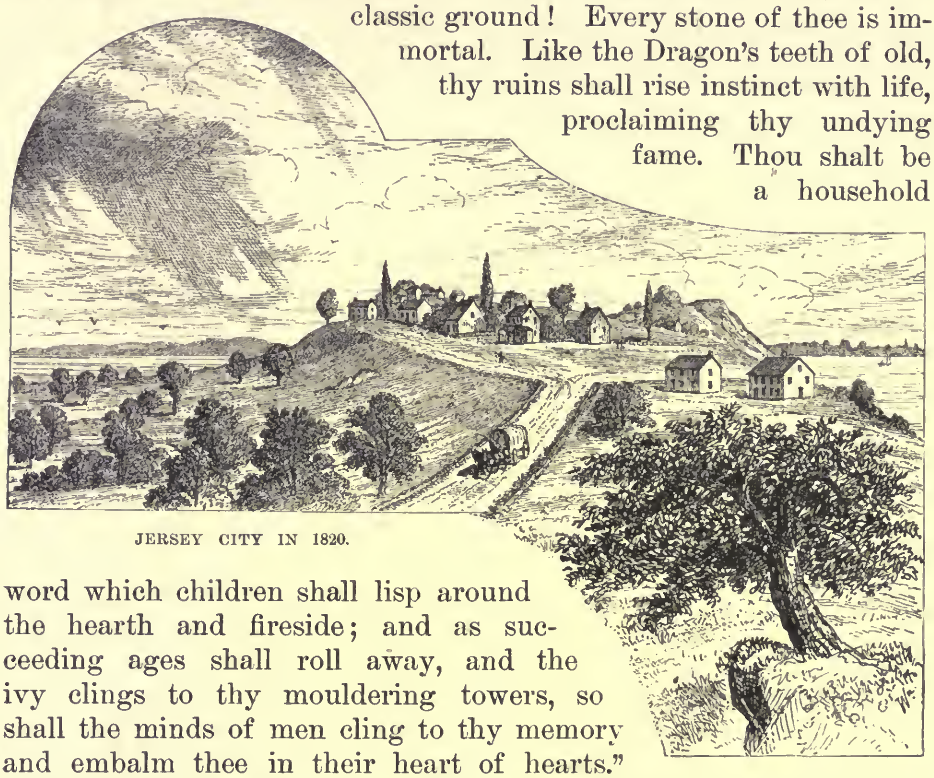
[1] Opened on January 29, 1798.

[2] Erected in 1792, at the corner of Cherry and Montgomery streets. The club building comprised a ball-room with a music-gallery, bar-room and bedrooms, and had a large balcony from which there was a beautiful view of the East River and Long Island. Attached to the house were bowling-alleys with gravel walks and shrubbery elegantly laid out and cared for. It was a fashionable and popular resort.



JERSEY CITY IN 1820.

The writer's prophecy was not, however, destined to be fulfilled, for the ivy of which he so feelingly speaks had not even time to take root—much less to cling to its "mouldering towers"—before a new theater arose, the succeeding year, upon its site, the builders of which were John Jacob Astor and John K. Beekman.[1] On account, however, of the yellow fever, it was soon afterward closed, and so remained until the autumn of 1822, when it was again opened by the appearance of the justly distinguished actor Mathews. In commenting upon this event, the New-York "Commercial Advertiser" of November 8, 1822, says: "We last night paid our dollar to witness this gentleman's far-famed exhibitions, and confess that we do not regret the time or the money spent. The house was so crowded that it was with great difficulty we could procure a seat, and amidst so large an audience we could not discover even a whisper of disapprobation. Mr. Mathews played 'Goldfinch' in the 'Road to Ruin.' The popular farce of 'Monsieur Tonson' was performed for the first time, and Mr. Mathews supported the principal character with great éclat. His comic songs and imitations were the best we ever heard; and in consequence of his variations, on being encored, the audience seemed disposed to sit all night and enjoy this species of entertainment."[2] See picture on the opposite page.

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[1] Mr. Beekman and Mr. Astor were joint proprietors of the Park Theater. The former, from his love of theatricals, was familiarly known as "Theater Jack." EDITOR.

Stephen Allen[1]

The winter of 1820–21, like that of 1817–18, was one of exceptional severity. Indeed, for many years previous such intense and steady cold weather had not been known—even within the memory of that mythical individual, "the oldest inhabitant." A New-York newspaper of that day,—the "American" for January 22, 1821,—speaking of this, says: "The weather, after twenty-one days of steady cold, began to moderate on Saturday afternoon (the 20th). On Saturday morning, Long Island Sound was crossed upon the ice from Sands' Point to the opposite shore, a distance of eight miles. The price of oak wood was up to five dollars a load, Saturday."[3] Three days afterward the same paper states: "The cold still continues intense: both the North and East Rivers were crossed on the ice; and the bay is nearly filled with floating ice, which will probably be closed by another cold night, and our harbor shut up for the first time in forty years."[4] On the next day: "The North River continues to be crossed with safety on the ice; the distance between the two shores has been measured and found to be a mile from [the foot of] Cortlandt street to Powle's Hook [Paulus Hook, Jersey City].[5] The Ho-

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[1] The mayor at this time was Stephen Allen, who held the place in 1821 and 1822. He began life as a sailmaker, engaged later in mercantile pursuits, and having acquired considerable wealth, was thenceforth identified with financial enterprises. After he ceased to be mayor he was elected State senator, serving many years, and making himself especially useful as a member of the Court of Errors, although without professional legal training. "The natural talent of Mr. Allen was such as at once to give him clear and distinct views of the most subtle questions brought before the court." At the age of eighty years he died, in 1852, having enjoyed for some years retirement from both business and political life, years chiefly spent at his beautiful country-seat at Hyde Park on the Hudson. EDITOR.

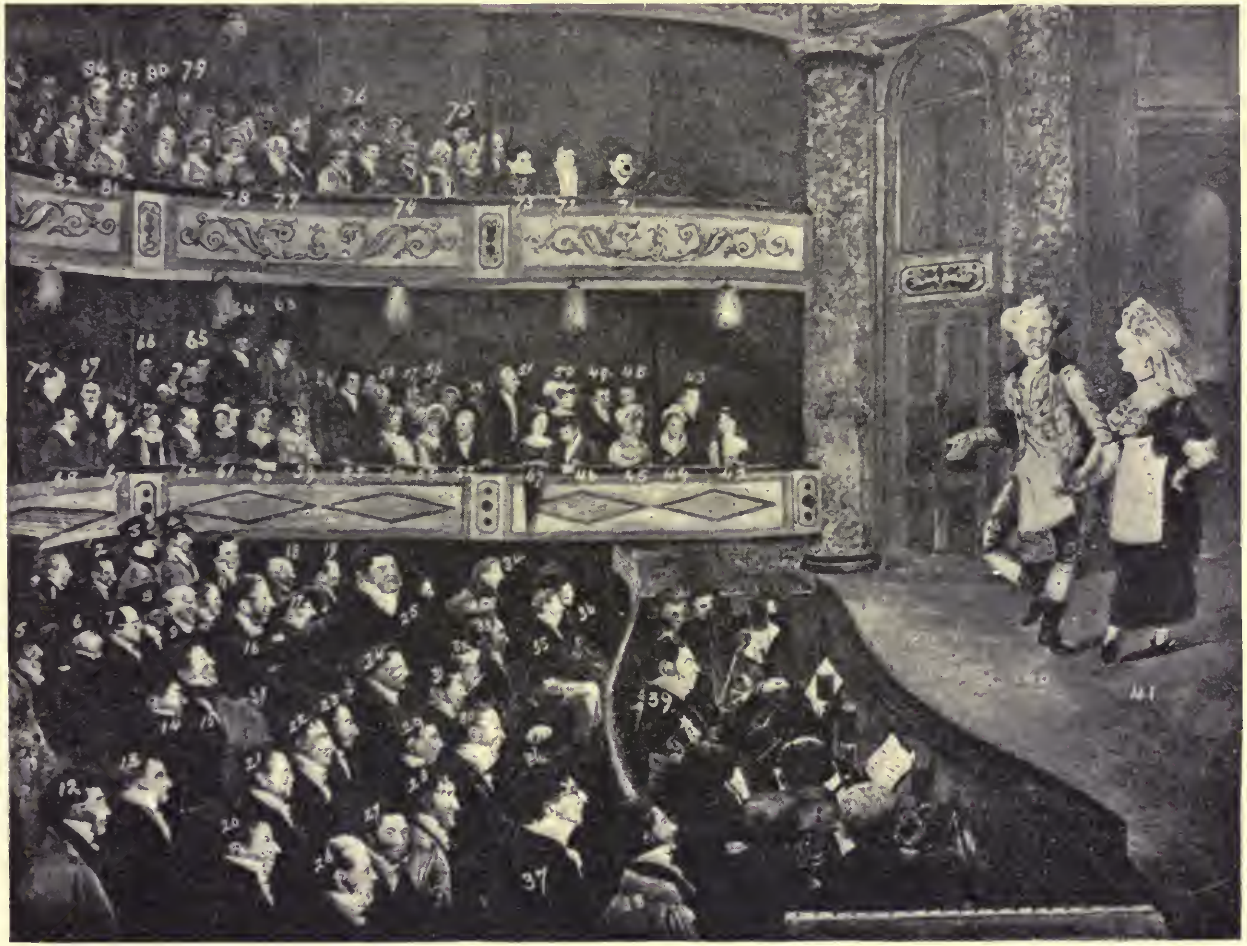
[2] There is at the present time (1892) a water-color painting in the possession of the New-York Historical Society which is of local historical value. The reproduction on the opposite page is accompanied by a key. All of the audience are intended for likenesses; and among them are Dr. and Mrs. Samuel L. Mitchill, William Bayard, Henry Brevoort, James Kirke Paulding, and other prominent New-Yorkers. Fitz-Greene Halleck, a great lover of the theater, is omitted from the picture, owing to his absence in Europe at the time it was taken. EDITOR.

[3] Compare this with previous note (p. 300), where oak wood is quoted at $2.25 a load.

[4] Referring to the last time (1781) when, as mentioned in a previous note, the bay was frozen from the Battery to Staten Island, allowing Sir Henry Clinton to bring up on the ice from that island to the city his heavy artillery. Still, it should be remembered that often since then our harbor and river would have been closed were it not for our ferry-boats day and night constantly passing from shore to shore, and thus breaking up the ice.

[5] Since then, Jersey City has been filled in for two blocks from the original Paulus Hook to the present Hudson street. Hence the width of the river, from ferry to ferry, is, perhaps, five hundred feet less than a mile.

1 Nicholas G. Rutgers,
2 William H. Robinson,
3 Charles G. Smedburg,
4 Robert G. L. De Peyster,
5 Alexander Hosack,
6 Dr. John Neilson,
7 Dr. John W. Francis,
8 Castle Rotto,
9 Thomas Bibby,
10 John I. Boyd,
11 Joseph Fowler,
12 Francis Barretto,
13 Gouverneur S. Bibby,
14 Thomas W. C. Moore,
15 James Allport,
16 Walter Livingston,
17 Dr. John Watts,
18 James Farquhar,
19 James Mackey,
20 Henry N. Cruger,
21 John Lang,
22 William Bell,
23 Mordecai M. Noah,
24 Hugh Maxwell,
25 William H. Maxwell,
26 James Seaton,
27 Thomas F. Livingston,
28 Andrew Drew,
29 William Wilkes,
30 Charles Farquhar,
31 Pierre C. Van Wyck,
32 John Searle,
33 John Berry,
34 Robert Gillespie,
35 Edmund Wilkes,
36 Hamilton Wilkes,
37 Captain Hill,
38 Robert Watts,
39 George Gillingham,
40 Charles Mathews,
41 Miss Ellen A. Johnson,
42 Mrs. Gelston, *née* Jones,



INTERIOR OF THE PARK THEATER, NEW-YORK, NOVEMBER 7, 1822.
FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE PAINTED BY JOHN SEARLE FOR WILLIAM BAYARD, ESQ.

43 Maltby Gelston,
44 Mrs. De Witt Clinton, *née* Jones,
45 Mrs. Newbold, *née* LeRoy,
46 William Bayard, Jr.,
47 Miss Ogden,
48 Duncan P. Campbell,
49 Jacob H. LeRoy,
50 Mrs. Daniel Webster,
51 William Bayard,
52 Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill,
53 Mrs. S. L. Mitchill,
54 Mrs. James Fairlie,
55 Dr. David Hosack,
56 James Watson,
57 Dr. Hugh McLean,
58 John Charnaud,
59 Miss Wilkes,
60 Mrs. C. D. Colden, *née* Wilkes,
61 Mrs. Robert Lenox,
62 David S. Kennedy,
63 John K. Beekman,
64 Robert Lenox,
65 Cadwallader D. Colden,
66 Swift Livingston,
67 Henry Brevoort,
68 James W. Gerard,
69 James K. Paulding,
70 Henry Carey,
71 Edward Price,
72 Stephen Price,
73 Capt. John B. Nicholson,
74 Thomas Parsons,
75 Herman LeRoy, Jr.,
76 William LeRoy,
77 Herman LeRoy,
78 Mrs. Eliza Talbot,
79 Alexander C. Hosack,
80 Robert Dyson,
81 Mrs. Samuel Jones,
82 Judge Samuel Jones,
83 Dr. James Pendleton,
84 Mrs. Pendleton, *née* Jones.

boken ferry-boat, with fifty-seven persons and twenty-three horses on board, drifted, on Wednesday evening, below Governor's Island, and was enclosed in the ice, where she now remains. The people suffered much from the cold during the night, although none were frozen." The same paper, also, on January 27 says: "More than a thousand persons crossed the North River on the ice; produce of every kind was taken over in sleds; and hundreds were seen skating in the middle of the river. There came up, also, yesterday, from Staten Island, on the ice, a boat and seven men, viz.: John Vanderbilt,[1] A. Laurence, William Drake, Lewis Farnham, Robert Davis, and Mr. Wainwright. The mail for Staten Island was yesterday taken down over the ice by Daniel Simonson and Joseph Seguine. Many persons at the same time walked from Long Island to Staten Island,—such a circumstance has not been witnessed before since the winter of 1780–81, when heavy ordnance were conveyed on the ice from Staten Island to New-York." This protracted cold weather caused much suffering among the poor, and led to the establishment of soup-houses, through the generosity of many of the butchers. Collections were also taken up in the churches for the benefit of the suffering, one of which is noticed in a newspaper as amounting to the very handsome sum of $2106.46.[2]

Jac. Brown

In the successive years of its existence, the city of New-York had been visited by war, and fire, and famine; and now the scourge of pestilence was to be added. In 1819 the city was visited by yellow fever, which shortly disappeared, only to return with increased violence in the fall of 1822. J. Hardie, in his account of the fever at this time, writes: "Saturday, the 24th of August, our city presented the appearance of a town besieged. From daybreak till night one line of carts, containing boxes, merchandise, and effects, were seen moving towards 'Greenwich Village' and the upper parts of the city. Carriages and hacks, wagons and horsemen, were scouring the streets and filling the roads: persons, with anxiety marked on their countenances, and with hurried gait, were hustling through the streets. Temporary stores and offices were erecting, and even on the ensuing day (Sunday) carts were in motion, and the saw and hammer busily at work. Within a few days thereafter, the custom-house, the post-office, the banks, the insurance offices, and the printers of newspapers located themselves in the village, or in the upper part of Broadway, where they were free from the impending danger; and these places almost instantaneously became the seat of the immense business usually carried on in the great metropolis."[1] "You cannot conceive," writes Colonel William L. Stone, at that time editor of the New-York "Commercial Advertiser," under date of September 26, 1822, to his wife, then at Saratoga Springs, "the distressing situation we are in, and also the whole town. The fever is worse every hour. I saw the hearse pass the office an hour ago with seven sick in it. Thus the dead are carried to the grave, and the sick out of town—to die—on the same melancholy carriages." And again, about a month after, he writes, under date of October 10, to his wife as follows: "As to the fever, my dear Susan, I cannot say that it is any better. On the contrary, it rages sadly, and grows worse every hour. There are many sick and dying, especially in the lower part of the city, who would not move, and the physicians will not visit them. I know several who have died without a physician. Old Mr. Taylor, for instance (soap and candles, Maiden Lane), would not move, and is now in his grave." On the nineteenth of the same month, he writes again to his wife: "I believe I told you in my last letter that I did not think the fever was any better. The result has proved the correctness of what I wrote. The disease rages with fresh violence, as you will perceive by the reports in the 'Commercial' which I send to you by this same mail. When it will please heaven to cause it to abate, is more than mortal can tell. A severe, nipping frost, I have no doubt, will check it, and yet I hope that we shall be able to remove back [*i. e.*, from Greenwich Village] by the first of next month." The cold weather of 1822 and 1823, however, did not, as the writer hoped, check the disease; and during the succeeding summer its ravages became so frightful that all who could fled the city. Colonel Stone, however, remained at his post, and fortunately escaped the disease. During this dread time, however, business was entirely suspended; and, like the time of the plague in London (so graphically described by De Foe), the city presented the appearance literally of a deserted city—with no sounds save the rumbling of the hearses, as, at the dead of night, they passed through the empty streets to collect the tribute of the grave. By November 2, 1823, however, the fever had disappeared; the inhabitants again returned to their homes; the banks and the custom-house, which had been removed during the fever to Greenwich Village,[1] on the outskirts of the city, moved back to their customary places; and business and social intercourse once more flowed in their accustomed channels.

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[1] The father of the late Cornelius Vanderbilt.

[2] "The Market Book," by Thomas F. Devoe.

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[1] The visits of the yellow fever in 1798, 1799, and 1805 tended much to increase the formation of a village near the Spring street market, and one, also, near the State prison; but the fever of 1822 built up many streets with numerous wooden buildings, for the use of the merchants, banks (from which Bank street took its name), offices, etc.; and the celerity of putting up those buildings is better told by the Rev. Mr. Marcellus, who informed me that "he saw corn growing on the present corner of Hammond and Fourth streets, on a Saturday morning, and on the following Monday 'Sykes & Niblo' had a house erected capable of accommodating three hundred boarders." Even the Brooklyn ferry-boats ran up here daily. "The Market Book," by Thomas F. Devoe.

The two following years (1824, 1825) were to witness two august celebrations in New-York city. The first was in the summer of 1824, on the occasion of the second visit of General Lafayette to the United States, in his sixty-eighth year; and the second was in honor of the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, by which the waters of Lake Erie were connected with those of the Atlantic.

THE LAFAYETTE MEDAL.

On Sunday, August 15, General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and his secretary, Auguste Le Vasseur, arrived in New-York bay in the ship Cadmus. As the ship passed through the Narrows a salute was fired from Fort Lafayette, and the national flag was immediately hoisted and displayed during the day on all the public buildings in the city. On landing at Staten Island, the august guest was conducted to the country residence of Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice-President of the United States, where he spent the day receiving calls.

Lafayette had no idea, not even a suspicion, of the welcome which awaited him on this side of the Atlantic. At least, such is the inference, not only from the statement of Lafayette to my father, the late William L. Stone, but from an incident told by one of the actors in it to Mayne Reid, by whom, in turn, it was narrated to the writer. Lafayette had left France after nearly half a century's absence from the United States, and without any intimation that he was to have a public reception in America. The gentleman who gave the narration to Captain Reid—a well-known Boston merchant—chanced to be a fellow-passenger on the voyage, which was made in a packet-ship sailing from the port of Havre.[1]

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[1] Now known as Charles and Bank streets. This accounts for the irregularity of the streets in that portion of the city, these streets being the same as when it was a village.

While crossing the Atlantic, this gentleman had many opportunities of conversing with the French marquis and his son Washington. All on board knew that our old ally, though a nobleman, was not rich; and, in his conversations with his fellow-passengers, he showed himself very solicitous as to his pecuniary means, making many inquiries about the prices of living and traveling in America, and seemed very anxious on this account, as if fearing that his purse might not be sufficient for a very extended tour of travel through the United States. Indeed, the Americans who were on board the packet, having been long absent from their country, had themselves no idea of the grand honors in store for their distinguished fellow-passenger. The gentleman, in his subsequent conversation with Captain Reid, admitted that he himself had no conception of what was to happen, and did occur, on this side. Feeling an interest in Lafayette, he had invited him and his son, in the event of their visiting Boston, to make his house their home. In due time the French packet came in sight of the American coast, and lay to at Sandy Hook, waiting for a favorable wind to enter the bay of New-York. Near the Narrows she was approached by a rowboat, in which were two gentlemen in plain civilian dress, who, after holding a private conference with the captain, reëntered their small boat and put off. No one on board the packet, except the skipper himself, knew to what the conference related.

J. Armstrong

After passing through the Narrows and coming alongside of Staten Island, the French ship cast anchor. This was a surprise to the passengers, who supposed they were going directly to the city. They were consequently chagrined at being thus delayed after their long sea voyage, and many were heard to murmur at it. While in this mood they observed a long line of vessels coming down the bay.

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[1] The Congress of the United States, some months before, upon learning that it was the intention of Lafayette to visit this country, had unanimously passed a resolution inviting him to our shores, and directing that a national ship should be held in readiness for his conveyance whenever it should suit his convenience to embark. This honor, however, the marquis declined, and took passage from Havre to New-York on July 13, 1824.

There were steamboats and sailing craft of all kinds, forming a considerable fleet. They were following one another, with manned yards, and flags flying, and bands of music (entirely impromptu), as if upon some gala procession. The passengers on board the French packet were surprised — Lafayette not the least. "What does it mean?" asked the marquis. No one could make answer. "Some grand anniversary of your Republic, *messieurs*," was the conjecture of Lafayette. Finally, about noon, the gaily decked vessels approached; and it was seen that they were all making for the French ship, around which they soon gathered. Presently one of the steamboats came alongside, and a number of gentlemen dressed in official costume stepped on board the Cadmus. Among them were General Jacob Morton, William Paulding, the mayor of the city,[2] and several members of the common council. Not until they had been some time on the deck of the packet and her captain had introduced them to Lafayette, did the modest old soldier know that a grand ceremonial was preparing for himself. The tears fell fast from his eyes as he received their congratulations; and, on shaking hands with his fellow-passenger — the Boston merchant and the narrator of this to Mayne Reid — at parting, he said: "*Monsieur:* I shall love New-York so well that I may never be able to get away from it to pay you a visit in Boston. *Pardieu!* This grand *Republique* — this great people!"[3]

BAYARD PUNCH-BOWL.[1]

The object of this early call upon the marquis — before he had landed — was to exchange greetings, and to communicate to him informally the plan that had been made for his reception on the next day. The following arrangements were published in the New-York morning papers of Monday: "Arrangements of the Corporation for the Reception of the Marquis de Lafayette: The Committee of Arrangements of the Corporation have the pleasure to announce to their fellow-citizens the arrival of the distinguished guest of their country, the Marquis de Lafayette. The following are the arrangements made for his reception in the City. The Committee of Arrangements of the Corporation, the Generals, and other officers of the United States Army, the officers of the Navy, the Major-Generals and the Brigadier-Generals of the Militia, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the committee from the Society of the Cincinnati, will proceed, at nine o'clock this morning, the 16th, to Staten Island, where the Marquis is lodged, and escort him to the City. They will be accompanied to the Battery by the steamboats, all with decorations; except that in which the Marquis is embarked, which will only have the flag of the United States and the State flag of New-York, bands of music being on each. The embarkation of the Marquis will be announced by a salute from Fort Lafayette and the steam-ship Robert Fulton. The forts in the harbor will also salute as the boats pass. The masters of vessels are requested to hoist their flags at mast-head, and, when convenient, to dress their vessels. The bells of the city will be rung from twelve to one o'clock. The committee request that no carriages or horses, excepting those attached to the military and the procession, appear south of Chambers on Broadway, Marketfield Street or Whitehall Street, between the hours of eleven and two. The portrait-room in the City Hall is appointed to the use of the Marquis, where, during his stay, he will, after this day, between the hours of twelve and two, receive the visits of such of the citizens as are desirous of paying their respects to him."

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[1] This beautiful punch-bowl, belonging to Col. John Bayard, and now in the possession of his descendant, Mrs. Jas. Grant Wilson, was frequently used in entertaining Washington, Lafayette, and other Revolutionary worthies. It is in perfect preservation. EDITOR.

[2] William Paulding received his first appointment as mayor in the year 1823. He served also during 1824, and again in the years 1826 and 1827. He was a nephew of that John Paulding of Tarrytown who made himself famous by the capture of Major André, and the refusal of the great bribe which the latter offered for his release. Mayor Paulding was born at Tarrytown, came to New-York about 1795, engaging in the profession of the law, and soon established a lucrative practice. Early in the present century he married a daughter of Philip Rhinelander. During the war of 1812, Mr. Paulding was earnest in his efforts to awaken a military spirit among the citizens, and he rose to the rank of brigadier-general of militia. He was elected to Congress in 1811, but his military duties prevented him from attending the last session. He resided in one of the finest blocks in the city, known as Paulding's row, in Jay street, on the corner of Greenwich. In his old age he retired to his country-seat on the Hudson, near Tarrytown, where he died in 1854. EDITOR.

[3] It is pleasant to know, as a sequel to this, that when Lafayette visited Boston, he was a guest at dinner with his old friend the "Boston merchant."

James Tallmadge

In accordance with this programme, about half-past twelve o'clock, the entire naval procession got under way, and proceeded to the city. The embarkation at Staten Island was announced by a salute from the shore, which was responded to by Fort Lafayette, and by the steamship Robert Fulton. The beauty and interest of the scene which the vessels afforded to the thousands of spectators, who were viewing it from the Battery, can be better imagined than described. The steamboat Chancellor Livingston, with her venerable and honored passenger, was escorted up the bay by the splendid steamship Robert Fulton, manned by two hundred United States sailors from the Navy-yard, and the steamboats Oliver Ellsworth, Connecticut, Olive Branch, and Nautilus, each having on board a large party of ladies and gentlemen and a band of music—the whole forming, as they approached the city, one of the most imposing and splendid of aquatic spectacles. The lofty appearance of the steamship Robert Fulton, as she proudly "walked the waters," leading the van of the procession,—her yards manned by sailors, and elegantly dressed from the water to the tops of her masts with the flags and signals of all nations,—presented a sight which not only was never forgotten by those who witnessed it, but which has never been excelled nor even approached (with the single exception of that of the Erie Canal) by any aquatic procession since.[1] The ship Cadmus, towed by the steamboats, brought up the rear, her towering spars decorated in the most elegant and fanciful manner with flags and signals. She moved majestically, as if conscious of the veneration which was being testified for the noble patriot she had conveyed to our shores. As the procession passed Governor's Island an appropriate salute was fired from the guns of Castle Williams.

On arriving in the city, the marquis landed at Castle Garden on carpeted stairs prepared for the occasion, and under an arch richly decorated with flags and wreaths of laurel. On stepping ashore, a major-general's salute was fired from a battery of field artillery, a national salute from the revenue-cutter and from the United States brig Shark, at anchor off the Battery, and one from Fort Columbus. Upon entering Castle Garden, the marquis was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from the assembled thousands, and salutations from a large number of the friends of his youth; thence he proceeded with the committee and the military and naval officers to review the troops drawn up in line under the command of Major-General James Benedict. The muster was, on this occasion, unusually full and splendid, the corps vying with one another in paying a tribute of respect to the soldier of the Revolution—the friend and companion of Washington. After the review the marquis entered a barouche, drawn by four horses, and was driven up Broadway to the City Hall. The houses to the roofs all along the line, on both sides of that street, were filled with spectators, and the sidewalks were also occupied by a dense crowd; and to the incessant huzzas of the multitude, graceful females signified their welcome by the silent, but not less grateful and affecting testimony of the waving of handkerchiefs. Never on any previous occasion had there been witnessed such a spontaneous outburst of respect and affection, nor such a universal assemblage of the beauty, fashion, and splendor of the city.[1]

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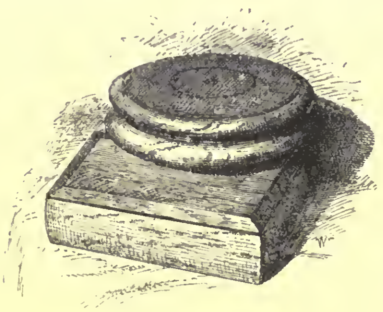
[1] This statement is entirely within bounds—the spectacle on the occasion of the centennial of Washington's inauguration, and the Columbus celebration of 1892, not excepted.

Upon arriving at the City Hall, the marquis was conducted to the common-council chamber, where the corporation of the city were assembled. The members rose at his entrance, and their chairman, Alderman George Zabriskie, introduced him to the mayor, who welcomed the city's guest in an appropriate speech. At its conclusion Lafayette responded as follows:



SNUFF-BOXES.[2]

> SIR: While I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New-York and their worthy representatives, I feel myself overburdened with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore, after so long an absence; the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions no more to be found on this land; the pleasure to recognize those who survive; this immense concourse of a free Republican population who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops; the presence of a corps of the national navy,—have excited sentiments to which no human language can be adequate. You have been pleased, sir, to allude to the happiest times, to the unalloyed enjoyments of my public life; it is the pride of my life to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add that, upward of forty years ago, I have been particularly honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Mr. Mayor, I beg you, gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New-York, the homage of my everlasting gratitude, devotion, and respect.

At the conclusion of this address, which was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations, the marquis, attended by the mayor and common council, retired from the council-chamber to a platform in front of the City Hall, where they received a marching salute from the troops. The common council then accompanied their guest to the City Hotel (where rooms had been fitted up for his reception), and partook of a sumptuous dinner. What must have been the feelings which warmed the bosoms of his entertainers when they reflected to whom these honors were given! — that it was to a man who, in his youth, had devoted his life and fortune to the cause of their country; who willingly and most cheerfully had shed his blood in the acquirement of its independence, and, through all the desponding scenes of the Revolution, never forsook the side of his and their country's father, the beloved Washington!

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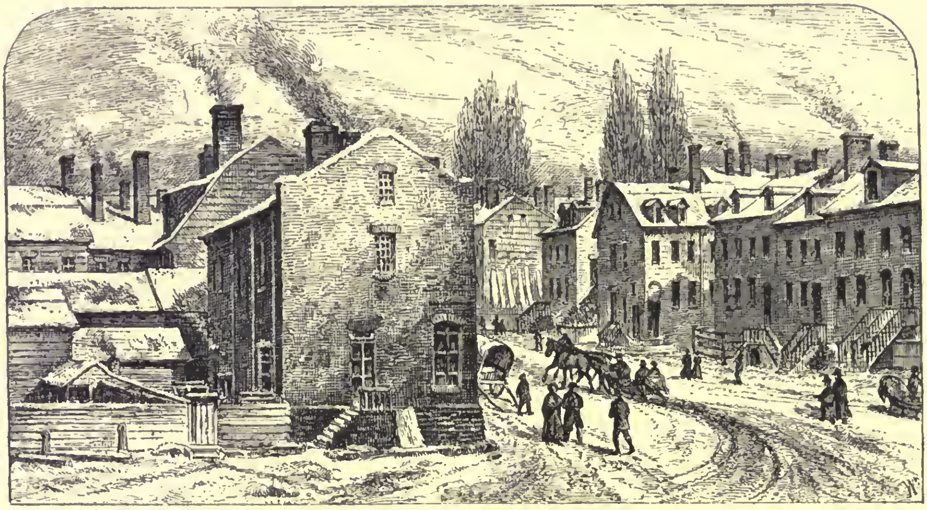
[1] The only other occasions when this demonstration was nearly — though not quite — equaled in the city of New-York, were those of the celebration of the opening of the Croton aqueduct, and the funerals of President William Henry Harrison and of Vice-President Henry Wilson.

[2] The two snuff-boxes represented above were made from the oak of the frigate Constitution, when she was first rebuilt, after the war of 1812. They were formerly the property of the hero Commodore Hull, and are now in the possession of the Editor of this work.

In the evening, the fronts of the City Hall, the City Hotel, and other public and private buildings were brilliantly illuminated; the theaters and public gardens displayed transparencies and fireworks; rockets blazed from the different housetops; and an immense balloon was sent up from Castle Garden, representing the famous horse Eclipse mounted by an ancient knight in armor. Hilarity reigned supreme. On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 18th, General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, visited the Navy-yard—dining with the commandant and a few invited guests; and, in the evening of the same day, went to the rooms of the New-York Historical Society. A large number of distinguished citizens had collected at the latter place to meet him, and, on his entrance into the room, he was conducted by Doctor David Hosack and General Philip Van Cortlandt to the chair that had once been the seat of the unfortunate Louis XVI[2] Over the chair, and decorated with Revolutionary emblems, was hung the portrait of Lafayette, painted for General Stevens in 1784. Thus was an opportunity afforded the audience of gazing at the same time upon the young and chivalrous warrior of the Revolution, and upon the same man who, by forty years' hard service since, had ripened into an old age full of wisdom and honors, without having tarnished the bright escutcheon of his justly deserved fame by a single act.



PROVOOST AND CHAPEL STREETS.[1]

As soon as Lafayette had taken his seat, Doctor Hosack, in a graceful address, tendered him his election as an honorary member of the society; to which the general responded in the following words:

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[1] The illustration in the text is after one of the views given in J. Milbert's "Picturesque Sketches in America," published in Paris in 1826. There is little doubt that interest in France in such sketches was stimulated by the accounts of the reception which had been recently accorded to Lafayette. Provoost street is now Franklin street, and Chapel street is named Church. EDITOR.

[2] Presented to the New-York Historical Society by Gouverneur Morris.

> SIR: With the most lively gratitude, I receive the honor which the Historical Society of New-York has conferred in electing me one of its members. Permit me, also, thankfully to acknowledge the flattering manner in which you are pleased to announce this mark of their benevolence. The United States, Sir, are the first nation in the records of history who have founded their Constitution upon an honest investigation and clear definition of their national and social rights. Nor can we doubt that, notwithstanding the combinations made elsewhere by despotism and aristocracy against those sacred rights of mankind, immense majorities in other countries shall not in vain observe the happiness and prosperity of a free, virtuous, and enlightened people.

The next day was spent in visiting the Academy of Arts, and in receiving the calls of the members of the bar, the French residents of the city, and all citizens who desired to pay their respects.

At an early hour on the following morning, the city again presented a scene of bustle and activity, preparatory to the departure of Lafayette and suite for Boston. At seven o'clock, the horse-artillery, commanded by Colonel Arcularius, paraded in Broadway in front of Washington Hall, and, at eight o'clock, took up their line of march to Harlem, in order to precede the escort which was to accompany the marquis to that village. This escort consisted of a squadron of cavalry, the corporation in carriages, and a number of citizens mounted. The general breakfasted with Mayor Paulding, at half-past seven, and repaired immediately after to the City Hotel, whence the entire cavalcade, under the command of General Prosper M. Wetmore, as brigade-major, moved up Broadway to Bond street, and thence up Third Avenue.[1] The streets were thronged with people, and the general rode uncovered, and repeatedly returned their expressions of kindness and attachment by bowing. "Thus, for the present," said the "Commercial Advertiser," "have closed the attentions of our citizens to this excellent man. The arrangements of our civil and military officers were judicious and well executed; and we are told that the General has not only been highly gratified, but happily disappointed, in the reception with which he has met. The General's journey will be rapid, as he intends being at Harvard Commencement on Tuesday next. His stay at the eastward must also be short, as he has engaged to be in Baltimore on the 15th proximo."[2] On his passage through the

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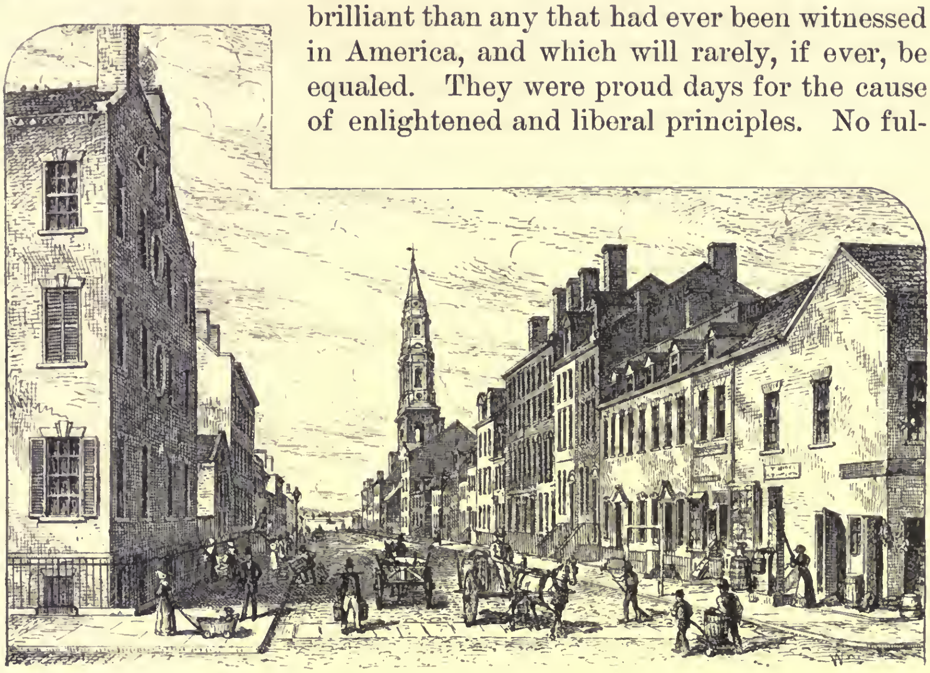
[1] Conversations of the writer with the late General Wetmore.

[2] At this time there was a great rivalry between Philadelphia and New-York as to which city should receive the marquis more splendidly. A correspondent, writing to the "Commercial Advertiser" at this time, says: "The great object here seems to be to rival the reception given to the General in New-York; and, so far as it respects the military parade, the display of paintings, banners, arches, &c., they will succeed; for the very good reason that we had but twenty-four hours to make our preparations, and they have had more than thirty-four days. But nothing that can be got up here can equal, or come anywhere near, the naval *fête* in the harbor of New-York.

"There are many splendid triumphal and civic arches erected here, and the streets through which city on September 10, on his way south, he was given a grand concert of sacred music at St. Paul's.

"Such," writes Colonel Stone, in closing an account of the ovation, "is a faint outline of the proceedings of the last few days, which shine proudly in the annals of our country,—proceedings which were more brilliant than any that had ever been witnessed in America, and which will rarely, if ever, be equaled. They were proud days for the cause of enlightened and liberal principles. No fulsome adulation was here extorted by the power or splendor of royalty, but every feeling and every movement were the spontaneous bursts of admiration and gratitude for the character and services of a great benefactor of the whole civilized world, come among us in a private capacity, and in the unaffected attire of republican simplicity."[1]



MURRAY STREET.—DR. MASON'S CHURCH IN 1822.

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the General is to pass are lined with spectators. The windows of the houses are filled, and there are thousands of spectators in the boxes, or temporary stages, which have been erected for the purposes of private accommodation and private gain. These seats are let at from twenty-five to fifty cents each, and not for three or four dollars as has been reported in New-York. And they are not well filled, notwithstanding the trifling expense. There are many societies out to-day, handsomely dressed, and the procession will be much larger than has ever been witnessed in America.

"It is supposed that the General will arrive at the Hall of the Declaration of Independence [Independence Hall] at about four o'clock. Here he will be received by the Corporation, and presented to the principal citizens, who have the good fortune to be guests. After which he will return to his lodgings at the Mansion House. To-morrow the General dines with the Corporation. On Saturday he attends a Masonic festival. On Monday evening he attends a Grand Civic Ball, and departs for the South on Tuesday."

[1] Colonel Stone here speaks feelingly, having become a great personal admirer of the marquis during his visit to the United States. Together with Thurlow Weed, he accompanied Lafayette on his tour through New-York State; and it was while Lafayette was stopping at Saratoga Springs that the following incident occurred. It chanced that the day before the marquis's departure from Saratoga, he was on the piazza of the United States Hotel, surrounded by a group consisting of Mrs. Rush, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston; Madame Jumel, of New-York; Thurlow Weed, and Colonel Stone. As the company was about to break up, Lafayette, shaking hands with Colonel Stone and Mr. Weed, asked them if

The project of a grand canal connecting the great lakes of the interior with tide-water was the first thought of the city after the peace. General Washington and Governor George Clinton, as early as the summer of 1783, on their trip to Saratoga Springs and through the Mohawk Valley, had considered the feasibility of a canal from Oswego, by way of Wood Creek, to Albany. Two years later (1785) Christopher Colles, an ingenious mechanician, had memorialized the legislature of New-York for the establishment of a canal to connect the Mohawk with the Hudson; and, in 1792, a company was chartered which in five years opened the passage from Schenectady to Oneida, intending to continue it to Lake Ontario, for which extension the route had been surveyed in 1791. But it was not until 1810 that the canal project found its great advocate in De Witt Clinton, whose memorial on the subject, signed by many prominent men of the city, gave a fresh impetus to the movement.

Maria Franklin Clinton[1]

It was, accordingly, most fitting that the city which had not only originated but had so nobly supported the project of the Erie Canal from its beginning, should take the chief part in the ceremonies attending its realization. Probably no project of internal improvement ever met with such bitter and malignant opposition as that of the Erie Canal; and, great as was the assistance given to the canal project by the act of the New-York legislature of April, 1811, the obstacles in the way of its successful completion were by no means removed. The same incredulity as to the practicability of the canal, and the same apprehensions as to the capacity of the State to furnish the means to complete it, continued to raise a fierce opposition in the legislature against any appropriation for carrying out the work which

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he could be of service to them in return for their attention to him.

"All that Mr. Weed and myself desire," replied Colonel Stone, "is a lock of your hair."

"You shall have it, gentlemen," answered the general; "but as I have made a vow that man shall never cut my hair more, I surrender myself, my dear madame, into your hands."

As he said this he took the scissors from Colonel Stone and gracefully gave them to Mrs. Rush. He then raised his wig, and Mrs. Rush, cutting off three locks of the snowy-white hair, kept one herself and handed the other two to Colonel Stone and Mr. Weed. The scene made a lasting impression on all who witnessed it. This lock of hair I still have, and treasure it as a most precious relic.

[1] From a painting in the possession of her grandson De Witt Clinton Jones, Esq., to whom I am indebted for several other family portraits. EDITOR.

it had itself authorized. Many attempts were accordingly made to arrest, or at least to curtail, the project; and often, during the progress of the undertaking, it seemed as if it would be completely abandoned. Party spirit at that time ran high, and the greatest effort on the part of its supporters was required to persuade the people of the State to give it their support at the polls. In accomplishing this result, the New-York "Commercial Advertiser," the oldest newspaper of New-York city,[1] gave powerful aid. That paper, which had always been the organ of the Federalists, became, upon Colonel Stone assuming its management in 1820, a stanch advocate of the Clintonians. A strong personal friendship for Governor De Witt Clinton on the part of its editor, together with a firm conviction of the necessity for a canal through the interior of New-York State, led to the position thus assumed. The trials and rebuffs experienced by Clinton and his supporters in pushing the canal project, and the energy which fought it through to a triumphant end, are matters of history.

The Erie Canal was completed in the fall of 1825. At ten o'clock on the morning of October 26 of that year the first canal-boat, the Seneca Chief, left Buffalo, having on board Governor Clinton, Joshua Foreman, Colonel Stone, Chancellor Livingston, Thurlow Weed, and General Stephen Van Rensselaer; and the booming of cannon, placed at intervals of a few miles—within hearing distance—along the entire line of the canal from Buffalo to Albany, and thence along the banks of the Hudson to Sandy Hook, announced the successful termination of the enterprise—the final union of the great lakes with the Atlantic, and the presage of the power and wealth of New-York city as the great gateway of the western hemisphere.[2]

In New-York city, especially, this event was celebrated by extraordinary civic and military ceremonies; and the citizens gave themselves up to the wildest demonstrations of joy. Nor was this joy ill-timed or excessive. "For a single State to achieve such a victory, not only over the doubts and fears of the wary, but over the obstacles of nature, causing miles of massive rocks at the mountain-ridge to yield to its power, turning the current of error as well as that of the Tonawanda, piling up the waters of the mighty Niagara as well as those of the beautiful Hudson;—in short, causing a navigable river to flow with gentle current down the steepy mount of Lockport; to leap the river of Genesee; to encircle the brow of Irondequoit as with the laurel's wreath; to march through the rich fields of Palmyra and of Lyons; to wend its way through the quicksands of the morass at the Cayuga; to pass unheeded the delicious licks at Onondja; to smile through Oneida's verdant landscape; to hang upon the arm of the ancient Mohawk, and, with her, after gayly stepping down the cadence of the Little Falls and the Cohoes, to rush to the embrace of the sparkling Hudson—and all in the space of eight short years—was a work of which the oldest and richest nations of Christendom might be proud." Colonel Stone, as one of the most zealous champions of the Erie Canal, was appointed to write the "Narrative of the Erie Canal Celebration," receiving a silver medal and a box (made out of the timber of the Seneca Chief) from the common council of New-York city, together with the thanks of that body.[1]

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[1] The oldest, that is, then in existence.

[2] The time taken for the sound to come from Buffalo to Sandy Hook was one hour and a half.

Saml C Verplanck[2]

The naval and land processions in the city on this occasion were unique, and, withal, were projected and carried out on a truly magnificent scale. The grand fleet arrived by a preconcerted plan in the waters of New-York bay before daylight on November 4, 1825; and the roar of cannon from different points and the peals of numerous church bells greeted the ushering in of sunrise. Shortly afterward signals were hoisted by the flagship of the squadron, in response to which the new and superb steamboat Washington bore proudly down to welcome the fleet. She ran alongside the Chancellor, and a committee of the corporation of the city, with the officers of the governor's guard, came on board to tender his Excellency Governor Clinton their congratulations on his arrival in New-York waters from those of Lake Erie. At half-past eight the corporation and their guests proceeded to the steamboats Washington, Fulton, and Providence, stationed at the foot of Whitehall street. At the same place was also stationed the Commerce, with the elegant safety-barge Lady Clinton. This barge, with the Lady Van Rensselaer, had been set apart by the corporation for the reception of the invited ladies and their attendants. The Lady Clinton was decorated with a degree of taste and elegance that was equally delightful and surprising. From stem to stern she was ornamented with evergreens hung in festoons and intertwined with roses of various hues, China asters, and many other flowers alike beautiful. In one of the niches below the upper deck was the bust of Clinton, the brow being encircled with a wreath of laurel and roses. Mrs. Clinton and many other distinguished ladies were on board of the barge, which, though the party was select, was crowded. Captain Seymour, however, paid every attention to his beautiful charge; every countenance beamed with satisfaction, and every eye sparkled with delight.

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[1] Colonel Stone's narrative of the celebration, from which the above citation is made, was published by the common council under the title of the "Grand Erie Canal Celebration," accompanied by a memoir of the great work by Cadwallader D. Colden. In connection with the Erie Canal, and its influence in building up the interior towns of the State, Colonel Stone was wont to relate the following anecdote: In 1820 he visited Syracuse with Joshua Foreman, the founder of that city, and one of the earliest and most zealous friends of the Erie Canal. "I lodged for the night," says Colonel Stone, "at a miserable tavern, thronged by a company of salt-boilers from Salina, forming a group of about as rough-looking specimens of humanity as I had ever seen. Their wild visages, beards thick and long, and matted hair, even now rise up in dark, distant, and picturesque effect before me. It was in October, and a flurry of snow during the night had rendered the morning aspect of the country more dreary than the evening before. The few houses, standing upon low and marshy ground, and surrounded by trees and tangled thickets, presented a very uninviting scene. 'Mr. Foreman,' said I, 'do you call this a village? It would make an owl weep to fly over it!' 'Never mind,' said he, in reply, 'you will live to see it a city yet!'" Colonel Stone did, indeed, live to see it a city, when he wrote the above in 1840, with a mayor and aldermen, and a population of more than twelve thousand souls. EDITOR.

[2] From a painting in the possession of his descendant William E. Ver Planck, Esq., of Fishkill.

Cadwallader D Colden

Meanwhile, as if Æolus and Neptune had entered into a compact to make this occasion as joyous as possible, the sea was as tranquil and smooth as a summer lake; and the mist which came on between seven and eight in the morning having partially floated away, the sun shone bright and beautiful. As the naval procession filed past the Battery it was saluted by the military, the revenue cutter, and Castle Williams on Governor's Island; and, on passing the Narrows, it was also saluted by Forts Lafayette and Tompkins.[1] It then proceeded to the United States schooner Porpoise, Captain John P. Zantzinger, moored within Sandy Hook, at the point where the grand ceremony was to be performed. A deputation, composed of Aldermen Elisha W. King, Davis, and Jacob B. Taylor, was then sent on board the steamboat Chancellor Livingston, to accompany his Excellency the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the several committees from Buffalo, Utica, Albany, and other places, on board the steamboat Washington.

The boats were thereupon formed in a circle around the schooner, preparatory to the ceremony; when Charles Rhind, addressing the governor, remarked "that he had a request to make which he was confident it would afford his Excellency great pleasure to grant. He was desirous of preserving a portion of the water used on this memorable occasion, in order to send it to our distinguished friend and late illustrious visitor, Major-General Lafayette; and for that purpose Dummer and Co. had prepared some bottles of American fabric for the occasion, and they were to be conveyed to the general in a box made by D. Phybe from a log of cedar brought from Erie in the canal-boat Seneca Chief." The governor replied that a more pleasing task could not have been imposed upon him, and expressed his acknowledgment to Mr. Rhind for having suggested the measure.

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[1] Since changed to Fort Wadsworth.

His Excellency De Witt Clinton then proceeded to perform the ceremony of commingling the waters of the lake with the ocean, by pouring a keg of those of Lake Erie into the Atlantic; upon which he delivered the following address: "This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean Seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York; and may the God of the Heavens and the Earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race!"

Dr. Mitchill, whose extensive correspondence with every part of the world enabled him to fill his cabinet with articles rare and curious, then completed the ceremony by pouring into the briny deep bottles of water from the Ganges and Indus of Asia; the Nile and the Gambia of Africa; the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube of Europe; the Mississippi and Columbia of North, and the Orinoco, La Plata, and Amazon of South America. Cadwallader D. Colden then came forward and presented to the mayor an able memoir upon the subject of canals and inland navigation in general.

Indeed, as Stone, in his narrative, says: "Never before was there such a fleet collected, and so superbly decorated; and it is very possible that a display so grand, so beautiful, and we even add so sublime, will never be witnessed again.[1] We know of nothing with which it can be compared. The naval *fête* given by the Prince Regent of England, upon the Thames, during the visit of the allied sovereigns of Europe to London, after the dethronement of Napoleon, has been spoken of as exceeding everything of the kind ever witnessed in Europe. But gentlemen who had an opportunity of witnessing both, have declared that the spectacle in the waters of New-York so far transcended that in the metropolis of England as scarcely to admit of a comparison. The day, as we have before remarked, was uncommonly fine. No winds agitated the surface of the mighty deep; and during the performance of the ceremonies, the boats, with their gay decorations, lay motionless in beauty. The orb of day darted his genial rays upon the bosom of the waters, where they played as tranquilly as upon the natural mirror of a secluded lake. Indeed, the elements seemed to repose, as if to gaze upon each other, and participate in the beauty and grandeur of the sublime spectacle. Every object appeared to pause, as if to invite reflection and prepare the mind for deep impressions—impressions which, while we feel them stealing upon the soul, impart a consciousness of their durability.

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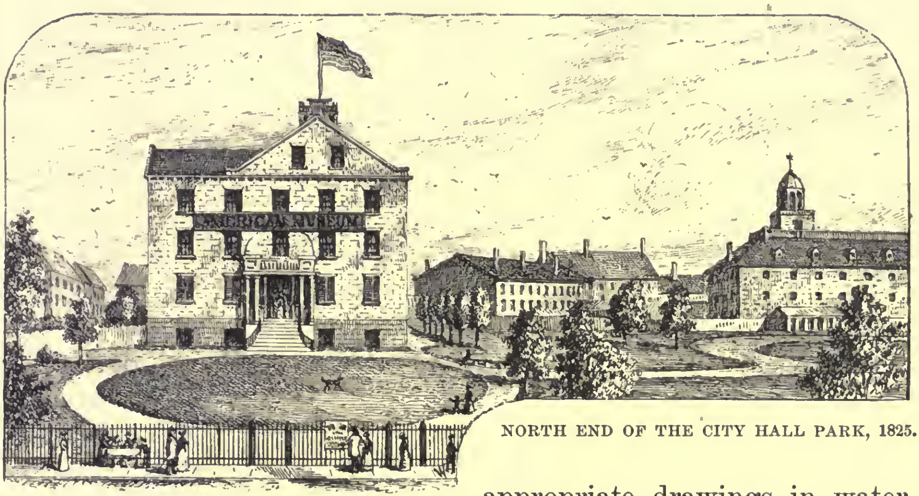
[1] Up to the present time the writer's conjecture has been proved correct.

It was one of those few bright visions whose evanescent glory is allowed to light up the path of human life — which, as they are passing, we feel can never return; and which, in diffusing a sensation of pleasing melancholy, consecrate, as it were, all surrounding objects, even to the atmosphere we inhale."

Another circumstance connected with these demonstrations of good feeling must not be omitted: On board of the Swallow an elegant breakfast was given, in honor of the occasion, by her commander, Lieutenant Baldock, to a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, on which occasion was tastefully displayed a series of elegant and appropriate drawings in water-colors, representing Britannia, Columbia, the Eagle, the Lion, and an English and an American sailor, Neptune, Liberty, and the flags and shields of both nations, all classically arranged, denoting good feeling, fellowship, and union of sentiment. There were also round one of the devices for a tower two designs of canal-basins, with double locks — one as coming through Welsh mountains, the other as through American mountains of granite; and on their basements were conspicuously inscribed "Clinton and Bridgewater," in honor of men whose pursuits in each country were so similar. The whole was designed by John R. Smith, and executed by him and an assistant.[1]



NORTH END OF THE CITY HALL PARK, 1825.

Meanwhile, the head of the land procession, under General Augustus Fleming, marshal of the day, assisted by Colonels King and Jones, Major John Low,[2] and Mr. Van Winkle, had already arrived on the Battery, where it was designed the whole should pass in review before the corporation and their guests, and the spectators on board of the other boats, which lay to near the shore to afford an opportunity of witnessing the cars, and banners, and other decorations of the several societies, professions, and callings which had turned out in the city in honor of the event commemorated. The Washington and Chancellor Livingston touched at Pier No. 1, in the East River, disembarking the corporation and their friends at the proper time for them to fall into line in the rear of the procession. The fleet then dispersed, each vessel repairing to its own moorings; and thus, without a single accident to alloy the festivities of the day, ended an agreeable *fête*, unrivaled in beauty and magnificence in the annals of the United States, and perhaps of the world. Indeed, the magnificence of this naval pageant is worth dwelling upon, since, in all of the different land and aquatic processions of recent years, the palm, by universal consent, has invariably been awarded to those upon the land.

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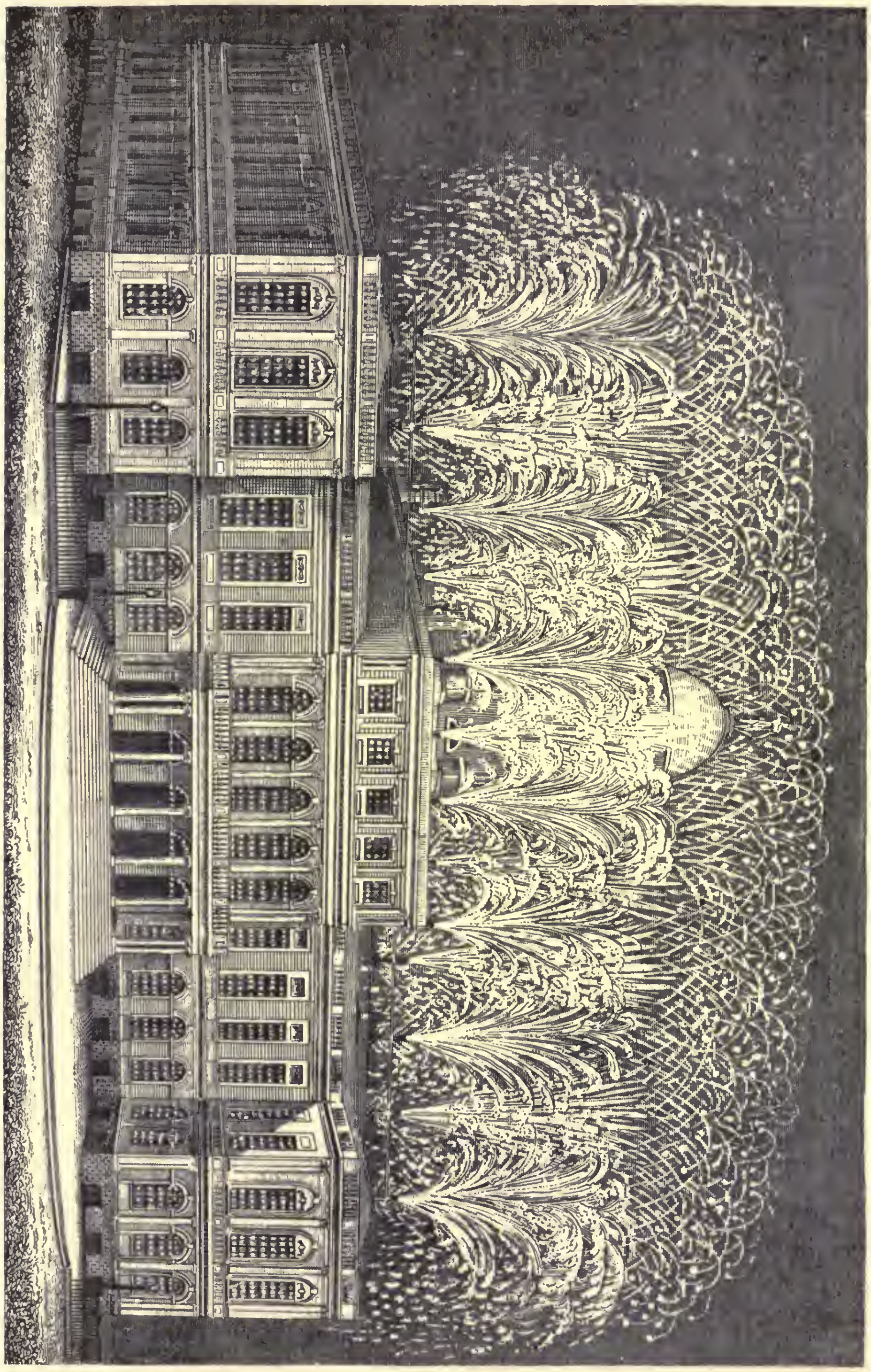
[1] It would be extremely interesting if one could know where these water-color paintings are now to be found; for they must, of course, have been deposited in some public institution. I have, however, searched for them in vain. As a souvenir — to be preserved so long as New-York city shall endure as a city — they would be simply priceless.

[2] The banker, and father of Mr. Abiel A. Low, the eminent East India merchant.

The civic procession was composed of the several benevolent and mechanical societies of New-York city, the fire department, the officers of the State artillery and infantry in uniform, the literary and scientific institutions, the members of the bar, the members of many occupations and callings not formally organized into societies, accompanied by fine bands of music, exclusive of the corporation, their associate committees and distinguished guests, who fell into line in the rear of the procession, as before mentioned, at the Battery. This procession, the largest of the kind ever witnessed in America, began forming, six abreast, in Greenwich street, near the Battery, and extended to the distance of more than a mile and a half. The line of march was taken up at half-past ten. Its first movement was a countermarch of the whole column upon the right wing. By this manœuver every society and division was brought into such close proximity to each other as to afford every individual a distinct view of the whole. The procession moved from Greenwich street through Canal street into Broadway, up Broadway to Broome street, across Broome street to the Bowery, down the Bowery to Pearl street, down Pearl street to the Battery, over the Battery to Broadway, and thence to the City Hall. Along the whole extensive line of march the spectacle was of a most imposing and animating description. The various societies and occupations seemed to have been engaged in a laudable strife, regardless of expense, to excel each other in the richness of their banners and the beauty and taste exhibited in their badges and other decorations. Nor had the money of the societies been expended, or the skill of the artists of our city exercised, in vain. For never did a more imposing array of banners of exquisite design and magnificent appearance stream and flutter in the breeze. Many of the societies, likewise, had furnished themselves



ILLUMINATION OF THE CITY HALL UPON COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

with cars of gigantic structure, upon which their respective artisans were busily engaged in their several occupations. The ornaments of many of these cars were curiously wrought, and they were otherwise beautifully and splendidly decorated. The richest Turkey or Brussels carpets covered the floors of some, whilst the costly gilding of others reflected the golden rays of the sun with dazzling effulgence. The eye of beauty, too, gazed with delight upon the passing scene; for every window was thronged, and the myriads of handkerchiefs which fluttered in the air were only rivaled in whiteness by the delicate hands which suspended them; while the glowing cheeks, the ingenuous smiles of loveliness and innocence, and the intelligence which beamed brightly from many a sparkling eye, proclaimed their possessors worthy of being the wives, mothers, and daughters of free men.

The festivities of the day were closed in the evening by illuminations of the public buildings and the principal hotels, upon many of which appropriate transparencies were exhibited. The illumination of the City Hotel contributed largely to the brilliant appearance of Broadway. Great taste was also displayed in the illumination of the New-York Coffee House. The front in Sloat Lane presented a brilliant wreath encircling the letter "C." The front in William street displayed the words "Grand Canal" in large and glowing capitals. We do not remember to have seen a more original and beautiful method of illuminating than that adopted at this establishment. Peale's Museum presented a beautiful transparency—rays of glory, containing a motto illustrative of the dependence of the fine arts upon the success of commerce. Scudder's Museum, likewise, was brilliantly illuminated, and a very large and beautiful transparency was exhibited in front. The Park Theater was illuminated, and also exhibited appropriate transparencies without; while within an interlude, composed for the occasion by Mr. Noah,[1] with scenery specially prepared for the occasion, was received with great applause. A similar production, from the pen of Samuel Woodworth,[2] was played at the Chatham Theater, and was likewise well received. The house of Moses B. Seixas, in Broadway, was illuminated, and an appropriate transparency, representing Fortune embarking on board of a canal-boat loaded with bags of money, and several appropriate emblematical devices were exhibited. At "The Lunch" a transparency was shown, representing the canal-boat Seneca Chief receiving on board his Excellency the Governor, the Buffalo deputation, Indian chiefs, etc., preparatory to her passage from Lake Erie into the canal. But the City Hall was the grand point of attraction, and too much praise cannot be given to our corporation for the great exertions which it made to contribute to the enjoyment and festivities of the day. The City Hall, under its direction, was superbly illuminated, the front presenting a very magnificent transparency, on which were painted interesting views of the canal, columns with the names of worthies, figures emblematical of the occasion, etc.[1] The fireworks, prepared by Mr. Wilcox, far exceeded the public expectation, and were unrivaled of the kind. Such rockets were never before seen in New-York. They were uncommonly large. Now they shot forth alternately showers of fiery serpents and dragons, gorgons and hydras, and chimeras dire; and now they burst forth and rained down showers of stars, floating in the atmosphere like balls of liquid silver.[2] The volcanic eruption of fire-balls and rockets, with which this exhibition was concluded, afforded a spectacle of vast beauty and sublimity. They were sent up apparently from the rear of the hall to a great height, diverged like rays from a common center, then, floating like meteors of the brightest light, they fell in graceful curves, presenting a scene magnificent and enchanting. The park was filled to overflowing; not less than ten thousand admiring spectators having collected in it to view the splendid display.

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[1] Mordecai M. Noah, the author and journalist.

[2] The author of "The Old Oaken Bucket."

John N. Abeel[3]

"Thus passed," says Stone, "a day so glorious to the State and city, and so deeply interesting to the countless thousands who were permitted to behold and mingle in its exhibitions. We have before said that all attempts at description must be utterly in vain. Others can comprehend the greatness of the occasion. The Grand Canal is completed; and the waters of Lake Erie have been borne upon its surface, and mingled with the ocean. But it is only those who were present and beheld the brilliant scenes of the day, that can form any adequate idea of their grandeur, and of the joyous feelings which pervaded all ranks of the community. Never before had been presented to the sight a fleet so beautiful as that which then graced our waters. The numerous array of steamboats and barges proudly breasting the billows, and dashing on their way regardless of opposing winds and tides; the flags of all nations, and banners of every hue, streaming splendidly in the breeze; the dense columns of black smoke ever and anon sent up from the boats, now partially obscuring the view, and now spreading widely over the sky and softening down the glare of light and color; the roar of cannon from the various forts, accompanied by heavy volumes of white smoke, contrasting finely with the dark smoke of the steamboats; the crowds of happy beings who thronged the decks, and the voice of whose joy was mingled with the sound of music, and not unfrequently drowned by the hissing of the steam: all these, and a thousand other circumstances, awakened an interest so intense that the eye could not be satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing. We rejoiced, and all who were there rejoiced; although, as we looked upon the countless throng, we could not but remember the exclamation of Xerxes, and feel that 'a hundred years hence not one of all that vast multitude will be alive.' The splendor of beauty and the triumph of art serve to excite, to dazzle, and often to improve the condition and promote the welfare of mankind; but the 'fashion of this world passeth away'; beauty and art, with all their triumphs and splendors, endure but for a season; and earth itself, with all its lakes and oceans, is only as the small dust of the balance in the sight of Him who dwells beyond the everlasting hills."[1]

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[1] The City Hall was illuminated with 1542 wax candles, 454 lamps, and 310 variegated lamps, total 2306. To eclipse this great effusion of light was not within the power of ordinary fireworks, hence extraordinary means were employed, consisting of 13 compounded gerbes, each containing 58 pounds of brilliant Chinese and diamond fires, which changed alternately. These fires were supported by a background of spur fire, which projected 1500 brilliant stars, intersecting each other in fanciful directions. During the evening were projected 320 four-pound rockets, 30 nine-pound and 24 twenty-pound rockets, total 374; supplemented by a great variety of minor amusing pieces. *Vide* page 325. EDITOR.

[2] It would seem as if our present fireworks, splendid as they are, are in no wise superior to those of seventy years since.

[3] Dr. John Neilson Abeel, D. D., was born in the city of New-York in 1769, and was the son of Colonel James Abeel, who served through the Revolutionary war on Washington's staff. He was appointed one of the ministers of the Collegiate Church in 1795, remaining in that office until his death; and he was one of the founders of the New-York Historical Society. EDITOR.

MANHATTAN RESERVOIR, CHAMBERS STREET.

On Monday evening, November 7, the festivities of the city were appropriately concluded by a ball, which was given in the Lafayette Amphitheater, in Laurens street, by the officers of the militia, associated with a committee of citizens. The circus building, comprising a spacious stage used for dramatic representations, was enlarged by the addition of an edifice in the rear, which had been used for a riding-school. These were connected in such a manner as to form an area of much greater extent than that of any other ball-room in the United States, being nearly two hundred feet in length, and varying from sixty to about one hundred feet in width. The usual entrance to the circus from Laurens street was closed up, and new entrances opened from Thompson street, in the rear, through the riding-school. The front was brilliantly illuminated, presenting in large letters, formed by bright lamps extending over the doors across the building, the words "The Grand Canal." The whole area within was newly floored for the occasion, and arranged in three compartments by the original divisions of the audience part of the circus, the stage, and the additional building on Thompson street. Of these we shall speak in order, but briefly. The two tiers of boxes were reserved, and decorated for the accommodation of that part of the company which chose to retire and be spectators of the busy assemblage below. Access was obtained to them through a flight of steps in the middle of the boxes, of which the center one had been removed. The dome in this part of the hall was ornamented with green wreaths, which were appropriately festooned with beautiful and various flowers, sweeping gracefully to the pillars which supported the boxes, terminating at and around them. Above the proscenium were the names of the engineers who had been employed in the construction of the canal, viz.: Briggs, White, James Geddes, Benjamin Wright, David Thomas. Opposite these, and in the center of the circle of boxes, was a bust of Washington, surrounded with evergreens, and around were inscribed the names of the canal commissioners: Eli Hart, William C. Bouck,[1] Myron Holley, Simeon De Witt, William North, Robert R. Livingston, Robert Fulton, De Witt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Eddy, Samuel Young, Henry Seymour, Peter B. Porter, and Joseph Ellicott.

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[1] This remark is brought home to us continually in our own experience. As the writer says, probably no one who witnessed this celebration — unless it was the babe in arms carried by some mother who herself wished to view the procession — now lives. It is, of course, a melancholy thought; and yet how many who daily cross on our ferry-boats and see the crowds crossing to and fro, give a thought to the fact that of all these human beings a few short years will see them in their graves. Indeed, as Gray has well said in his immortal elegy, neither "storied urn" nor "animated bust" can call back the fleeting breath, nor the flattery of inscriptions, deserved

"From the roof," says Stone, "splendid chandeliers added their blaze of light to the numberless lamps which hung nearly parallel to the upper boxes. Passing into the upper apartment, the eye was met by a scene of equal splendor. One side of this room, which is the stage of the theater, was formed by a beautiful piece of scenery represent-

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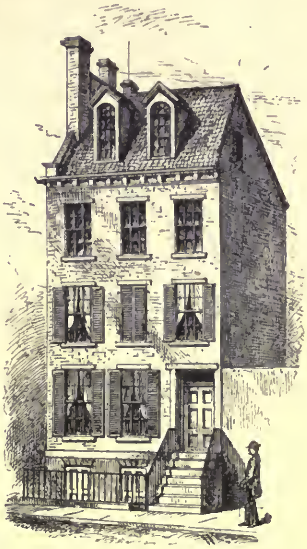
or undeserved, "soothe the dull, cold ear of death"; and it is also a sad, a melancholy reflection, how very short a period do nearly all the memorials reared to the memory of the dead by the hand of surviving friendship and affection endure! A few, a very few brief years, and the headstone has sunk, the slab is broken, the short column or pyramid overturned; and yet, while they do remain, they are often mementos of interesting incidents or endearing recollections. For a letter from Colonel Stone to Dr. Hosack upon the legislative proceedings of 1816-17, in regard to the Erie Canal, see Hosack's "Memoir of De Witt Clinton."

[1] Afterward governor of New-York State, having been elected in 1843.

ing the interior of an elegant chamber, with proper doors, handsomely ornamented. The other side was occupied by a band of music, placed behind a species of turret, on the face of which arches were skillfully painted, and in the distance of which landscapes were represented. Here was also hung the painting, spoken of near the beginning of this narrative, from the cabin of the canal-boat, faithfully representing the whole arrangement in that place. The music of the band, which was placed here, was excellent, and we discovered that the bugle-notes were those of Willis of West-Point. Our national stripes were suspended from the center and tastefully looped up from the extremities of the ceiling, forming a complete circumference of regular semicircles, meeting in a common center. Here, also, were lamps and chandeliers, and wreaths of flowers, and garlands of roses. But it was to the third apartment that the exertions of the committee were directed. Imagine in a large hall, collected and displayed in one grand view, the flags and emblems and costly decorations, which, in a continued procession, called forth such enthusiasm of admiration. Imagine them presented in one overwhelming view blazing with light, and bright with reflected beauty; and when a proper idea is formed of the complete enchantment of the scene, add to this, in one prodigious mirror, the whole reflected back in trebled brilliancy, doubling the immense area, including the thousand lights in tenfold greater splendor. Floods of light were poured forth from every point, which were glanced back by the glittering array of the military, and a thousand other objects of brilliant reflection.

"But entrancing, above all other enchantments of the scene, was the living enchantment of beauty—the trance which wraps the senses in the presence of loveliness, when woman walks the halls of fancy—magnificence herself—the brightest object in the midst of brightness and beauty. A thousand faces were there, bright in intelligence and radiant with beauty, looking joy and congratulation to each other, and spreading around the spells which the Loves and the Graces bind on the heart of the sterner sex.

"It only remains to speak of the ladies' supper-room, which was separated from the large apartment by flags elegantly festooned, and raised at the given signal. Mirrors, and splendid lights, and emblems, and statues, and devices, beyond the writer's abilities to describe, ornamented this part of the house in common with the rest. Upon the supper-table was placed, floating in its proper element (the waters of Lake Erie), a miniature canal-boat, made entirely of maple-sugar, and presented to Governor Clinton by Colonel Hinman of Utica. The refreshments were excellent; and, considering the vast number who were to partake of them, very plentifully provided. At a seasonable hour the company retired, with memories stored with the events, and decorations, and splendors of the Grand Canal Ball."



LEGGETT HOUSE.[1]

That this joyous and amazing demonstration was commensurate to, and fully warranted by, the occasion which had called it forth, the steady increase of the productiveness of the State affords conclusive proof. Many of the supporters of the "Big Ditch," who at the time were regarded as enthusiastic and visionary, have lived to see their most sanguine predictions more than realized, as well as the complete refutation of the opinion which one of our greatest statesmen, whose zeal for internal improvements could not be questioned, was known to have expressed, that this enterprise had been undertaken a hundred years too soon, and that, until the lapse of another century, the strength of our population and of our resources would be inadequate to such a gigantic work.

While, however, New-York city was thus vindicating her claim to a place in the van of internal improvements, she did not hesitate to take the lead, also, in extending aid to a nation at that time struggling for its release from the thraldom of an oppressor. Greece was at this period writhing under the heel of the sultan. In the first three years of the war that nation had received no material aid, either in men or money. This arose, probably, from the fact that at this time the Greeks were in no need of assistance. Fighting with enthusiasm and upon their own soil, they had beaten off the Turkish hordes, and cleared most of the country of their oppressors. In this year, however, affairs wore a different aspect. Byron, their great friend and champion, had died the year before, and the dark days of the revolution had begun. The Egyptian vizier had responded to the appeals of the sultan, and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, landing an organized and regular army on the Peloponnesus, swept everything before him. In less than two years the Greeks were driven from the plains and all the open country to the caves and recesses of the mountains, retaining only here and there a fortress. As it was a war without quarter, every one fled; for surrender was death to every man and dishonor to every woman. Two seasons brought them to the point of starvation. Their vines had been pulled up, their olive-trees burned, their fields desolated, their flocks slain and eaten. Snails and sorrel were their only food; and the only alternative left, on the part of the Greeks, was starvation or submission. Guerrilla bands alone hovered around the flanks and rear of the invading hosts. At this point Dr. Samuel G. Howe, urged by a pure philanthropy, set out for Greece. After experiencing many vicissitudes and languishing for several months in a Prussian dungeon, he at length landed upon the Peloponnesus alone, from an Austrian vessel going to Smyrna. As there was, however, no organization among the Greeks, he could do nothing; and he accordingly returned to the United States to obtain aid. On his arrival at Boston, he found that Greek committees, under the lead of Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, were already formed; and, after doing what he could to organize efforts for raising supplies, he came to New-York, at the solicitation of Colonel Stone, with whom he had been for a long time in correspondence, with a view to this end. Colonel Stone now threw himself heartily into the good work. He roused his fellow-citizens through his paper, the "Commercial Advertiser," issued stirring appeals for aid, depicted in vivid colors the sufferings of the Greeks, and got up private meetings composed of the wealthy men of New-York city, at which large amounts of money were obtained. After doing all that could be done in the city, he accompanied Dr. Howe upon a tour up the Hudson River and through the western towns of the State, preaching a sort of crusade for the relief of the Greeks.

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[1] No. 7 Cherry street, the residence of Samuel Leggett, first president of the New-York Gas-light Company, was the earliest house in this city that was lighted with gas, in 1825. EDITOR.

Paul Jones

The general results are well known. Through the efforts of those persons who have been mentioned, the citizens of New-York city and State contributed most liberally; ships were purchased, and large amounts of grain, flour, clothing, and money were obtained, forwarded, and distributed among the starving people of Greece, which, by the immediate relief thus brought, and by the moral support thus given at the most critical period of the Greek revolution, helped materially to aid their cause.

In closing the history of this year, it only remains to say that in May the first gas-pipes were laid by the New-York Gas-light Company, which had been incorporated in 1823. No system for lighting the streets was introduced until 1697, when the aldermen were charged with enforcing the duty that "every seventh householder, in the dark time of the moon, should cause a lanthorn and candle to be hung out of his window on a pole—the expense of which to be divided among the seven families." At a later period the principal streets of the city were lighted with oil-lamps. The first gas-pipe innovation extended on either side of Broadway, from Canal street to the Battery, and soon grew into public favor, so that, in 1830, the Manhattan Gas-light Company was incorporated with a capital of $500,000—an immense sum in those times—to supply the upper part of the island.[1]

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.[2]

Cha. Carroll of Carrollton

John Adams

Lafayette

Th: Jefferson

James Monroe

John Quincy Adams

James Madison

AUTOGRAPHS OF INVITED GUESTS, ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION.

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[1] In this connection it is perhaps worth while calling attention to the origin of the name *Locofoco* as applied to the Democratic party. In Hammond's "Political History of New-York" it will be seen that the locofoco matches gave the name to the Democratic party. The case was this: Upon the introduction of gas into the city, the old Park Theater being lighted for the first time, and a difficulty experienced in lighting the stage (gas) lights, one of the audience, a prominent Democrat, struck one of the new sulphur locofoco matches and lighted the gas. A wag, who had observed the occurrence, afterward called the party *Locofoco*—which name adhered, for many years, to the Democratic party, especially in New-York State.

[2] The first Roman Catholic church built in New-York city, situated in Barclay street, on the corner of Church. EDITOR.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF NEW-YORK'S COMMERCIAL GREATNESS

1825–1837

THE meeting-place of the merchants had been, since 1792, the Tontine Coffee House, erected under their auspices in that year. In 1825 the corner-stone of a new edifice was laid in Wall street. It was opened for business in May, 1827, having cost two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The post-office was in this building. The Chamber of Commerce had its rooms here, and there were numerous offices for brokers on the basement floor. The merchants occupied offices in the galleries. The principal room or exchange was of oval form, in the center of the building. Here were posted the various notices which interested the merchants generally: such as the arrival and departure of vessels, signaled by a telegraph which received and replied to signals from the station at the Narrows.

At this, the beginning of the second quarter of the century, New-York was the principal mart for the products and manufactures of a large part of the Eastern States, of New-York State, and New Jersey, and of the Southern section of the Union. The city soon began to feel the enormous stimulus to her trade caused by the operation of the Erie Canal. This great work of internal improvement was formally opened, as noticed in the preceding chapter, on October 26, 1825. It brought to her the control of the trade of the great lakes, and the vast and prolific regions which bordered upon them, as well as that of the valleys of the Ohio and of the Mississippi. The Champlain Canal, finished in 1823, was the outlet for the produce of a large section of country bordering on Lake Champlain. It began at Whitehall, at the head of sloop navigation on that large body of water. These two waterways, connecting with the Hudson, constituted an extent of navigation of seven hundred and eight miles (Hudson and Champlain, 345 miles; Erie, 363 miles). Besides, there was the great chain of lakes, with which communication was now established, affording a navigation of sixteen hundred and twenty-five miles, of which over eleven hundred miles were within the limits of the State

DeWitt Clinton

of which New-York city was the only ocean outlet. It is not difficult to understand the exultant joy of the citizens of New-York at the final completion of these magnificent monuments to the genius of the statesmen and the enterprise of the people of the great commonwealth. It definitely assured the supremacy of the city as the commercial emporium of the western continent. Becoming the outlet of a vast territory, it followed naturally that New-York should become also the point at which the supplies for that territory would be obtained, as well as the financial center of exchange for domestic as well as foreign commerce. The amount of tonnage which the Erie was capable of transporting with locks all double was estimated at 3,024,000, including both descending and ascending trips. In 1826 the toll on imports on the Erie and Champlain canals was $762,000; in 1827, $859,000.

THE VERPLANCK HOUSE.

The value of the merchandise laden and unladen at the port of New-York at this period (1825–28) was seventy to one hundred millions of dollars, and the number of merchant vessels in port varied from five to seven hundred in busy seasons, besides fifty steamboats. The number of arrivals from foreign ports averaged fourteen hundred, and of coasting vessels four thousand, per annum. Goodrich, in his "Picture of New-York" (1828), estimated "the arrivals at and departures of steamboats from this port during the year, or season of about forty weeks, supposing each boat to make but two trips a week both ways, to amount to six thousand four hundred; and if an average of fifty passengers is allowed per trip, the number will be 320,000." He considered this to be a low estimate, as during the summer travel the Hudson River steamboats frequently carried from two hundred to three hundred passengers. Great numbers were constantly arriving also by coasting vessels and from foreign ports; "the aggregate of the latter description during the last twelve months is 22,000; those by ships, sloops and coasters, generally from southern and eastern ports, and the river craft, amount to an immense number." The port was admirably adapted to this mode of communication. There was an ample depth of water at every wharf. The line of shipping ran from the Battery to Corlaer's Hook on the East River, and to the North Battery (foot of Hubert street) on the Hudson, an extent on the two water-fronts of three miles. The principal slips were Coenties, Old Coffee House (at the foot of Wall street), Beekman, and Peck slips. South street was the site of the wharves for the large shipping. The provision-boats from Long Island lay off Fulton, and those from New Jersey off Washington, Market.

Not till 1825 did New-York recover from the depression of the embargo period and the war of 1812–15. In the decade from 1796 to 1806, the most prosperous years, nearly one quarter of the total exports of the United States were from this port. The exports of 1806 were not again equaled in amount until 1825. In 1827 fourteen hundred and fourteen vessels arrived from foreign ports, of which three hundred and eighty-six were ships, six hundred and nine brigs, and three hundred and eighty-one schooners. In 1827 the tonnage of vessels built in New-York amounted to twenty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-seven, divided among twenty-three ships, three brigs, and twelve steamboats. The cotton trade of the South for Europe, and that of the New England manufacturing States, passed through this city. In 1827 there were received 215,705 bales, of which 191,626 were exported, and 24,000 taken by manufacturers. The value of the imports for New-York in the year 1825 was $50,024,973, of which over $48,000,000 came in American vessels; that of the exports was $34,032,279, of which over $19,000,000 in American vessels,—in all a total foreign trade of $84,057,252, of which over $67,000,000 in American vessels. Goodrich gives an interesting historical comparison of the trade at this period: "In the three years preceding the celebrated embargo of Mr. Jefferson's administration the exports of New-York averaged $23,869,250 per annum; and in those years preceding the last war, $14,030,035; and during the years 1825–6–7 the average has been $26,000,000."

G. C. Verplanck

The most striking changes in the physical features of the lower part of New-York city—that below the park—date from the beginning of the second quarter of the century. Gulian C. Verplanck, to whom New-York is indebted for many curious and interesting reminiscences, returning from a long absence in 1829, noted the changes which had taken place in his time, in two letters published in the "Talisman" (1829–30), under the *nom de plume* of Francis Herbert:

> Pine street [he writes] is now full of blocks of tall massive buildings which overshadow the narrow passage between and make it one of the gloomiest streets in New-York. The very bricks there look of a darker hue than in any other part of the city. The rays of the sun seem to come through a yellower and thicker atmosphere; and the shadows thrown there by moonlight seem of a blacker and more solid darkness than elsewhere . . . It was not thus thirty or forty years ago. Shops were on each side of the way — low cheerful-looking two-story buildings of light colored brick or wood painted white or yellow, and which scarcely seemed a hindrance to the air and sunshine.

There were many and important changes in the municipal economy of the city at this period. Besides the Merchants' Exchange, the foundations of which were laid in Wall street in 1825, a new Presbyterian church was the same year built in Bleecker street, which sufficiently shows the rapid trend of the population upward on the island. A new building was also erected for the savings-bank in Chambers street. The city was this year divided into twelve wards. The free-school system was altered to that of public schools which took pay from scholars at the rate of twenty-five cents to one dollar each quarter. In January, 1825, Philip Hone was appointed mayor. This gentleman, well known in public life as a Whig leader, the companion of Daniel Webster, and in private intercourse as an elegant host and leader of fashion, has left a charming diary of his life and times. Mayor Hone was a native of this city, his father having a mercantile business in John street. Early in life he engaged in the auctioneer business, in partnership with his brother John. They each amassed a considerable fortune, which was employed by Philip Hone in the encouragement of many enterprises of a benevolent or educational character. The Mercantile Library, founded in 1820, owed much to his liberality in the erection of its building on Astor Place, in the year 1830. He held the office of mayor for only one year. Under President Zachary Taylor, Mr. Hone was appointed naval officer of the port of New-York, a post in which he continued till his death, in 1851, at his house, corner of Broadway and Great Jones street.

Philip Hone

The immediate successor of Mr. Hone in the mayoralty was William Paulding, who had already been mayor in the years 1823 and 1824, as before noticed, and who now occupied the position for the years 1826 and 1827. In 1828, Walter Bowne was appointed, and he was annually reappointed until 1833. He was a descendant of the well-known and highly estimable Quaker family of the Bownes, of Flushing, Long Island. At the age of maturity he left the paternal farm and engaged in the hardware business in New-York, meeting with great success. His store was located at the corner of Burling Slip and Water street. In politics Mr. Bowne was a Democrat, and before his appointment as mayor had represented the city as State senator for three successive terms. He died in 1846, at the age of seventy-six. During his term the population of New-York reached the figure of two hundred thousand.

Walter Bowne.

The last mayor to be appointed to the position was Gideon Lee, who served only during the year 1833. He was born at Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1778. Left an orphan, he began life on an uncle's farm, and after a checkered career with greatly varying fortunes, he at last established a profitable leather business in New-York. In 1822 he entered upon public life as a member of the State legislature. Retiring from business in 1836, he was soon after elected to Congress, and died in 1841, at Geneva, New-York, where he had purchased a country-seat, which continued in the possession of his family till a recent period. His business is still carried on in the "Swamp" by his youngest son, who succeeded his brother-in-law, Charles M. Leupp.

In 1832 New-York was visited for the first time by the Asiatic cholera. It made its appearance in a house in Cherry street, near James street, on June 25, 1832. By July 3 public alarm was excited to such a degree that the Board of Health appointed a special medical council to devise proper measures in the emergency. This council consisted of Dr. Alexander H. Stevens, president; Drs. Joseph Bayley, Gilbert Smith, John Neilson, William J. McNeven, Hugh McLean, Richard K. Hoffman, to whom after a few days was added Dr. Anthony L. Anderson. Their acknowledged skill quieted public apprehension, and they continued to superintend the public medical arrangements

Gideon Lee

until the decline of the epidemic. Within a week four large public hospitals were organized, to which a fifth was later added. During the nine weeks from July 1 to September 1, there were treated in these 2030 patients, of which 852 died. Besides these, there was a medical station established in each ward, where prompt attention was assured to every applicant. The total number of cases in the city, including those in the hospitals as well as those reported to the Board of Health, was 5835, and of deaths 2996. It was at its height on July 21, three weeks after its appearance. This is a much greater mortality than appears, as it must be remembered that this was the summer season, when a large number of the permanent population left the city for the seaside or the villages of the interior above the Highlands. The conduct of the gentlemen of the city in this time of distress was beyond all praise. The New-York Hospital, which then occupied its beautiful grounds on Broadway between Reade and Duane streets, opposite the opening of Pearl street, was under the management of a board of governors, to belong to which was one of the most esteemed honors of a New-Yorker. Daily throughout this season they attended personally to their voluntary duties, and by their steadfastness greatly encouraged the suffering citizens.

THE NEW-YORK HOSPITAL.

In 1834 the city was visited by a calamity of another character. So many were the disturbances of the peace that this has received the name of the "year of riots." It was the first year in which the election of mayor was effected by the popular vote. The candidates were Gulian C. Verplanck on an independent ticket, and Cornelius W. Lawrence on that of Tammany. There was a serious split in the Democratic ranks, a large number of whose members supported the independent ticket. The elections in that day were conducted after the old fashion, the polls being held open for three successive days. This, at a period of great popular excitement, gave ample opportunity for the development of street brawls and organized attacks by the more violent partizans. Toward noon of April 10, 1834, the disturbances in the Sixth Ward, always the home of a motley population, took an alarming form. There being no registration of votes, the polls were at the mercy of an audacious mob. Party feeling ran exceedingly high at this period, because of the opposition to Jackson's financial policy, which had little favor with the conservative element of New-York, but was ardently supported by the Tammany party. In the Sixth Ward the tumult rose to the wildest pitch; a number of the Jackson Democrats seized the polls, destroyed the ballots, and sacked the room where the polling was held. During the day raids were made on the gun-shops in Broadway. An alarm spreading that the mob was about to attack the State arsenal, which stood on the block between Centre, Elm, Franklin, and White streets, the better class, fearful of the inefficiency of the police, rallied for its protection, and prevailed upon the mayor to call in the aid of the military.

VERPLANCK CREST.

In the evening the Whigs, determined to maintain their rights, gathered in large and resolute force (estimated at from four to five thousand men) at Masonic Hall, and voted to meet early the next day "and repair to the Sixth Ward poll for the purpose of keeping it open to all voters until such time as the official authorities may procure a sufficient number of special constables to keep the peace." Other meetings were held in the fourteen wards, and the next morning all the polls were guarded by large bodies of well-disposed citizens. The morning of the third day displayed the determination of the rough element of the city to do mischief. Some sailors, in the Whig interest, parading the city with a miniature of the frigate Constitution in full rig, were fallen upon and beaten in Broadway opposite Masonic Hall. The mayor, intervening, was personally injured, several of the city watch were badly hurt, and the hall was forced. Hearing of this outrage, the Whig inhabitants issued from their quarters, and as crowds kept gathering, the mayor held a consultation, and it was resolved to declare the city in a state of insurrection and to call on the military for aid. The United States authorities in the forts and on the station declining to interfere, General Jacob Morton directed General Charles W. Sandford to call out the city militia.

Order being established, the election proceeded, resulting in the choice of Mr. Lawrence[1] by a small majority. Later it was announced that the Whigs had elected the common council. Says the historian of the great riots of New-York: "As the news passed through the immense concourse, a shout went up that shook Wall street from Broadway to the East River. It rolled back and forth like redoubled thunder." The Twenty-seventh Regiment,[2] under Colonel John Stevens, had early taken possession of the arsenal, and relieved the independent collection of citizens. This is said to have established the confidence of the good people of New-York in the power and willingness of the National Guard to protect the property and lives of the citizens and to secure the public peace. The common council passed a vote of thanks to "the individuals who thus nobly sustained their reputation as citizen soldiers, and proved the importance and the necessity to the city of a well-disciplined militia in time of peace, as well as in time of war." General Morton, in his general orders, added: "The Major-general doubts not that the corps will still continue to perform their duties; they will be sustained by their fellow-citizens, who will see in them, not the array of an uncontrolled force, but a power directed by the venerable majesty of the laws in the persons of the magistrates." This riot, for many reasons famous, is generally known as the "election riot."

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[1] The mayor's full name was Cornelius Van Wyck Lawrence. He was born in 1791, and attained the age of seventy years. Previous to his election as mayor, he was a member of Congress, and under President Polk was appointed collector of this port. For twenty years he was president of the Bank of the State of New-York. He married Lydia A., his cousin, daughter of Judge Effingham Lawrence. EDITOR.

[2] Now the famous Seventh Regiment, its numerical designation having been changed in 1847. EDITOR.

John W Francis [1]

The Abolitionists, a small and inconsiderable body, were beginning, in the agitation of politics, to attract public attention to their opinions and purposes. Attempts had been made by the friends of William Lloyd Garrison, in the autumn of 1833, to promote an antislavery agitation by public meetings and addresses. There was a large business class in New-York city directly concerned in trade with the Southern States, and naturally opposed to any exciting discussion of this subject; and, moreover, the sympathies of the great body of Democrats were with the strict constructionists of the constitution, who held slavery to be beyond the pale of any jurisdiction, except that of State sovereignty. In the unruly element of this, as of all large cities, there were always men to be found ready for violent measures, especially in any cause that had the support of popular favor. An attempt to break up an abolition meeting in October, 1833, had resulted in the summary dispersal of the small attendance. In July, 1834, an assemblage of colored persons gathered at Chatham street chapel to listen to a sermon from a negro preacher. They were ordered from the building, but, having paid their rent, refused, and, resisting ejectment, the church was cleared by an excited crowd. Lewis Tappan, who was present at the chapel, was followed to his home in Rose street with hooting and threats, and his house was stoned. His name had been attached to the call for the meeting in the autumn preceding. The blacks, alarmed for their personal safety, dispersed.

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[1] Dr. Francis was a celebrated physician, and a man of wide culture. His "Old New-York," a volume of charming reminiscences of the first sixty years of the century, is an admirable book, and contains a memoir of the author by Henry T. Tuckerman. EDITOR.

THE PROVOST JAIL.[1]

The next evening the mob broke open the chapel door, held an extempore meeting, and on its breaking up proceeded with shouts to the Bowery Theater, whose stage manager was obnoxious to them because an Englishman and accused of remarks uncomplimentary to America on the subject of slavery,—Great Britain being the headquarters of the antislavery movement. Forcing the doors, the excited mob took possession of the theater. Interfered with by the arrival of the police, and eager for some object on which to vent their excitement, they rushed to the house of Nathan Tappan, a brother of Lewis, in Rose street, which they broke into and sacked. After a fight with the city watchmen, they made a bonfire of the dilapidated furniture. Other petty riots followed, with similar scenes of destruction of the property of Abolitionists, until Mayor Lawrence issued a proclamation calling on all good citizens to aid in maintaining the peace. Large bodies of troops were gathered at the arsenal, City Hall, and other public buildings.

On the night of July 11, the mounted patrol having failed to disperse the roving mob which had attacked the churches of the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Cox, in Laight street, and of the Rev. Henry G. Ludlow, in Spring street, the military were called upon, and the Twenty-seventh Regiment of the National Guard, under Colonel Stevens (the same which had been called upon in the election riots), marched upon the rioters. The latter had thrown up double barricades, which were stormed and carried, the obstructions scattered, and as the militia moved to the word "Forward" in solid column, the mob broke in every direction. Meanwhile there was another great gathering at the Five Points, where the mob committed depredations and burned buildings indiscriminately. During the night the rioters were reported to have concerted risings, and in the morning the mayor issued a second proclamation to the citizens to report to him for organization into companies to aid the police. The volunteer military companies and the fire companies tendering their assistance, the backbone of the riot was broken, and a hundred and fifty of the ringleaders were lodged in jail.

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[1] The Provost Jail is now the Hall of Records, its walls remaining as they were, but its front and rear having been adorned with colonnades in the style of a Greek temple. It was built in 1758. Before and after the Revolution it was used as a debtors' prison. During the Revolution prisoners of war were confined here, and subjected to the cruelties of Provost Marshal William Cunningham. In 1830 it ceased to be used as a prison, the process of reconstruction being then begun, but not till 1835 was it ready for its new purposes. At the time of the Revolution, "it had two lobbies, with strong barricades between the external and internal one. A grated door was at the bottom of the stairs leading to the second and third floors." EDITOR.

One of the most interesting public events of this year was the procession on June 26, in respect to the memory of General Lafayette, the last general officer of the Revolution. General Lafayette was no stranger to the people of New-York. There were some of his companions in arms still living, who had welcomed his arrival here in 1784, when he received the freedom of the city; and it was just ten years since his last visit, when he was again the guest of the city. His death in France, on May 20, was announced by General Morton in division orders on June 21. The common council ordered the ceremonial proceedings. The city buildings and numerous public and private houses were draped with mourning insignia. A procession, in which the military was specially distinguished for its admirable *tenue*, moved from the City Hall to the Castle Garden; in it were carried the urn and the eagle which formed a part of the decorations at the funeral of Washington. At Castle Garden an address was delivered by Frederick A. Tallmadge, and in the evening the urn was removed by torch-light, attended by a solemn civic and military procession.

CHATEAU LA GRANGE.[1]

Still another riot disturbed the peace of the city. This, known as the

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[1] From an original drawing in the possession of the Editor, who is indebted to Mrs. Julia Clinton Jones for the following unpublished letter addressed to her uncle Charles Clinton, expressing sympathy for the death of his father, De Witt Clinton:

"PARIS, March 30, 1828.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your particular and friendly attentions to me, make you the natural organ of the melancholy and affectionate feelings, which I wish to be conveyed to the family of your lamented father. I regret the mournful and unexpected event, as an immense loss to the public and a great personal cause of grief to me. Bound as I was to the memory of my two beloved Revolutionary companions, your grandfather and granduncle, I had found a peculiar gratification in the eminent talents and services of their son and nephew, and in his kind and liberal correspondence, until personal and grateful acquaintance had impressed me with all the feelings of a more intimate friendship. I beg you to be to your afflicted family the interpreter of my deep sympathies, and to believe me forever,

"Your most sincere friend,

"LAFAYETTE.

"Colonel CHARLES CLINTON.

"P. S.—My son and Le Vasseur beg to be mournfully remembered."

"Five Points riot," broke out in the summer of 1835. It was an outcome of the election brawls of the two sections of the Democratic party and the fierce antagonism between the Irish and Americans. The announcement that an Irish regiment, under the name of the O'Connell Guards, was to be organized in the city, aroused the native American spirit to indignation. On Sunday, June 21, rioting began simultaneously in several parts of the city, the principal scene of action being the Sixth Ward, in Pearl street, near Chatham. Many prominent citizens were badly injured in their attempts to keep the peace, but order was at last restored by the police without the aid of the military, to which there had been more recourse latterly than augured well for civil government. The "stone-cutters' riot," which happened in August, 1834, was caused by the employment of the State prisoners at Sing Sing to hew marble with which to construct buildings in this city by the contractors for the University building. The mob was dispersed by the Twenty-seventh Regiment, which for four days and nights lay under arms in Washington parade-ground.

At the spring election of 1835 a most serious question was submitted to the decision of the people. New-York had never enjoyed any proper and reasonably assured water-supply for a population of her extent and promise. The tea-water works, which were put up in 1786 at the Collect pond, or Fresh Water, had supplied the city by casks until 1799, when the Manhattan Company was chartered to bring a supply from the Bronx River. A pump was built near the Collect and wooden pipes laid through the streets, but the Manhattan Company never tapped the waters of the Bronx, and the city was forced to content itself with the old Collect supply, with the additional convenience of the wooden pipes and the street pumps, which were not infrequent. It was now decided by popular vote, by a large majority, to construct an aqueduct from the Croton River, an undertaking of great magnitude in those days, considering that the distance the water had to be conveyed was forty miles. This project had been carried through the common council by the persistent energy of Samuel Stevens, for many years a representative of the Second Ward as alderman and assistant alderman. His name appears first among those of the commissioners on the tablet set up at the Forty-second street reservoir in 1842, on the completion of that colossal enterprise.

In 1835 the city was visited by one of the most terrible calamities in her history. A fire broke out on the night of December 16 of that year, which raged fiercely for two nights, and was not extinguished till the third day. In its course along Wall street, the line of the East River, and returning to William and Wall streets, it embraced a large irregular triangle of ground, an area of thirteen acres, covered by six hundred and ninety-three houses and stores, with property valued at eighteen millions of dollars.[1] Among the buildings was the fine marble Exchange in Wall street, and the South Dutch Church in Garden street. The stores were mostly wholesale. The fire-insurance companies of the city, almost without exception, went down under the blow. The weather was intensely cold; the insufficient supply of water froze in the pipes and hose, thus paralyzing the labors of the citizens. The horrors and sufferings of this night exceed description. The gentlemen of the city were all on the ground, and the properties of the Wall street institutions were moved and moved again before final safety was secured. Yet, as in previous periods of distress, the energy of the citizens was equal to the emergency; and New-York, within an incredibly short period, rose from its ashes rebuilt and vastly improved. The buildings erected were of a superior character, and the streets themselves were somewhat changed for the better.

MASONIC HALL, 1830.

In 1837 the city added another to its series of riots. Various causes had occasioned a short supply and high prices for flour and wheat at this period. A short crop, followed by a speculation in part occasioned by the abnormal condition of the currency, had brought up the price of flour from seven to twelve dollars per barrel. News was circulated of a short crop in Virginia, and of an immediate short supply in New-York. The price of meat went up next, and coal advanced to ten dollars a ton. A public meeting was called to consider the situation, but it was one of those problems that no public meeting can solve. The news that the commission-houses in Washington street were holding back and increasing their stocks caused a bad feeling in the laboring classes. On February 10, 1837, a placard reading, "Bread, Meat, Rent, Fuel! The voice of the people shall be heard and prevail," summoned a meeting at the City Hall park at four o'clock in the afternoon. The placard was signed

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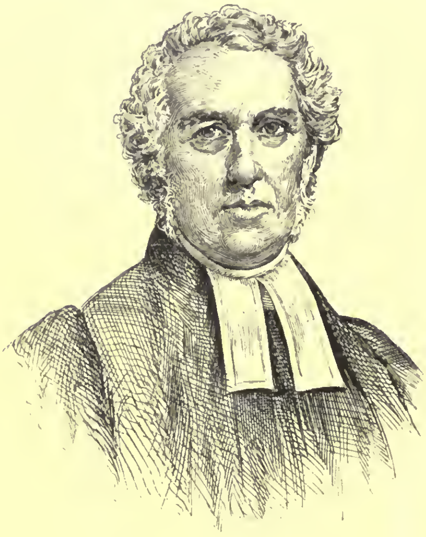
[1] Mr. Gabriel P. Disosway, an eye-witness of this terrible event, and who has left on record an extended and minute description of it, furnishes the following statement of the exact number of houses burned on the various streets:

Wall street	26
South "	76
Front "	80
Water "	76
Pearl "	79
Exchange Place	62
Gouverneur's Lane	20
Jones's "	10
Exchange alley	31
William street	44
Old Slip	33
Stone street	40
Mill (now S. William) street	38
Beaver street	23
Hanover "	16
Coenties Slip	16
Hanover Square	3
Cuyler's alley	20
Total	693

EDITOR.

by popular leaders of the lower order. The crowd gathered in the cold, dark afternoon, and were informed that Mr. Eli Hart had fifty-three thousand barrels of flour in his store. Before the speaker could finish his sentence the crowd started for Hart's store in Washington street. The mayor attempted to interfere, but was stoned. The store was forced and the flour-barrels rolled out of the upper windows and dashed to the ground; about five hundred barrels had been thus destroyed when the cry was raised that the soldiers were coming, at which the mob scattered and ran. After one or two acts of similar character, but of less damage, the crowd again dispersed—to reflect at their leisure that the best way to bring down the value of an article of necessity is not to diminish the quantity.



Wm Berrian [1]

Meanwhile, notwithstanding these interruptions, the commerce of the port steadily progressed. In 1836 the number of tons going to tide-water over the Erie Canal was 419,125. In 1837 the estimated value of all the property transported on this waterway alone was $47,739,877. In the year 1837 there were in the city of New-York twenty-three incorporated banks, with an aggregate capital of $20,361,200; the total number of banks in the State, outside of New-York, possessed a capital of $16,740,200. There was a safety fund, created by an annual tax upon the safety-fund banks (which included all but eight of the ninety-eight State banks), amounting to $500,000, and applicable to make good any deficit in case of failure. The oldest bank in the city, the Bank of New-York, was presided over by Cornelius Heyer as president, and Anthony P. Halsey as cashier. Among its directors were Gardner G. Howland, Peter Schermerhorn, Charles McEvers, John Oothout, Robert Maitland, Henry Beekman, Edward R. Jones, and Robert Benson. Its capital was $200,000. The Bank of America was presided over by George Newbold. Its board of directors were George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, Jonathan Goodhue, Benjamin L. Swan, Peter Crary, John W. Leavitt, and Samuel M. Fox. The capital was

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[1] Rev. William Berrian, D. D., was rector of Trinity Church from 1830 until his death in 1862. He published "Travels in France and Italy," and a "History of Trinity Church," and also edited the works of Bishop Hobart, with a memoir, in three volumes. EDITOR.

$1,000,000. Mr. Newbold was an autocrat among the bank presidents, and had matters much his own way until the establishment of the Bank of Commerce, in 1839, which gradually took the lead, and after his death, by its great strength, and the ready availability of its funds through a system of short discounts, served as a kind of check upon the banking system of the city.

The Bank of the State of New-York was under the management of Cornelius W. Lawrence, with Reuben Withers as cashier, and in the board were Isaac Townsend, John Stewart, Charles A. Davis, Charles Denison, Henry W. Hicks, and Ferdinand Suydam. In the City Bank were Thomas Bloodgood, president, and among the directors Richard M. Lawrence, Benjamin Corlies, Joseph Foulke, David Parish, Abraham Bell, Henry Delafield, and John P. Stagg. The Manhattan Company was presided over by Robert Gelston, and in the board were found the names of John G. Coster, Jonathan Thompson, James McBride, David S. Kennedy, William B. Crosby, William Paulding, Thomas Suffern, James Brown, and Recorder Richard Riker. The Mechanics' Bank had John Fleming for president, and for directors Jacob Lorillard, Gabriel Furman, Henry C. Dedham, George Arcularius, and Shepard Knapp. The Merchants' was managed by John T. Palmer, president, and Walter Mead, cashier, with Henry I. Wyckoff, James Heard, David Lydig, Peter T. Nevins, Benjamin Lyman, and John D. Wolfe. The National Bank was managed by Albert Gallatin, Jefferson's and Madison's secretary of the treasury, whose financial ability was supreme, and of world-wide fame from his masterly management of the national finances. In his board were William B. Astor, Seth Grosvenor, Dudley Selden, and Elisha Riggs. The Phenix Bank had Henry Cary for president, and John Delafield as cashier. Among the directors were Henry Parish, James W. Otis, Garrett Storm, Moses H. Grinnell, and Robert Ray. The Union Bank had Abraham G. Thompson for president, and Samuel I. Howland, Morris Ketchum, and Mortimer Livingston in the management. All of these banks were in Wall street. The names here given are those of the men who were at the head of the great commercial and financial enterprises of the day — every one representative, and familiar as the alphabet to every New-Yorker of the passing generation. The Chemical Bank, a private institution, almost a family strong box, was managed by John Mason, president, in person, with his kinsman Isaac Jones, Gideon Tucker, and Thomas W. Thorne at the green table where discounts were made and high finance discussed by a select few. Owing to the fact that the country was developing its material resources in great measure with capital borrowed from Europe,— the balance of trade setting against the United States at this period, yearly increasing our indebtedness abroad,— New-York was at any time liable to a demand for gold from Europe. The value of the strong institutions was then seen, as well as the wisdom of separating the earnings of the laboring class from the general fund.

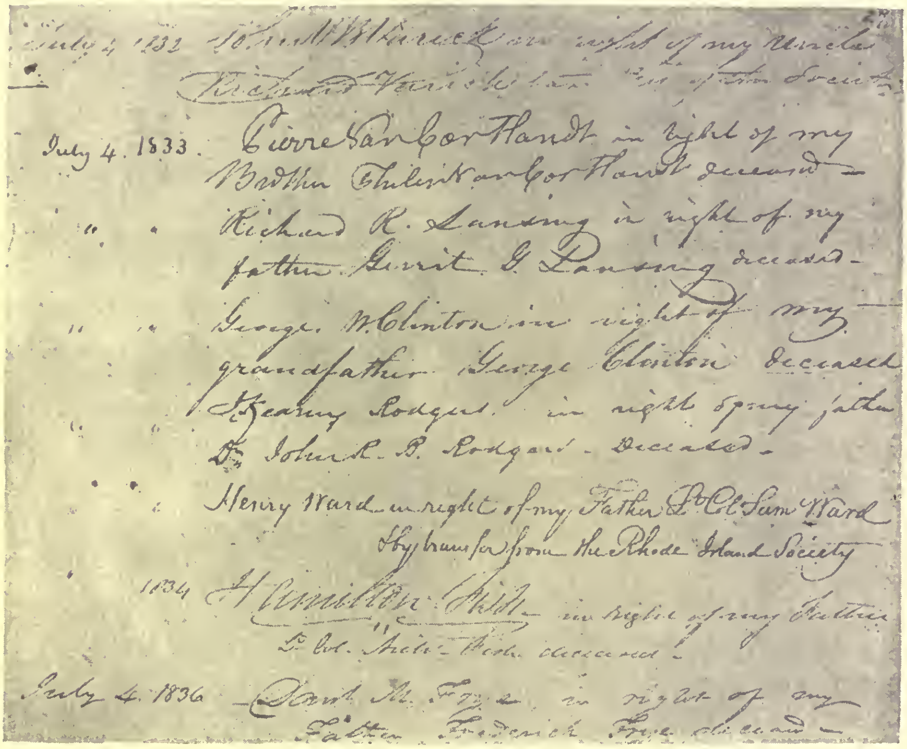
Mention, therefore, must not be omitted of the several savings-banks which, with their conservative management, played an important part in those days of financial fluctuations. The New-York Bank for Savings, the first in New-York and in the United States, founded in 1819, was still directed by John Pintard, one of its original projectors, with Peter Augustus Jay and Philip Hone as first and second vice-presidents, and a board of the highest ability, experience, and respectability. There were in this year (1837) 26,427 open accounts, entitled to $3,533,716.88. David Cotheal was the president of the Bowery Savings Bank, George Suckley of the Greenwich, Benjamin Strong of the Seamen's, with Pelatiah Perit as one of the vice-presidents and Caleb Barstow as the secretary. The fire-insurance companies were twenty-six in number, most of them badly crippled by the losses of 1835, and some lately reorganized by assessments or contributions to stock. The Farmers' Fire Insurance Company was the only trust company in the city, no others having been organized at that time. It is now better known as the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company.

The national election of 1832 turned, in a great measure, upon the question of free trade. The condition of the national finances was favorable to a dispassionate discussion of the principle. The national debt was nearly extinguished. The rapid growth of the country had so increased its revenues that the secretaries of the treasury who followed Albert Gallatin, adhering to his lines of policy and administration, had been able to extinguish the last remains of the extraordinary expenditure occasioned by the war of 1812. Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report of December, 1832, on the finances, announced that the dividends derived from the bank shares held by the United States were more than were required to pay the interest, and that the debt of the United States might therefore be considered as substantially extinguished after January 1, 1833. Mr. Gallatin, the advocate of this policy of extinction, which seems to have been since accepted by our financial ministers irrespective of party, was now a resident of New-York. Soon after his return from his last mission to England he settled permanently in the city, taking a house in Bleecker street in 1829. Here he became one of the leading figures of interest. His long experience of public men and public affairs on the two continents of Europe and America rendered his conversation instructive, and his counsel was eagerly sought on a large variety of subjects,—financial, scientific, literary, and even political, though he had withdrawn from active interest in this direction.

In advocating the policy of extinction of the national debt and of a corresponding economy in the national expenditure, Mr. Gallatin's purpose was a reduction of the revenue by a lowering of the tariff. As the election of 1832 approached, and parties began to formulate their platforms, the advocates of a protective tariff, with a consequent national expenditure for internal improvements, and of a tariff for revenue only, drew their lines more closely. On September 3, 1831, a convention of the advocates of free trade, without distinction of party, met in Philadelphia. Two hundred and twelve delegates appeared. New-York was represented by Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, John Constable, John A. Stevens, Jonathan Goodhue, James Boorman, and Jacob Lorillard. Gallatin was the soul of the convention, and was chairman of the committee of fourteen, one from each State represented, which drafted the "Memorial to the People." Its conclusions were that a tariff of twenty-five per cent. was ample, as experience had proved, for all the legitimate purposes of government. The non-partizan nature of this convention appears from the presence of Goodhue and Stevens, of New-York, both of whom were faithful adherents to the great fundamental principles of the Whig party. The recent attempt to make unbelief in or support of an economic doctrine a condition of party fealty had not then been formulated.

BRIDEWELL, CITY HALL PARK.

In 1832 Mr. Gallatin accepted the presidency of a bank in New-York, the subscription to the stock of which (amounting to seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars) was completed by Mr. John Jacob Astor under stipulation that Mr. Gallatin should supervise its management. This was the National Bank of New-York. The idea of this arrangement was to secure to New-York the benefit of Mr. Gallatin's great experience and intimate connection with financiers abroad. New-York was rapidly becoming the financial center of the commercial system of the United States, and the financial system of the republic was now about to undergo a radical change. In December, 1833, Roger B. Taney, Secretary of the Treasury, reported to Congress that he had directed the removal of the deposits of the government from the Bank of the United States and placed them in banks designated by himself. In his annual report, Taney named as one of the reasons for this removal that the bank had used its money for electioneering purposes, and that he "had always regarded the result of the last election of President of the United States as the declaration of a majority of the people that the charter ought not to be renewed." That election had reëlected Jackson to the presidency. Taney said further that "a corporation of that description was not necessary either for the fiscal operations of the government or the general convenience of the people." Mr. Gallatin, on the other hand, had always been a steadfast friend of the Bank of the United States. He had only recently, in a masterly paper published in 1830 in the "American Quarterly Review," shown that from the year 1791 the operations of the treasury had, without interruption, been carried on through the Bank of the United States without loss, except in the years 1811 to 1814, when the mismanagement of the State banks had brought on the financial disaster of the latter year, and compelled the re-charter of the semi-governmental institution. There was no such thing, however, as resistance to Jackson's views. In December, 1835, Levi Woodbury, Taney's successor in the treasury department, reported "an unprecedented spectacle presented to the world of a government virtually without any debts and without any direct taxation." But the conservative instrument by which this happy condition had been attained was now stripped of its influence. Moreover, the surplus


July 4 1832 [illegible] in right of my Uncle
[illegible] of the Society
July 4. 1833. Pierre Van Cortlandt in right of my
Brother Philip Van Cortlandt deceased —
" " Richard R. Lansing in right of my
father Gerrit G. Lansing deceased —
" " George W. Clinton in right of my
grandfather George Clinton deceased
" " J. Kearny Rodgers in right of my father
Dr John R. B. Rodgers — Deceased —
" " Henry Ward in right of my Father Lt Col Sam Ward
by transfer from the Rhode Island Society
1834 Hamilton Fish in right of my Father
Lt Col. Nicholas Fish deceased
July 4. 1836 Paul M. [illegible] in right of my
Father Frederick [illegible] deceased —

SIGNATURES FROM THE ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.

revenues of the United States, about thirty-seven millions of dollars, had been distributed among the several States.

On the expiration of its charter in March, 1836, the renewal of which Jackson had imperatively refused, the Bank of the United States accepted a charter from the State of Pennsylvania. It was still the one great financial institution of the country, but its management was no longer the same. It had the power for evil, and no longer the influence for good, in general affairs. In the same manner as in 1811, after the withdrawal of the control of the Bank of the United States, the State banks ran a wild career of speculation. From 1830 to 1837, three hundred new banks sprang up, with an additional capital of one hundred and forty-five millions of dollars—doubling, as twenty years before, the banking capital of the country. The Bank of the United States, of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Nicholas Biddle, was swept along in the resistless tide. As one scheme after another of industrial or land speculation was floated, this institution found itself compelled to dangerous financial expedients. Abandoning its legitimate business of discount and deposit, it sent an agent to New Orleans to buy up the cotton crop of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama as a basis for foreign exchange. The Barings, alarmed for the supply of the English cotton manufacturers, sent to New Orleans John A. Stevens of New-York. With the superior facilities of their great credit, Mr. Stevens had no difficulty in securing the choice of the market, and, moreover, righting the ratio of exchange by the purchase of the best Northern and Western notes; the difference in exchange between New York and New Orleans ranging as high as twenty-seven per cent.,—a condition of things impossible in the days of the old Bank of the United States with its established branches.

William Jay[1]

The volume of the general banking circulation of the country was still further swelled by the deposits of the revenues of the United

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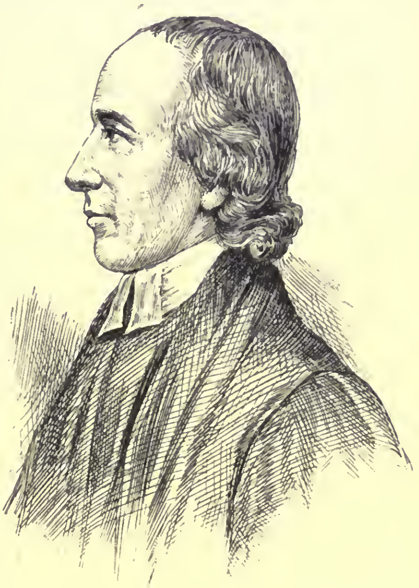
[1] Judge Jay, son of Chief Justice Jay, born June 16, 1789; died October 14, 1858. He was a distinguished jurist and author, and took active part in antislavery labors. Horace Greeley said of him: "To Judge William Jay the future will give the credit of having been one of the earliest advocates of the modern antislavery movements, which at this moment influence so radically the religion and the philanthropy of the country, and of having guided by his writings, in a large measure, the direction which a cause so important and so conservative of the best and most precious rights of the people should take." EDITOR.

States. Secretary Woodbury became alarmed for their safety. In December, 1836, he reported the paper currency of the country to have increased since the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States from eighty millions to one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, or forty millions in eighteen months; and the bank capital in the same period to have increased from two hundred to three hundred millions of dollars. The flush times were at the flood. Importations augmented. Suddenly a check came. The balance of trade turned against the United States to a sum of one hundred and fifty millions, and coin was shipped abroad to liquidate the account. But as the entire amount of specie in the country did not exceed the sum of seventy-three millions, the reaction was sharp. The contraction which set in was still further heightened by the withdrawal by Mr. Woodbury of the government deposits from the selected depositaries, or "pet banks," as they were termed. Had there been any government debt to attract a foreign investment, the situation might have been tempered. It must not be forgotten that at this period the United States was not a specie-producing country. It accumulated only as the result of a sound financial policy. It could not be retained when demanded by Europe, except by a general suspension. The result was unavoidable.

C W Lawrence

On May 10, 1837, the New-York banks suspended. Mr. Gallatin's bank went down with the rest. It is idle to suppose that any single bank can maintain itself against a general suspension. It may liquidate, become a bank of deposit, paying out in the currency it receives, but it cannot maintain itself on a specie basis when gold is at a premium, or hold its relations with its sister institutions except on a basis of common accord. A general suspension of all the banks of the United States followed. It was under these circumstances and at this period that Mr. Woodbury devised the United States subtreasury, which he recommended to Congress as a plan of "keeping the public money under new legislative provisions without using the banks at all as fiscal agents." This has been described as "a new departure in treasury management and a further evolution in American finance." Its advantages have been incalculable. In fact, it was the only alternative to a national bank under government control, after the general plan of the great European government institutions.

Mr. Gallatin, unable to prevent the suspension, immediately set himself to work to bring about a partial liquidation and an early resumption. He had the hearty coöperation of the able men who then controlled the banks of the city. On August 15, 1837, the officers of the New-York banks, in general meeting, appointed a committee to call a convention of the principal banks to agree upon a time for a resumption of specie payments. This committee, on August 18, addressed a circular to the principal banks in the United States, inviting the expression of their wishes as to the time and place for a convention, suggesting New-York as the place, and October, 1837, as the time. The law of the State of New-York dissolving any bank as a legal corporation in case of its suspension for one year, it was imperative that resumption in New-York must take place before March 1, 1838. In the circular the New-York banks committed themselves to no definite plan nor to any specified day, but expressed the opinion that the fall in the rate of exchange indicated an early return of specie to par, when resumption could be effected without danger. In fact, the collapse of the vast paper fabric had been so sudden that it carried with it in its fall the entire scheme of land speculations, which was the particular craze of this exciting period.



Benjn: Moore[1]

The banks of Philadelphia, no doubt influenced by the tottering Bank of the United States, of Pennsylvania, whose transactions affected the entire State, on August 29 decided, in general meeting, that it was inexpedient to appoint delegates to the New-York convention. Understanding this condition, the New-York committee invited a meeting of delegates on November 27, 1837, in New-York. Delegates from banks of seventeen States and the District of Columbia appeared. On the 30th a resolution was brought in recommending a general resumption on July 1, 1838, with privilege to any banks that felt it to be necessary to resume earlier. This was to cover the New-York condition. The Pennsylvania banks replied, condemning the idea of immediate resumption as impracticable and, in the absence of delegates from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, as unwise. It has been seen that the entire southwestern system of banking and currency had descended to the Bank of the United States, of Pennsylvania, from the old bank. The convention met again on December 2, when an adjournment was carried to April 11, 1838, when delegates from the banks not represented were invited to attend. As in all cases where such conventions are controlled by numbers, the weaker institutions for a time protracted the debate, dreading the consequence of a resumption, which is as severe upon the weak as suspension is upon the strong. It was evident that Mr. Biddle had the power of postponement. The Boston banks had joined forces with those under Biddle's influence. Meanwhile exchange on London, the true par of which was 109½, had fallen from 121 to 111, a rate about 2½ per cent. below specie par, New-York bank paper being at a discount of 5 per cent. The export of specie had ceased.

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[1] Bishop Benjamin Moore, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, succeeded Bishop Provoost in 1801. He was also president of Columbia College from 1801 to 1811. EDITOR.

NEW-YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY.

High authority in Pennsylvania giving the opinion that the banks of that State were in a condition to resume, Mr. Gallatin's committee made a general report on December 15. On February 28, a further report from the same source showed that the liabilities of the New-York banks had been reduced more than twelve and one half millions, or fifty per cent., and that, with the support of the community and the State authorities, they could resume on May 10, 1838. A general meeting of citizens joyfully ratified this decision. On April 11, the general convention again met in New-York, the Philadelphia banks once more declining to attend. A letter from Secretary Woodbury engaged the support of the United States treasury. A committee of one from each State recommended the first Monday in October as the earliest day, but the general body could not be brought to a date so early, and finally fixed upon January 1, 1839. The New-York banks would have accepted July 1, 1838, as a day for general resumption, and would have postponed it till then if that date had been set; but this being refused they resumed alone on May 10, 1838. The banks of the country were compelled, by the force of public opinion, to resume on July 1. The terrible contraction was fatal to the Bank of the United States, of Pennsylvania, which, after desperate struggles to redeem itself from the meshes, closed its doors in October, 1839, carrying with it the entire banking system of the southern and southwestern States. With it ended the last hope of the friends of a United States bank as a fiscal agent of the government.

With the failure of this hope came the desire for a powerful institution in New-York to serve as a check on the banks,—an institution with a large capital, controlled by men removed somewhat from the temptations of active business, which should hold a large reserve, confine itself to short discounts, and consider absolute safety rather than profit as the purpose of the bank. Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles, by his active exertions at Albany, secured the passage of a free banking law in 1838, under which the Bank of Commerce went into operation in that year. The presidency of this bank was tendered to Mr. Gallatin, but he declined. He had already resolved to withdraw from active business, and in fact resigned the presidency of the National Bank of New-York in June, 1839. Samuel Ward was chosen president of the Bank of Commerce. This gentleman died in the first year of office, and John A. Stevens was chosen in his place. Mr. Stevens conducted the bank with eminent success until after the close of the civil war, holding in that critical period of our national finances the most intimate relations with Salmon P. Chase, the worthy successor of Hamilton and Gallatin in the department of the treasury of the United States.

CITY HOTEL, TRINITY CHURCH, AND GRACE CHURCH, 1831.

Mr. Jefferson, in his message of 1806, recommended a national university for education in the higher sciences, but Mr. Gallatin, then a member of his cabinet, thought the time little propitious and the scheme not likely to find popular favor. An old companion of Gallatin in Geneva had even conceived the idea of transporting the entire University of Geneva to the United States, and had broached this in letters to Jefferson and Adams. But as the country developed Gallatin thought the plan, often referred to in his conversation and correspondence with the "Sage of Monticello," not impossible of attainment. This was, to use his own words, "the establishment of a general system of rational and practical education fitted for all and gratuitously open to all." New-York, already a great and a rapidly growing city, offered the most promising field for a grand national university on a broad and liberal scale. There was much difficulty in obtaining teachers in the lowest branches of education in the public schools. Great learning and the teaching faculty are not always, nor indeed often, found in the same person. Governor Enos T. Throop, in his message to the legislature of the State of New-York in 1830, called attention to this deficiency, but recommended no remedy. It was evident, however, that if such an institution were to be formed, it must be by private enterprise. From the colleges controlled by religious prejudice neither aid nor sympathy was to be expected. The colonial jealousies of Church of England men and Presbyterians were still strong, and, moreover, there was a distrust of scientific investigation as tending to undermine belief in the accepted letter of scriptural faith.

To Mr. Gallatin's personal appeals for support abundant subscriptions of money and scientific material were instantly forthcoming. The literary societies all over the United States were enthusiastic at the proposal. In October, 1830, a convention of more than one hundred literary and scientific gentlemen arrived in the city, delegates from every section of the country. The result of their conference, which was held in the common-council chamber at the City Hall, was the foundation of the New-York University. Mr. Gallatin was the president of the first council, but finding that, as in Columbia College, the clergy had obtained control of the new institution, he abandoned the idea he had conceived of endowing the city of New-York with a great American Sorbonne.

The upper class of society was clustered at this time in the streets which surrounded the academic block, on which old King's College was first built. Barclay and Murray streets, Church street and College Place were the confines, which extended as high as Chambers on the north, and on the blocks between Greenwich street and Broadway as far as the Battery. There were residences outside these limits, but this was the best-inhabited section. There was a charming literary coterie at this time in New-York, of which Columbia College was the center. The fame of one of these societies or gatherings, "The Club," has almost disappeared. An account of it, written by Dr. John Augustine Smith in the letter of invitation to Mr. Gallatin to join the company, November 2, 1829, deserves to be recorded among the memorials of this city:

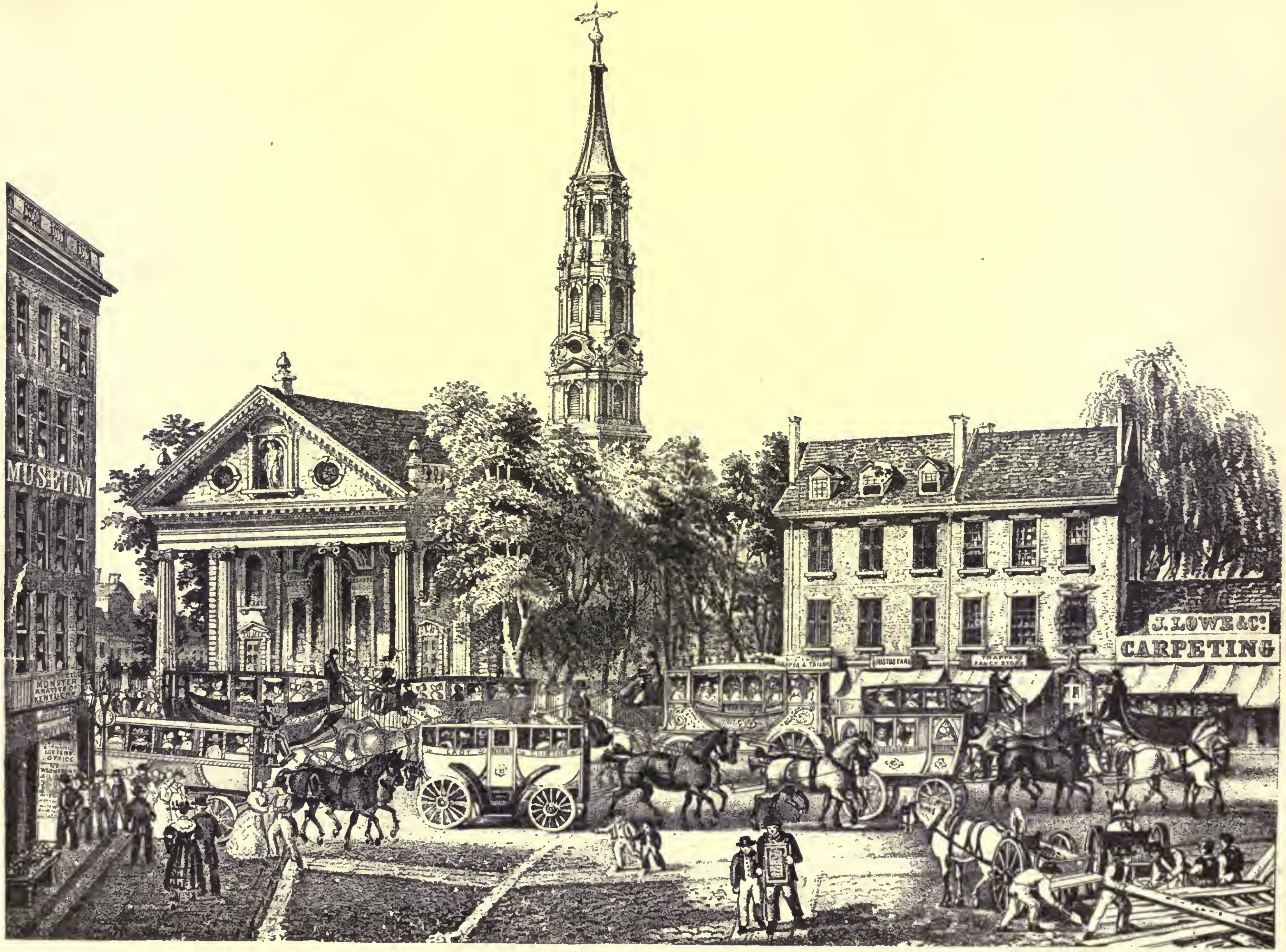
> Nearly two years ago some of the literary gentlemen of the city, feeling severely the almost total want of intercourse among themselves, determined to establish an association which should bring them more frequently into contact. Accordingly they founded the "Club," as it is commonly called, and which I believe I mentioned to you when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Bond street. Into this "Club" twelve persons only are admitted, and there are at present three gentlemen of the bar, Chancellor Kent, Messrs. Johnston and Jay; three professors of Columbia College, Messrs. McVickar, Moore, and Renwick; the Rev. Drs. Wainwright and Mathews, the former of the Episcopal, the latter of the Presbyterian Church; two merchants, Messrs. Bosworth and Goodhue; and I have the honor to represent the medical faculty. Our twelfth associate was Mr. Morse of the National Academy of Design, of which he was president, and his departure for Europe has caused a vacancy. For agreeableness of

conversation there is nothing in New-York at all comparable to our institution. We meet once a week, no officers, no formalities; invitations when in case of intelligent and distinguished strangers, and after a light repast retire about eleven o'clock.

Chancellor Kent had been the one center of attraction at these meetings, but Mr. Gallatin brought in a more varied conversation. Indeed, in this art he is said to have had no rival on this side of the Atlantic, and Talleyrand alone on the other. Naturally the membership of the club changed. About the year 1837 it numbered Professor Henry J. Anderson, John A. Stevens, Gallatin's countryman Henry C. De Rham, the Swiss consul, John Wells, Samuel Ward, Gulian C. Verplanck, and Charles King. New-York has not seen a literary symposium more delightful, more instructive, more dignified than the gathering at these meetings. The old-time simplicity was maintained in elegant surroundings. The club met at the houses of the members on winter evenings. Supper was at nine o'clock. The rule was absolute that only one hot dish should be served; but the ladies managed to evade the regulation by sundry subterfuges. Nor did they absolutely submit to exclusion. On one occasion Miss Sarah Moore, the sister of Professor Nathaniel F. Moore, of the college, surprised the company with an impromptu dish sent into the house of her friend with an elaborate effusion on the matter of the intruding delicacy, which was found sufficient apology. On another this ingenious and admirable lady met the withdrawing guests with an impromptu of another character—this time in the form of four Italian *trovatori*, with their national instruments, posted at the door.

RESIDENCE OF BISHOP MOORE.

New-York was the favorite refuge of the political exiles of every land. In 1834 there came quite a number of Poles, among whom was Etsko, a nephew of Kosciusko. A committee was formed to collect funds, and the exiles were quartered on the willing inhabitants. Among the papers of Mr. Gallatin, who was the chairman of the



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH AND BROADWAY IN 1831.

committee, preserved in the New-York Historical Society, there is a list of names ending in *ski;* to each is affixed a number and an allotment. No. 182, one Szelesegynski, was taken by Mr. Gallatin himself to look after horses. From their temporary homes these unfortunates were sent into the interior as fast as places could be found for them. All were provided for in this manner except fourteen boys, for whom a subscription was taken up. Congress assigned a tract of land in Illinois to these exiles from oppression.

Warren street has been named as about the upper limit of ultra-fashionable residence before 1837. Two houses built of marble on Chambers street about this period were considered foolish extravagances, because too high up-town. The Sunday walk of the ladies was from the south corner of Warren street down Broadway to Grace Church, below Trinity, and return. Children were taken each morning to play and to enjoy the fresh air on the Battery, then as lovely a spot as heart could desire. There was a colony about St. John's Park, and in the neighborhood of Varick and Laight streets; but it was considered remote. The New-Yorker of that day, whether of Holland stock or not, had the lethargic traits of that old race. A walk from the park to the sycamores which stood on the west side of Broadway at about Twenty-sixth street was considered to be a feat of pedestrianism suited only to athletic youths. Hot corn and ice-cream were carried about the streets on summer evenings, and eagerly purchased by the citizens, who not infrequently took the evening breeze on their front-door steps. Nor was it considered below the dignity of a gentleman to drink a draught, or, taking off his hat, to cool his head of a seething day, at the town pumps. Fires were numerous, and one of the chief pleasures of the New-Yorker was to "run with the engine." It was considered a privilege to be permitted to take a hand at the hose on some great "washout" between rival engines. The assemblies or subscription balls were dignified affairs, and the waltz was as yet unknown; but the highest in name and fashion did not disdain to take the broidered scarf and display the graces of her motions in the dance of the bayadere.

Chris Colles.[1]

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[1] Christopher Colles, who is mentioned in previous chapters of this volume, died in this city in 1821. The vignette is copied from a painting in the possession of the New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society. He is still represented here by descendants. EDITOR.

The Café Français, in Warren street, was the resort of the wits of the city. Here the poets Halleck and Hoffman were daily visitors, and many are the legends of this famous spot. It was here also that the Siamese twins took up their abode on their first visit to New-York. This quiet room was favored only by the chosen gentler spirits. The gayer bloods, who loved glare and glitter and the noise of Broadway, patronized the Café de Mille Colonnes, where music was had with the coffee or juleps or ices of the period. It was at this time also that Delmonico started on his successful career. He had the favor of Gallatin at once as his compatriot and as a lover of good cheer, of which he had shared the best, if not an epicure in the narrow sense of the word. Never had caterer such a field for his art, with the product of every zone cheap and in bountiful profusion close at hand. And never did caterer better improve his opportunities, teaching the inhabitants of this new world the culinary habits of the old, and revolutionizing the processes of the old by the devices suggested by the various and admirable customs of hospitable citizens of old New-York.

CONTOIT'S GARDEN, BROADWAY, 1830.

Among the schools of the period most in vogue was the grammar-school for boys. This stood in Murray street, on the college block, and was presided over by Professor Charles Anthon, of Columbia College, better known to literary fame as the translator of Lemprière's "Classical Dictionary," which, with the "Gradus ad Parnassum," was a favorite study of lovers of Roman and Grecian history and legend, and of easy quotations in the Latin vernacular. Professor Anthon, with his pearl-colored, tight-fitting cloth trousers, and his light cane, was an admired and dreaded character. To reach the fit of the one was the ambition of the youthful postulant, as much as the descent of the other was his dread. There was a legend current about this schoolmaster, that he breakfasted daily on twelve hard-boiled eggs, and that his morning exercise was taken on the bodies of the grammar-school boys. He may have been rough, but he was not brutal, and no one was ever seriously damaged in these morning exercises.

Besides this there was the French Institute in Bank street, kept by the brothers Louis and Hyacinth Peuquet. No young gentleman was considered to have completed his preliminary education until he had mastered the French language. The Peuquets were well-bred gentlemen. Louis, the elder, carried a ball received at the battle of Waterloo, which made him an unpleasant master of a wet day. Hyacinth was an excellent mathematician, and no youth left his school without a thorough training in the science of "fractions."

There were two equally celebrated schools for the education of young ladies. Before 1837 Mrs. Mary Okill, a lady of refinement, the daughter of Sir James Jay, had her institution in Barclay street. Here almost every young miss of distinction in the city had her first training, and many completed their education under her guidance. But there were other families who preferred that the finishing touches should be acquired by attendance at a French school. Of these there were two of social renown, that of Madame Fulgence Chegaray, and that of Mr. Charles Canda. Mr. Canda also was a soldier of the empire, and was fond of relating his terrible experience on the return from Moscow. The scions of this family are well-known citizens of New-York, and one of the best-remembered and saddest episodes of New-York life was the death and funeral of the accomplished daughter of Mr. Canda, killed by being thrown from her carriage on her return from an evening entertainment. Both sexes were taught dancing by Monsieur Charuaud, whose method was thorough in the training of the body, as well as in grace of motion. Traditions of his amiability and skill remain with three generations of New-Yorkers, whom the veteran taught up to the age of fourscore. Others trod in the footsteps of these admirable instructors, but New-York has never seen institutions of a higher character than those which marked this interesting decade.

THE CANDA MONUMENT.[1]

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[1] The illustration represents the beautiful Gothic monument erected to Miss Canda's memory in Greenwood Cemetery. EDITOR.

THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY AS A MARK OF HONOR.

The bestowal of this mark of esteem is so frequently mentioned in the preceding chapters, that it seems proper to collect some account of the practice and its significance, and to give a list of those threescore persons who have thus been honored from the time of Lord Cornbury, the first to whom it was given, to the present time—January, 1893—a period of nearly two centuries.

I. Of the freedom of the city, Chancellor James Kent says: "The 20th and 21st sections of the Montgomerie Charter gave to the Mayor and four or more Aldermen the power to make free citizens of the City, on payment of a fee not exceeding £5. to the use of the corporation. This was only a repetition of the power conferred by Governor Dongan's charter. . . . This chartered power has ceased [Kent wrote in 1836] to be of any importance, and is used only as a testimonial of respect or gratitude, on the part of the corporation, towards persons in high station, or who may have entitled themselves to the honor by personal merit, or some distinguished service. There are many instances in the annals of the corporation of this mode of reward. But the admission to the freedom of the city was, at the date of the charter, not only a token of honor, but a grant of substantial benefit. By making a person a freeman of the city, he became entitled to all its municipal privileges; and, among others, to the right of voting for, and of being voted to, corporate offices, which right belonged only to corporate freemen and to freeholders, until the Charter was altered by statute, in 1804." ("The Charter of the City of New-York, with notes," New-York, 1836, pp. 152, *et seq.*)

II. The following oath was required of those who acquired the privileges of freemen: "I, ———, do swear, That I, as a Freeman of the city of New-York, will be obeisant and obedient to the Mayor, and other Ministers or Peace Officers of the said city; the franchises and customs thereof I will maintain, and keep the said city harmless as much as in me lieth. I will know of no unlawful gatherings, assemblies, or meetings, or of any conspiracies against the peace of the people of the State of New-York, but I will warn the Mayor, or other Magistrate thereof, or hinder it to the utmost of my power. All these points and articles I will well and truly maintain, and keep according to the laws and customs of the said city. So help me God." ("New-York Historical Society Collections," 1885, p. 240.)

III. On pages 246, 247 of this volume there have been given in foot-notes the address and proceedings at the presentation of the freedom of the city to Captain Isaac Hull, of the Constitution, in recognition of his victory over the Guerrière. It will be of interest, also, as a specimen of similar documents delivered to other persons, to present the certificate of the grant to George Washington:

"By James Duane Esquire, Mayor, and the Recorder and Aldermen of the City of New-York. To all to whom these Presents shall come or may concern, Greeting.

"Whereas His Excellency George Washington, late Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, by a series of the most illustrious Services is entitled to the Respect, Gratitude, and Applause of every Heart which is truly American; And as none can have greater Reason to cherish the most honorable and affectionate Sentiments towards him than the Citizens of the State of New-York; So we have the fullest Confidence that there is no State in which they are more generally and emphatically felt. Flattering ourselves that, convinced of this Truth, His Excellency may be pleased to have his name enrolled among the Citizens of a Metropolis for the Recovery of which so much of his Care and Solicitude have been employed: Now therefore know ye that we, considering that Effusions of public Esteem are the most welcome Tribute to a patriot mind, have admitted and received, and by these Presents Do admit and receive, his said Excellency to be a Freeman and Citizen of the said City.

"To hold, exercise, and enjoy all the Rights, Privileges and Immunities to the Freedom and Citizenship of the said City incident and appertaining as a permanent Proof of the admiration we feel for his exalted Virtues, for the Wisdom, Fortitude and Magnanimity which he has so gloriously displayed thro' all the Vicissitudes and Embarrassments, thro' all the alternate Scenes of prosperous and adverse Fortune, produced in the Progress of an arduous and difficult War. And finally for that patriotic Heroism which, after having been an essential instrument in giving by the Divine Blessing Liberty and Independence to the thirteen Republicks, hath led him to retire with Chearfulness from the Head of a victorious Army to the modest Station of a private Citizen.

"In Testimony of these Truths and to perpetuate them to our remotest Posterity, we the said Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen have caused these Presents to be entered on our public Records, and our common Seal of the said City, enclosed in a golden Box, to be hereunto affixed. Witness James Duane Esq^{r}, Mayor of the said City, this 2d Day of December in the Year of our Lord 1784, and of the Independence of the State the ninth." ("At a Common Council held the 2d Day of December, 1784," from the Records at the City Hall. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1885, pp. 267, 268.)

The letter which Washington wrote in acknowledging the receipt of this certificate and the gold box containing it, appears in facsimile on pages 23 and 24 of this volume.

IV. A list of the names of those upon whom the freedom of the city has been bestowed, together with the dates, is here given:

Viscount Cornbury	Dec. 1, 1702.
Earl Lovelace	March 1, 1709.
Governor William Hunter	June 16, 1710.
Governor William Burnet	Sept. 26, 1720.
Captain Peter Solgard[1]	Aug. 6, 1723.
Captain Coril Mayne[2]	Oct. 16, 1728.
Governor William Cosby	Aug. 9, 1732.
Lord Augustus Fitz Roy	Oct. 23, 1732.
Major Alexander Cosby	Aug. 27, 1733.
Thomas Freeman[3]	" "
Captain Matthew Norris	Nov. 4, 1734.
Captain Robert Long	" "
Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia	Sept. 29, 1735.
Daniel Horsmanden	Jan. 17, 1736.
Governor George Clinton	Sept. 30, 1743.
Captain John Burgiss[4]	June 28, 1748.
Honorable William Shirley	Aug. 11, 1748.
Sir Danvers Osborn	Oct. 10, 1753.
Sir Charles Hardy	Sept. 10, 1755.
General Jeffrey Amherst	Nov. 27, 1760.
Governor Robert Monckton	Oct. 31, 1761.
Governor Henry Moore	Nov. 21, 1765.
William Davis[5]	June 10, 1766.
The Earl of Dunmore	Nov. 13, 1770.
Governor William Tryon	July 18, 1771.
General Thomas Gage	June 7, 1773.
Marquis de La Fayette	Sept. 14, 1784.
George Clinton	Sept. 22, 1784.
John Jay	Oct. 4, 1784.
Baron Steuben	Oct. 11, 1784.
George Washington	Dec. 2, 1784.
Pierre Charles l'Enfant[6]	Oct. 12, 1789.
Horatio Gates	Feb. 25, 1791.
Alexander Hamilton	Mar. 16, 1795.
Robert Fulton	Aug. 10, 1812.
Isaac Hull	Sept. 7, 1812.
Jacob Jones	Nov. 30, 1812.
Stephen Decatur	Dec. 17, 1812.
William Bainbridge	Mar. 1, 1813.
James Lawrence	Mar. 29, 1813.
Oliver H. Perry	Oct. 4, 1813.
Thomas McDonough	Sept. 26, 1814.
Jacob Brown	Oct. 10, 1814.
Alexander Macomb	Nov. 21, 1814.
Charles Stewart	June 5, 1815.
Andrew Jackson	Feb. 23, 1819.
George Washington de La Fayette	Aug. 18, 1824.
Martin Van Buren	Mar. 23, 1829.
Daniel T. Paterson	June 27, 1832.
Winfield Scott	April 23, 1847.
Zachary Taylor	" "
Matthew C. Perry	July 24, 1848.
Frederick Jerome[7]	Sept. 18, 1848.
David Cook	Jan. 4, 1850.
Robert Creighton	Jan. 19, 1854.
Edwin J. Low[8]	" "
Robert Anderson	April 22, 1861.
Thurlow Weed	July 7, 1862.
David G. Farragut	Aug. 17, 1864.
Andrew Johnson	Aug. 27, 1866.

EDITOR.

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[1] For capturing a pirate vessel.

[2] For driving away pirates from New England waters.

[3] Freeman was the son-in-law of Governor Cosby.

[4] For capturing a privateer.

[5] For having presented a portrait of William Pitt to the common council.

[6] An engineer officer who came to this country with Lafayette and served with distinction in the army, afterward drawing the plan of the city of Washington.

[7] A common seaman who had displayed great heroism during a shipwreck, and had saved many lives.

[8] This and the two preceding persons were captains of vessels, who had been the means of rescuing hundreds of shipwrecked people at sea, at great risk to themselves.

CHAPTER X

TEN YEARS OF MUNICIPAL VIGOR

1837–1847

ON March 4, 1837, beneath a cloudless sky, President Van Buren read his inaugural address to the thousands assembled before the Capitol at Washington. On the 15th of the same month, Daniel Webster visited the city of New-York, to receive an ovation from the Whigs of the metropolis for his opposition to the principles which had again triumphed in Martin Van Buren's election. Webster traveled from Philadelphia to Perth Amboy by the newly opened Camden and Amboy Railway. A committee of New-York's most prominent Whigs, appointed to make arrangements for his reception, met him on his arrival at Perth Amboy, where he was taken on board the steamer chartered by the committee and conveyed to New-York city. An immense concourse of people assembled at the Battery to greet the "Defender of the Constitution." Upon landing he was placed in a barouche with David B. Ogden, Philip Hone, and Peter Stagg, and driven to the American Hotel, amid the cheers of the throngs which lined his route from the Battery to the hotel. In the evening between four thousand and five thousand persons, chiefly Whigs, were gathered in Niblo's Saloon to hear the great orator upon the issues of the time — the National Bank and the

W. J. Worth

methods of Jackson and of his successor. On the following day a public reception was tendered him in the City Hall.

The city which Webster visited in 1837 had few of the features of the metropolis of to-day. It had then a population of about 300,000, the census taken by the mayor's marshals in 1835 showing upward of 270,000. Near the Battery, at which the great Whig statesman disembarked, stood Castle Garden, then situated upon an insular mound of earth, approached from the Battery by a bridge. This historic structure, originally Castle Clinton, had in 1822 been ceded by the United States to the city, at which date it received its present name. For years after the cession it was rented as a place of amusement, and distinguished singers, among whom may be enumerated Madame Malibran and Madame Grisi, have here delighted thousands of old New-Yorkers. As he rode up Broadway, the visitor may have had pointed out to him the house, long since razed, where Sir Henry Clinton had his headquarters during the Revolutionary War, but at this time the home of Edward Prime, of the banking-house of Prime, Ward & King, whom Webster doubtless met, and whose firm was destined to play an important part in the impending financial crisis of 1837. Nor could the successful advocate in the great case of Gibbons *v.* Ogden have failed to notice the adjoining house, once the home of Robert Fulton, with whose invention one of his most brilliant legal triumphs was associated. In the brick row then fronting Bowling Green lived Stephen Whitney, perhaps the wealthiest man of the city, and Jacob Hone, who, with his brother Philip, had amassed a fortune as an auctioneer. The house where Washington Irving once

BUNKER'S MANSION HOUSE, BROADWAY.[1]

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[1] Bunker's Mansion House, a famous hotel, was situated at No. 39 Broadway, and was a large double-brick house, erected in 1786 by General Alexander Macomb as a residence for himself. It was a most comfortable and well-conducted hotel, and was patronized largely by Southern families. Bunker, who was noted for his affability to his customers, grew rich rapidly, and eventually sold the property and retired from business. Moulton, in his "History of New-York," says, according to tradition, that this house stood on the site of the first erection of any kind by the Dutch on Manhattan Island. This consisted of a small redoubt, built in 1615. EDITOR.

resided was within sight, near the corner of State and Bridge streets, while No. 17 Whitehall street was still the home of his brother-in-law, the distinguished author of "The Backwoodsman," James K. Paulding, soon to be called to a place in Van Buren's cabinet as secretary of the navy. Numerous private residences were to be found upon Broadway below and above Wall street. About this marvelous thoroughfare—for such Broadway was even then—banks were not more thickly clustered than churches. Grace Church stood on the corner of Rector street and Broadway; and at No. 11 Wall street, the old Presbyterian church, in which worshiped the society that, in 1844, built the church on Fifth Avenue, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets. Near Grace Church stood Trinity, but not the Trinity familiar to the present generation. The Trinity of 1837, which was not the original edifice, but the third church upon this site, was completed in 1788, and was now nearing its end. In 1839 it was taken down, and it was replaced in 1846 by the present noble structure. As the mention of the second temple would to the Jew have suggested the more splendid glory of the departed temple of Solomon, so the second Trinity recalls the former church, built in 1696, as the old historian records it, "very pleasantly upon the banks of the Hudson River," for the beach upon which the waters of the river once broke is now covered by gravestones. In Wall street, upon the site of the old Federal Hall, were reared the outlines of an unfinished structure, designed for the custom-house, and for many years occupied as such, but now the subtreasury. The old Merchants' Exchange, erected between 1825 and 1827 by the Merchants' Exchange Company, which was incorporated in 1823, with a capital of $1,000,000, had been destroyed in the great fire of December, 1835, together with Ball Hughes's celebrated statue of Hamilton, which stood in the rotunda, and to save which most heroic efforts were made. The present Merchants' Exchange was begun in 1836, but was not finished until 1842. Upon a later visit, in 1842, Mr. Webster found it still incomplete. On the east side of Nassau street, between Cedar and Liberty, stood the Middle Dutch Church, an object familiar

DUTCH CHURCH IN GARDEN STREET.[1]

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[1] The Garden Street Church (afterward called the South Church) was built in 1693, in Garden street, now Exchange Place. The original edifice was of wood, and was octagonal; it was altered in 1776, and in 1807 was rebuilt of stone, as shown in the above illustration. EDITOR.

until 1882. Erected in 1729, it was for many years consecrated to the service of the God for the privilege of worshiping whom the Puritans of Holland so long and triumphantly withstood the armies of Alva and his son. The transfer of the government of Peter Stuyvesant's city to the Duke of York produced no change in its sacred character; but, during the Revolutionary days, it was used by the British as a place for the confinement of American soldiers.[1] Peace being restored, religious worship was resumed and continued until 1845, when the building was leased to the United States and converted into a post-office; for the merchants of that day had successfully objected to a post-office as far up-town as the City Hall. The old South Dutch Church had been consumed in the great fire of 1835, but the North Dutch Church, erected upon the northwest corner of Fulton and William streets, was, like St. George's Chapel in Beekman street, a familiar object until within a few years past.

The city, in 1837, and for several years afterward, was in a state of chaos, owing to the extent of building operations. New structures of brick or stone were replacing the old wooden architecture, or rising from the ruins caused by the fire of 1835. As the "Mirror" said, it reminded the observer of the famous city of Dido, where Æneas witnessed the incessant activity of the masons and architects of Tyre. The exodus of the wealthy from the lower parts of the city, within a few years to become general, had hardly yet commenced. Park Place, Murray, Warren, Chambers, Franklin, and White streets, and upon the east side East Broadway, were, besides Broadway, the chief abodes of fashion. A few elegant mansions had been built about University Square, or in lower Fifth Avenue. The City Park embraced the land upon which the post-office now stands, and was covered with ample shade-trees. To the west of the City Hall, then considered one of the finest public buildings in New-York, was the old jail or bridewell. The new City Hall, the brownstone building to the east of the present county court-house, was at this time, and for many years afterward, occupied by the justices of the United States District and Circuit Courts, and by the justices of the Marine Court and Common Pleas. The Hall of Records has been so many times altered that our modern busy man forgets its transformations, although he deplores its ugliness; but the old building merits attention, not only for the records it contains, but for the record of which it is the witness. At one time the headquarters of the infamous Cunningham, in which so many gallant patriots were confined during the occupation of the city by the British, the building in 1830 became the depository of the county records, and in the year 1832 was used as a cholera hospital. Later again it was renovated and remodeled, a new façade with Ionic columns erected, and in the days of which we write it was one of the landmarks of the city.

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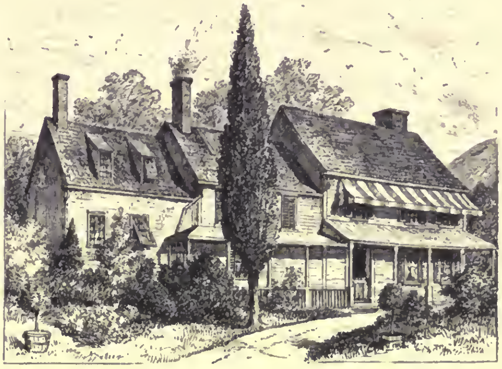
[1] It was in this church that the semi-centennial celebration of Washington's inauguration took place on April 30, 1839, under the auspices of the New-York Historical Society. The orator of the occasion was the venerable John Quincy Adams, then seventy-two years of age. The ceremonies at the church were followed by a grand dinner at the City Hotel.

New-York was at this time deficient in public parks. Bowling Green was an inclosure sacred to the aristocrats who dwelt near it; St. John's Park, or Hudson Square, with its fine trees, was also maintained in trim state for the exclusive use of the occupants of the surrounding mansions. The houses about this park were English in their architecture, usually double, and of two stories in height, with fronts of yellowish brick, contrasted with brownstone porticos and trimmings. An air of elegant uniformity pervaded this neighborhood, and "the continuous long lines of iron palisades both around the square and before the area of every house, and up the several door-steps," said a writer of the time, "give a peculiar aspect of European style and magnificence." With the exception of Vauxhall Park, the Battery was the only popular pleasure-ground. Vauxhall Gardens, the "favorite resort of the democratic masses," occupied a large part of the block bounded by Fourth Avenue, Fourth street, Lafayette Place, and Astor Place, including the site of the Astor Library. Washington Square was then the parade-ground, upon which the militia was reviewed. It had previously been used as the Potter's Field. Union Square was well out of town. Gramercy Park, which owes its existence to the munificence of the late Samuel B. Ruggles, although designed before 1837, was not laid out or improved until about 1840. One of the attractions of this square, in its early days, was a fountain erected at a cost of $3000.

John Henry Hobart.

Washington Hall, erected by the Federalists in their palmy days, was situated where the Stewart marble building now stands. Stewart's Chambers-street store was not opened until 1845. On the east side of Broadway was the Masonic Hall, long deemed, next to the Merchants' Exchange, the finest structure in the city. Columbia College was then in College Place, and the University of the City of New-York had not yet removed to its new building upon Washington Square. The New-York Society Library occupied rooms in the Mechanics'

Society building in Chambers street, awaiting the completion of its new home on the corner of Broadway and Leonard street. The Mercantile Library was at Clinton Hall, which was then situated on the southwest corner of Nassau and Beekman streets, the site lately occupied by the Nassau Bank, now by Temple Court. In this hall at that day, and for several years later, the young National Academy of Design exhibited the pictures of Allston, Ingham, Morse, and West, while at the more ample galleries of the American Art Union, at No. 497 Broadway, might have been seen about this period "The Passing of a Summer Shower" by Durand, or Leutze's "Landing of Columbus."



THE BEVERLY ROBINSON HOUSE.[1]

The hotels of the city were few in number, and, considering its size, the accommodations which the town could furnish to travelers were far from adequate. The City Hotel—according to Dayton, "without an equal in the United States"—held the first place; but the recently erected Astor House soon rose to a position of primacy, and here were given many great dinners, notably those to the Prince de Joinville and Lord Ashburton. The Irving House was on the corner of Chambers street and Broadway; the American House at 135 Fulton street; in Broad street was the Exchange Hotel; in Park Row, Lovejoy's; in Nassau street, Tammany Hall, although then the headquarters of the Locofocos, as the Whigs of the time were fond of styling all Democrats, dispensed hospitality upon the European plan. The elder Delmonico and his rival, Guerin,—now but a name,—had just settled in the city; but the famous restaurant-keeper was Windust, whose basement in Park Row, not far from the Park Theater, was the resort of literary and theatrical people, among whom Thomas A. Cooper, Edmund Kean, Junius Brutus Booth, the Wallacks, and the Kembles were the most noted. After the curtain had fallen for the evening, hosts of auditors visited Windust's to catch a nearer glimpse of the celebrities of the stage. Before 1837, Windust, having become rich in the humble basement where wits and players long assembled, moved to more ambitious quarters, and opened the famous Athenæum, at the corner of Broadway and Leonard street, in the very heart of fashion. But the patronage which reminds us of the London coffee-houses in the days of Johnson and Goldsmith, and which had made Windust rich and famous, did not follow him in his new venture, and before many years the Athenæum was closed.

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[1] The Beverly Robinson House was situated on the east bank of the Hudson, nearly opposite West Point, and was erected about 1750 by Colonel Beverly Robinson, whose father, John Robinson, was president of the colony of Virginia after the retirement of Governor Gooch. Its grounds, comprising a thousand acres, came to him through his marriage with Susanna, daughter of Frederick Philipse, the second proprietor of the manor, and sister of Mrs. Roger Morris. Colonel Robinson served with distinction as a major in the British army, under Wolfe, at the storming of Quebec. Opposed to the separation of the colonies from England, he removed to New-York, raised the Loyal American Regiment, and became its colonel. He played a conspicuous part in behalf of the royalists in many important matters, and his home on the Hudson was Arnold's headquarters while planning his treachery with André, in which Colonel Robinson was concerned. At the close of the war, his large estates, including "Beverly," were confiscated and sold. The old mansion was replete with memories of colonial days. Washington made use of it continually; Putnam had his headquarters there also, as did other generals of the American army. It was for a long time in the possession of the Arden family, and was purchased about 1873 by Hamilton Fish, who preserved it unaltered until its destruction by fire, March 17, 1892. For many years the old mansion was the residence of a member of his family. It was pleasantly situated near the foot of Sugar-Loaf Mountain, named by the first Dutch settlers *Suiker Brood Berg*, also the property of Mr. Fish, who writes to the Editor, under date of August 2, 1892: "The name is of ancient date, derived, as I have long since understood, from its shape, presenting on approach from the south by the river the pointed shape of the old-fashioned loaves of sugar, more familiar to those who (like me) number their years at eighty-four, than to the younger generation."

John Wilkes

"Last week," said the "Mirror" in September, 1837, "was a memorable one, for it was the first occasion in Gotham when eight theaters were in operation at the same time." Among the theaters of the day the Park easily held the first place, and was the "old Drury" of New-York. Its site was at No. 21 Park Row. Here, during this decade, could have been heard Ellen Tree (who visited America in 1836), Mr. and Mrs. Keeley, Charles Kemble, the Keans, Tyrone Power, Conway, Macready, and the Ravel family. Here was first publicly sung Payne's "Home, Sweet Home." Fannie Elssler, who visited New-York in 1840, here acquainted the staid Knickerbockers with the ballet, and her dancing in "la Tarentule" and in "la Sylphide" captivated audiences little accustomed to the *pas seul.* Henry Clay, upon one of his visits to the city, is said to have enjoyed one of these ballets. At the National,[1] Charles Kean played Hamlet, Macbeth, and Claude Melnotte; and Forrest, Lear and Richelieu, besides whom were other histrionic celebrities at the Franklin, the Broadway, or Euterpean Hall. The dramatic taste of the metropolis was never purer, nor the acting superior.

One of the most famous theaters of the time — famous not so much as a dramatic success as because of its site — was Richmond Hill, located on the corner of Varick and Charlton streets. The theater consisted of the old mansion-house of Aaron Burr with the addition of a building constructed in its rear, and at its opening a prize was offered for the best dedicatory poem. The judges assembled in one of the old rooms where in Burr's days had gathered Talleyrand, the philosopher Volney, and other celebrities of the time. Gulian C.

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[1] The National, originally designed for an opera-house, was at Church and Leonard streets. It was twice consumed by fire, the first occasion being in September, 1839, the second in May, 1841. Its manager, James W. Wallack, was a well-known personage in the society of that day.

Verplanck read the successful poem and broke the seal of the envelope containing the name of the successful competitor — Fitz-Greene Halleck. But Richmond Hill was too far out of town for those days; its fall was inevitable, and it was closed in 1842.

In the whole history of the Park Theater it never held a wealthier or more fashionable assemblage than on the evening of St. Valentine's day[1] in 1842, when the leading society people of New-York held a ball in honor of Charles Dickens. The "Boz" ball was the talk of the town during January and February. On the evening of January 26, at a meeting at the Astor House, resolutions to arrange for a public ball in the novelist's honor were passed, and a committee appointed, including among its members Robert H. Morris, Philip Hone, James Watson Webb, Justice Thomas J. Oakley, John W. Edmonds, Alexander W. Bradford, Charles W. Sandford, and William H. Appleton, who, not long previously, had opened in London, England, a branch establishment of the firm of D. Appleton & Co. Ex-Mayor Hone was selected to address the letter of invitation to Mr. Dickens, who was then at Boston. The committee recommended that the ball should be given at the Park, the inside of which should be so transformed as to represent a magnificent saloon; the auditorium to be decorated with flowers, garlands, draperies, and trophies emblematical of the different States of the Union; the floor to extend from the front of the boxes to the rear of the house, where, on an elevated stage, were to be represented in tableaux various interesting scenes from Dickens's works. The programme of the committee was strictly carried out. The decorations and ornaments were all, as Mr. Hone said, "Pickwickian." Before a temporary stage was hung a drop-curtain upon which Pickwick and his friends and Sam Weller were depicted. Behind this curtain were represented groups of persons illustrating incidents in "Pickwick," "Nicholas Nickleby," "Oliver

Samuel Jones[2]

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[1] "Within the last few years the observance of this festival [St. Valentine's day] has been extending in New-York, and it has now become quite a showy affair; forty thousand valentines pass through the course of the day. To-night [February 14, 1844] a club of bachelors, according to annual custom, give the ladies a ball at the Astor House." Letters from New-York, by Lydia Maria Child.

[2] Samuel Jones was born July 26, 1734. He studied law with Judge William Smith, and became recorder of New-York in 1789. Dr. David Hosack said of him: "Common consent has indeed assigned him the highest attainments in jurisprudence, and the appellation of father of the New-York bar." He was the father of the chancellor, and died November 21, 1819. EDITOR.

Twist," "The Old Curiosity Shop," "Barnaby Rudge," and others of Dickens's then published works. The intervals of the dancing were enlivened with the tableaux and with refreshments. The guests, who numbered nearly twenty-five hundred, were the exponents of the wealth and aristocracy of the town. Had it been possible to raise the curtain of futurity and to add to the stage tableaux the pictures of New-York life shortly to be presented in "Martin Chuzzlewit,"[1] there would have been a speedy end to the honors shown the guest of the evening. A few days later a dinner to the novelist, attended by more than two hundred ladies and gentlemen, was given at the City Hotel. It is an interesting fact that Washington Irving, who with other authors of the day was present on this occasion, was almost as much of a "lion" as Dickens. To Irving's affluent literary honors had recently been added his appointment as minister to Spain, upon the nomination of President Tyler.[2]

Eliz. Izard

At few of the many brilliant entertainments for which these years were notable was gas, which was a recent introduction, used to illuminate the drawing-rooms. The New-York Gas-light Company had been incorporated in 1823, with permission to lay its pipes below Canal and Grand streets, at which time the business and residential parts of the city were south of this line. In 1830 the Manhattan Gas-light Company was organized to supply the illuminant to the upper wards, but for many years lamps supplied with sperm-oil, or candles, were employed, especially in the more democratic households.

It was estimated that New-York then had about one hundred and fifty churches, of which not more than six were Roman Catholic. Before 1850 the churches had increased in number to two hundred and thirty-nine, and the number of Roman Catholic churches had been trebled. In the early part of this decade most of the churches were far down-town. Their migration up-town at this period is significant of the change then occurring in the center of population. Besides those already enumerated, the chief churches were St. George's Chapel in Beekman street, St. Paul's and St. John's chapels, Christ Church in Ann street, and the old Brick Church, which, with its adjoining grounds, occupied the site upon which the "Times" and the Potter buildings now stand.

It was an era in which clubs were formed. There were the Hone Club, which held its weekly feasts at the homes of its different members, usually Whigs, and at which both Webster and Clay, upon different occasions, were honored guests; the Kent Club, so called in honor of ex-Chancellor Kent, comprising some of the most eminent lawyers of the city, as Samuel Jones, John Duer (afterward a judge of the Superior Court, and brother of William A. Duer, then president of Columbia College), John Anthon, Ogden Hoffman, Peter A. Jay, the then rising Charles O'Conor, and Francis B. Cutting. The Union Club was formed in 1836. "It was," says Lossing, "the representative organization of members of old families, the remnants of the Knickerbocker race, who clung with tenacity to the idea and the traditions of family aristocracy they had so long enjoyed." "Their names appear in the list of membership," says Fairfield, whom Lossing quotes, "with a sort of aristocratic monotony of that Knickerbockerism which earned for them the epithet of the Bourbons of New-York." There were still extant the Sketch Club, formed by Morse and other artists in 1827, the members of which used to meet fortnightly at the old Washington Hotel, corner of Broadway and Chambers street, and the famous Bread and Cheese Club, whose membership was more distinctively literary and scientific, and at whose meetings might be seen Dr. Francis, author and physician, the naturalist De-Kay, and his friend the author of "Alnwick Castle" and "Marco Bozzaris," the Duer brothers, Gulian C. Verplanck, the legislator and writer, Professor Renwick, and Charles King,[1] afterward the able president of Columbia College.

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[1] In his "American Notes," Dickens was more just to New-York. "The tone of the best society in this city is like that of Boston; here and there, it may be, with a greater infusion of the mercantile spirit, but generally polished and refined, and always most hospitable. . . . The ladies are singularly beautiful."

[2] This appointment, which was universally approved, was made at the instance of Webster, then secretary of state. EDITOR.

S. Jones Jun

The "Augustan age of American literature" existed here in the period now under notice. New England literature was yet in its infancy. Emerson, Longfellow, and Hawthorne were just rising into prominence. Hawthorne's "Twice-Told Tales" were first published in New-York, and were welcomed by Lewis Gaylord Clark in the "Knickerbocker Magazine." "Morton's Hope" was brought out anonymously by the Harpers, and to many gave little promise of such splendid compositions as "The Dutch Republic" or "The United Netherlands." The "Knickerbocker," like the "Mirror," was in the meridian of its splendor, with a roll of illustrious contributors, both foreign and American. Southey, Bulwer, Guizot, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Whittier, Bryant, Cooper, Irving, Percival, Paulding, William L. Stone, Charles Fenno Hoffman, Halleck, N. P. Willis, Theodore S. Fay, John Inman, and Park Benjamin contributed to its columns. The Harpers, the veteran publishers of the city, were then issuing Bulwer's tales, Lockhart's Life of the lately deceased Sir Walter Scott, Mrs. Shelley's "Faulkner," Matthew Davis's "Life of Burr," and Sergeant Talfourd's "Life and Letters" of the inimitable Charles Lamb. In the same era came Poe's "Narrative of A. Gordon Pym," peerless of its kind after "Gulliver's Travels"; Longfellow's "Hyperion"; "The Pathfinder," "The Water-Witch," and "The Deerslayer," by Cooper; "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville" and "Astoria" by the veteran Irving; Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," and the works of Dumas, D'Israeli, Dickens, and Humboldt.[1] There was indeed admirable reading to be had in those days, nor was the lyceum much behind, with lectures by Jared Sparks, Verplanck, President Duer, and the author of the "Yellowplush Papers."

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[1] Charles and James G. King were sons of the Federalist Rufus King, who represented New-York in the United States Senate, contemporaneously with Burr, in the latter part of the past century. King also served in the same body between the years 1813 and 1825. EDITOR.

P. G. Stuyvesant

The pioneer of the penny press, and the first newspaper to substitute steam-presses for the old machines turned by crank, was the New-York "Sun," which first appeared in 1835. Steam-presses and cheap journalism revolutionized the press of the city. The "Herald" was also begun in 1835, but the "Times," the "Tribune," and the "World" were of later origin. The "World" was the offspring of the "Courier and Enquirer," which, edited by James Watson Webb, was the Whig organ of this period. Before the days of ocean steamers or telegraphs, Webb initiated the "pony express," maintaining a fleet of small vessels outside of Sandy Hook to hail each incoming packet for the latest news from abroad. Webb's transient monopoly was soon contested by the "Journal of Commerce" and other papers of the day, but with the advent of the steamships Sirius and Great Western this method of preëmpting the latest information speedily became obsolete. In 1840, Horace Greeley, under the auspices of Thurlow Weed, started a campaign sheet known as the "Log Cabin," the embryo from which the "Tribune" was afterward developed. The "Log Cabin" was devoted to the cause of Harrison and Tyler. Log cabins, typical of the early home of the Whig candidate, were erected all over the city, and hard cider flowed in abundant streams, in rhythmic unison with the cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Little more than a month after his inauguration the log-cabin hero was summoned from the White House to the grave, when the people of New-York, without distinction of party, united in expressions of profound grief. It was the first time that such a calamity as the death of its chief magistrate in office had befallen the nation. Business was universally suspended; public buildings and private dwellings were draped with the badges of mourning; and the tolling of bells and the firing of minute-guns accompanied the march of one of the greatest processions till then ever witnessed in New-York. The day was overcast and threatening, and so enormous were the numbers desiring to participate in the procession that it was midday before it moved. The route was from the City Hall Park through Chatham street, East Broadway, Grand street, Bowery, Union Square, and Broadway to the City Hall Park. Before the procession, estimated to number thirty thousand persons, was fairly under way, a severe storm of snow and rain set in, thoroughly drenching the participants and spectators.

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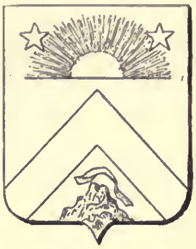
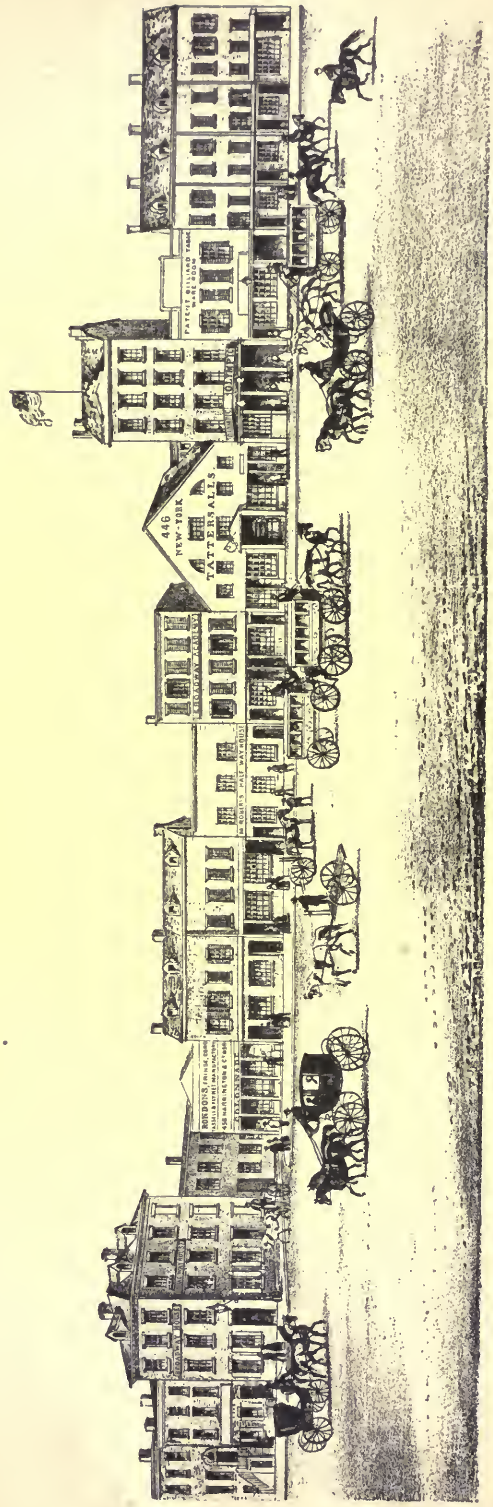
[1] "Cosmos" was written in 1842 and 1843, when Humboldt was upward of seventy-two years of age.



BLEECKER ARMS.

Like their English prototypes as described by Scott in "The Fortunes of Nigel," many, especially of the retail merchants of that day, still adhered to the old-fashioned plan of dwelling over their stores and of dining with the family at noon. The homes and industries of the city being mainly within a short distance from Trinity Church, there was little occasion for omnibuses or cars. Stages were first introduced in 1830, and the first line ran between Bowling Green and Bleecker street. This innovation was soon followed by the appearance of rival lines each competing for traffic by the elegance of its vehicles, to which were given grandiloquent names, suitable to the period, such as the Lady Washington, the Lady Clinton, the George Washington, and the De Witt Clinton. These stages, sometimes drawn by four horses, brought the suburban villages of Greenwich and Yorkville nearer to the city. The omnibus was soon followed by the street railroad. The first horse railroad incorporated in the city, which was in fact the pioneer horse railroad of the world, was that of the New-York and Harlem Railroad Company, organized in 1831. The advent of the railroad added a new enterprise, the manufacture of tram-cars. John Stephenson was the originator of this industry, and his first street-car, the John Mason, named in honor of the first president of the company, who was also the founder of the Chemical Bank, made its initial trip between Prince and Fourteenth streets on November 26, 1832, carrying the mayor and common council of the city as invited guests to witness the success of the experiment. In 1836, Mr. Stephenson built at Harlem an extensive car manufactory.

To the newspapers and the populace of the day the construction of the Fourth Avenue tunnel seemed an engineering achievement equal to the Simplon Road. The tunnel lies along the route of the New-York and Harlem Railroad, between Thirty-third and Forty-second streets. Here, in those days, was Mount Prospect (part of which still



BROADWAY, EAST SIDE, BETWEEN GRAND AND HOWARD STREETS, 1840.

remains), one of the notable suburban resorts; and Prospect Hall, upon its summit, was in its day a place as attractive as the Murray Hill or the Park Avenue of to-day. The road was first opened through the tunnel on October 26, 1837, and like all the new enterprises its completion was celebrated with éclat. The "Mirror" of the following week, speaking of the work, remarks: "Philadelphia and Boston are both famous for their lions, their Fairmount Water-works, and their Mount Auburn Cemetery, but they must now hide their diminished heads for a while until they can get up something to beat the tunnel on Fourth Avenue. . . . *Certes*, we know of nothing in any city of the Union to compare with the magnificent view that opens upon you, when emerging from the upper end of the artificial ravine that has been cloven down some seventy feet through the solid rocks of Mount Prospect." The cars at this time ran at intervals of fifteen minutes; the fare was twenty-five cents. Subsequently the road was extended down the Bowery to its present terminus at the City Hall Park.

To the Dutch of New Amsterdam had succeeded the

English; to the English, settlers from New England; and from abroad, early in the century, had come the Jew. The elements which go to make a proletariat, and which, early in the forties, made the Five Points a resort worthy of the pen of Dickens, were just commencing to seek our shores in considerable numbers. Immigration to the United States from 1820 to 1829 amounted, according to accepted statistics, to only 90,077 persons. A great increase took place in the next nine years, the immigration rising between 1830 and 1839 to 343,517. Of the foreign influx during this latter period, 159,672 persons came from Ireland, as against 51,617 from the same island between 1820 and 1829. Between 1840 and 1849 the figures of the preceding nine years were nearly trebled, amounting to 1,161,564. But during this interval there occurred the Irish famine of 1847, the revolution in continental Europe, the discovery of gold in California, and the opening up of our distant West. Between 1820 and 1829 England, Scotland, and Ireland, combined, sent us 71,711 persons, of which Ireland alone contributed 51,617; while between 1830 and 1839 not more than 10,000 residents of England and Scotland came to the United States to reside. The high-water mark of Irish immigration was between 1850 and 1859, when she sent us 1,073,065 souls. During the same period Germany contributed 935,171 immigrants. In no year prior to 1842 did the total immigration rise to 100,000. In 1842 the figures were 104,565, one half of the number being from Ireland. A great abatement was discernible in 1843 and 1844, but from 1845 onward there was steady augmentation. Naturally, a large fraction of these foreigners entered at the port of New-York, and their arrival soon produced its influence upon the character and politics of the city. The natural alliance of the Irish element was with the Democratic party. The recently formed Whig party at first bid with equal zeal for the foreign vote. The success of the Democrats in controlling it resulted in the defeat of the

Aaron Clark[1]

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[1] Aaron Clark was the second mayor of the city who was seated by popular election, and his success may be ascribed to the Locofoco disaffection. In 1835 a number of Democrats, after an unsuccessful effort to impress their policy upon their party, seceded from Tammany Hall. The well-known circumstance which gave rise to the name by which this organization was generally known, is related on page 333, note. By its members it was styled the "Equal Rights Party." One of its cardinal principles was opposition to all monopolies and special franchises or charters. It opposed not only the National Bank, but also the incorporation of State banks. Its abhorrence of paper money was admirably expressed in the aphorism: "As the currency expands, the loaf contracts." But the breach between the party and Tammany was transient, and before the close of 1837 it was again merged into the regular organization. Many of its doctrines were adopted by the Democrats, and some of its principles were afterward embodied by amendment in the State constitution. In April, 1837, there were three mayoral candidates in the field—Clark, the Whig candidate; John J. Morgan, the nominee of Tammany; and Moses Jaques, the representative of the Locofoco organization. Clark polled 17,000 votes; Morgan over 13,000; and Jaques over 4,000. The Democracy lost the common council as well as the mayoralty, and plainly because of the breach between the regulars and the Equal Rights party. Clark was reëlected in 1838, at which time there were three parties in the field—the Whigs, the Regular Democratic organization, and a faction styled Conservatives, opposed to some of Van Buren's measures. Clark received 19,723 votes; Isaac L. Varian (Democrat), 19,204; Richard Riker (Conservative), 395. The Whigs carried a majority in the common council. EDITOR.

Whigs in nearly all the city and State elections, and this led to what was termed the "Native American" movement. Cornelius W. Lawrence, the first elected mayor of the city, was a Democrat. He was elected in 1834, and twice reëlected, with the aid of the Irish vote.

Isaac L. Varian[1]

After the panic of 1837, owing to the reaction against Van Buren and the defection of the Locofocos from Tammany Hall, the Whigs experienced a temporary success, electing their candidate, Aaron Clark, for two successive terms; but in 1839 the Democrats regained control, electing Isaac L. Varian mayor. In 1841, Robert H. Morris, the Tammany candidate, was reëlected, by a meager majority (less than 400 out of a vote of over 36,000). He was reëlected in 1842 by a majority of 2,000. In April, 1843, Morris, who was again the Democratic candidate, received 25,398 votes, while Smith, the Whig candidate, received only 19,517. That the great majority of the Democrats was evidently secured by the assistance of the whole foreign vote was at once proven by the action of the successful party in giving a large proportion of the local offices to foreign-born citizens. This date emphatically marks a turning-point in the city's political existence, the native and intelli-

Robt H. Morris[2]

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[1] The Democrats were successful in the charter election of 1839, and their candidate, Isaac L. Varian, became mayor. They also elected a majority of the aldermen and assistant aldermen. Varian was a member of a family of note in New-York city. The Varian farm, well known to all lawyers, covered several acres, fronting on the Bloomingdale Road between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-ninth streets, and the present Gilsey House stands upon a portion of the farm. In the old farm-house both the mayor and his brother George W. were born. Varian was a member of the Volunteer Fire Department in the days when the companies enrolled some of the most conspicuous personages in the metropolis. "Seven mayors of the city — Walter Bowne, Cornelius W. Lawrence, Stephen Allen, Isaac L. Varian, Daniel F. Tiemann, C. Godfrey Gunther, and William H. Wickham — were 'fire-laddies,' and probably owed their election to that circumstance," says Sheldon, in his "History of the Volunteer Fire Department of New-York City." Varian was twice elected, even so bitter an opponent of Democracy as Hone admitting that he was an excellent man. The vote for mayor was as follows: Varian, 21,050; Clark, 20,027; scattering, 36. In the spring of 1840, Varian was reëlected, and the Democrats again obtained a majority in the city council. The vote was, Varian, 21,242; J. Phillips Phœnix, 19,622; scattering, 39. The mayor's salary was three thousand dollars a year.

[2] Robert Hunter Morris was born in New-York city, February 15, 1802. He came of Revolutionary ancestry, his family having been long settled in Morrisania, Westchester County. His father, Robert Morris, a New-York merchant, was the son of Richard Morris, the second chief justice of the Supreme Court of this State. Soon after his birth his father retired from business, and removed to a farm at Claverack, Columbia County, where young Morris was educated. He subsequently entered the office of Elisha Williams, then leader of the Columbia County bar. He commenced the practice of law at Johnstown in that county, but in 1827 removed to New-York. Shortly afterward he held the post of assistant to James A. Hamilton, then U. S. district attorney in the southern district of New-York, and he also served as member of the Assembly in 1833 and 1834. In 1838 Governor Marcy appointed him recorder of the city of New-York, which office he held until his removal by Governor Seward in 1841, caused by the famous Glentworth conspiracy. Just prior to the presidential election of 1840, Glentworth organized a plot to send a number of workmen from Pennsylvania to New-York, ostensibly for the purpose of laying Croton pipes in the city, but in reality to vote for Harrison. The recorder and the district attorney, fearing that documentary evidence of the plot might be destroyed before it could be laid before the grand jury, went in person, with Mayor Varian, to the house of the custodian of the documents, and demanded their surrender, when they were given up. The papers appeared to implicate many prominent Whigs, but no trial was ever had. Governor Seward removed the recorder for his participation in the seizure, and his removal undoubtedly led to his election to the mayoralty, for which office he was the candidate of the Democratic party in the election held April 13, 1841, his Whig opponent being J. Phillips Phœnix. The Native Americans this year first

gent citizenship from that time onward being gradually more and more superseded by the foreign and the unintelligent in the control of offices. The conduct of the Democrats, in thus parceling out the offices of the city, alienated many of the better element of the Democratic party and in 1844 James Harper, the candidate of the Native American party, which had meanwhile been gaining strength, received 24,510 votes; Coddington,[1] the Democratic nominee, 20,538; and the regular Whig candidate only 5297. Inasmuch as the city was unquestionably Democratic, a number of Democratic voters, presumably of the better classes, had combined with a larger number of Whigs to aid the Native American movement.

J. I. Coddington

It was doubtless the purpose of the Whigs, in voting for the Native American candidate for mayor, to secure for their national ticket in the coming fall the support of the Native American element. In this hope they were mistaken. They sustained severe losses throughout the State in 1844. Not only did Polk and Dallas obtain the electoral vote of the State, thereby rendering Clay's defeat a certainty, when his success in the State would have insured his election, but the Whigs also lost several congressmen, three of whom were elected by the Native Americans. The same party elected a State senator from the city, and it also carried its whole assembly ticket. The expected coöperation of the Native Americans, in hope of which the Whigs had abandoned their own local and assembly candidates, had not been obtained; for this party, composed largely of

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put a candidate of their own in the field, the artist and inventor Samuel F. B. Morse. The vote was as follows: Morris, 18,602; Phœnix, 18,206; Morse, 77; scattering, 45. The Democrats had a majority in both boards. At the election April 13, 1842, there were four candidates, the Regular Whig, the Democratic, the Tyler Whig, and the Abolition party candidates. Morris's vote was 20,633; Phœnix (Whig), 18,755; Thomas F. Field (Abolition), 136; James Munroe (Tyler Whig), 22; scattering, 41. Owing to the split in the Democratic party, the Whigs obtained a majority in both boards. Morris enjoyed the distinction of having held the mayor's chair for three consecutive terms, having been again chosen in 1843, as narrated in the text. He was a popular and efficient officer; and he drafted the law which abolished the old watch system and substituted in its stead a real police force. In 1845 President Polk appointed him postmaster in this city, and he held the office for four years. In 1846 he was elected, in conjunction with Charles O'Conor, Samuel J. Tilden, and others, a member of the State Constitutional Convention. He died October 23, 1855.

[1] Jonathan I. Coddington was for more than two decades a prominent and wealthy merchant of this city, was for many years postmaster, and was the warm personal friend of Presidents Jackson and Van Buren. He was offered by his party the nomination for governor of the State, but declined to accept it. Mr. Coddington died in December, 1856, at his residence 238 Fifth Avenue, at the age of seventy-three, leaving four sons, of whom there is now but one survivor. EDITOR.

abolitionist agitators and their followers, preferred to vote for their candidate, James G. Birney. In consequence of their defection, the Whigs deserted the Native Americans in the local elections held in the ensuing spring. Harper, a candidate for reëlection, received 17,485 votes, while William F. Havemeyer,[1] the Democratic candidate, polled 24,307, and the Whig candidate, Selden, 7032, or nearly 2000 more votes than the Whigs had cast for their mayoral candidate of the preceding year. Efforts to lengthen the term of naturalization proving unsuccessful, the opposition to foreign-born citizens gradually died out. The riots which had attended the development of the Native American sentiment had reacted upon their followers, and in a few years the party had no existence. In the spring of 1846 the Democrats were again successful, electing their candidate, Andrew H. Mickle;[2] but in 1847 the Whigs gained the ascendancy, and placed William V. Brady in the mayor's chair.

W F Havemeyer

A H Mickle

As we have just seen, the mayor's office had recently been made elective. Under the Montgomerie Charter the governor, with the advice of the provincial council, annually, on the feast-day of St. Michael, appointed the mayor, the sheriff, and the coroner of the corporation.

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[1] William F. Havemeyer was thrice elected mayor of the city—in 1845, 1848, and 1872. He was born of German parentage in New-York city, February 12, 1804, exactly five years before Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin, who were born February 12, 1809. He was a graduate of Columbia College, as was also Abram S. Hewitt, one of his successors in the mayor's chair. Mr. Havemeyer entered his father's sugar-refinery, after graduation, but severed his active connection with the business in 1842 and became interested in political affairs. In the spring of 1845, there were five mayoral candidates in the field, but the Democrats were successful, electing their candidate and fifteen aldermen and assistants. The vote was as follows: Havemeyer (Democratic), 24,307; James Harper (Native American), 17,485; Dudley Selden (Whig), 7032; Ransom Smith (National Reform), 124; Arthur Tappan (Abolition), 74; and scattering, 28.

[2] Andrew Hutchins Mickle came of an ancient Scotch family, the name as formerly spelled being Muckle, Meikle, or, in its Saxon form, Mucel or Micel, meaning great, powerful, or mighty. The family of the poet William Julius Mickle, whose ballad "Cumnor Hall" suggested to Scott the romance of "Kenilworth," was descended from the same original stock. Andrew H. was born October 25, 1805, being the second son of James Mickle and Janet Campbell of the Campbells of Ardentenny, one of whose immediate kin was the John Campbell who in 1704, at Boston, founded the "News Letter," the first newspaper published in the country, and who was also postmaster of the town of Boston. Early in life he associated himself with the firm of George B. Miller & Co., tobacco-merchants, well known in this city half a century ago. Through his business ability he eventually became a partner, and married the daughter of Mr. Miller. While in the midst of a prosperous business career he was tendered the Democratic nomination for mayor, his chief opponents being Robert Taylor (Whig) and William B. Cozzens (Reform). Mr. Mickle's vote was nearly as large as the combined votes of his opponents, the total ballots cast (April 14, 1846) being 46,719, of which Mickle received 22,328; Robert Taylor (Whig), 15,256; William B. Cozzens (Native American), 8372; Ransom Smith (National Reform), 712; scattering, 51. The Democrats carried fifteen of the eighteen wards, and had a large majority in the city council. He was offered a renomination, which he declined. He was not a professional politician; to him public office was a public trust. Retiring from the mayoralty, he again assumed charge of his business, which in his later years was conducted under the firm name of A. H. Mickle & Co. His position in the mercantile world was very high, and he possessed the esteem and confidence of the merchants and financial men of the city. He died January 25, 1863, leaving a widow; one son, George B. Mickle, now deceased; three daughters, children of his first wife, and three daughters, issue of his second marriage. One of his grandsons, a son of George B., bears his grandfather's name. Mr. Mickle's second wife was Mary N., daughter of Judge Effingham Lawrence; she was a cousin and sister-in-law of Cornelius W. Lawrence, mayor of the city from 1834 to 1837. EDITOR.

The "freemen of the city" and freeholders or landholders voted annually for aldermen, assistant aldermen, assessors, and constables in their respective wards. When the State government was formed in 1777, the powers exercised by the royal governor, in conjunction with the provincial council, passed to the council of appointment, which consisted of the governor of the State and four senators selected by the assembly from each of the four great senatorial districts into which the State was divided under the first constitution. This council possessed as ample powers of removal as of appointment. So far as concerned the election of its chief municipal officer, New-York city, from 1777 to 1822, was ruled at Albany. In all the history of the State there has never been another appointing body possessed of such vast prerogatives, and this small junto of politicians controlled all appointments throughout the State.

THE FOULKE RESIDENCE.[1]

The council of appointment having been abolished by the constitution of 1822, a part of its functions devolved upon the governor and senate; but instead of giving to the executive and the upper house the right to appoint the mayors of cities, the new constitution provided for their appointment by the common councils of their respective cities. From 1822 to 1834 the board of aldermen and assistant aldermen of the city of New-York appointed its mayors. In the latter year, by an amendment to the State constitution, limited in its operation to the metropolis, the mayoralty was made an elective office. But while, in 1826, by amendment to the constitution, the suffrage had been extended in State and national elections so as to amount, except in case of colored citizens, to manhood suffrage, only such citizens as were qualified to vote for other charter offices at charter elections were allowed to vote for mayor,—in other words, a restriction upon the suffrage still prevailed at city elections. This limitation dates back to colonial times. Under the Montgomerie Charter only persons enjoying the freedom of the city and freeholders could vote. The qualifications of voters at charter elections were not changed at the formation of the State government.

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[1] Joseph Foulke's former residence is at the foot of Eighty-ninth street, on an eminence overlooking the East River, adjoining the estate of John Jacob Astor. In the immediate neighborhood were the summer residences of the Bayards, Rhinelanders, Schermerhorns, and other old families. Mr. Foulke, who was born in 1769, was an extensive ship-owner; he married, in Curaçoa, Charlotte Brion, whose brother Admiral Brion was General Bolivar's chief naval commander in obtaining Colombia's independence in 1810–11. Mr. Foulke died in New-York in 1852. EDITOR.

In 1804 the legislature enlarged the suffrage, in accordance with the demands of democracy. Property qualifications were still retained, but all male citizens of full age who had resided in the city for the space of six months before election, renting a tenement of the yearly value of twenty-five dollars, and paying taxes, were given the right to vote at general elections. No further removal of restrictions was made until 1842, when all property qualifications for city voters were swept away. As a consequence of this change, the Whigs, as we have seen, united with the Native Americans to regain their control over the city. With the modification as to suffrage made in 1804, the Montgomerie Charter continued unaltered until 1830. In 1829 a city convention was chosen by the city electors, for the purpose of revising and proposing amendments to the city charter. Five delegates were selected in each of the thirteen wards, and the convention, representing the intelligence of the old town, met in June, 1829.

The convention prepared and submitted to the people a series of amendments to the charter, all of which were duly ratified at a popular election. The legislature approved the work of the convention and of the people, and the amendments became a part of the city's charter. One of these amendments fixed the date for charter elections as the second Tuesday of April. Charter elections continued to take place upon this and succeeding days until 1840, in which year the legislature, at the instance of the Whigs, passed a registry law for the city. Besides providing a larger number of election districts in each ward, the act required the enrolment of voters before election in their different wards, somewhat as do our modern registration laws. It also removed the last property restrictions at charter elections, and confined an election to one day—the second Tuesday of April—in each year. When the bill embodying these provisions was before Governor Seward, he hesitated at approving it lest it might be unconstitutional in providing different qualifications for electors in the city from those which prevailed generally throughout the State. But at the instance of the leading Whigs of the capital and of the city, he concluded to sign the bill. The salutary nature of the legislation was evident. Polling-places had previously been so few that a full vote could not be polled in one day, and as a consequence elections extended over several days, and were sometimes accompanied with rioting, repeating, and other frauds. Two years later the wholesome provisions as to registration were repealed.

No change was made in the date for charter elections until 1849, when, in pursuance of the amended charter submitted to the people by the city convention held in the summer of that year, it was enacted that charter elections should thereafter take place on the same day as general elections. Of late years reformers of city government have shown a marked disposition to separate city from State and national elections. It is at least interesting to observe that the arguments which they employ in advocacy of this change are similar to those which controlled the city convention of 1830, and it is likewise interesting to observe that the city convention of 1846 reported that the separation had not accomplished the desired end. The best citizens were found apathetic in the spring, and the only method of securing a full vote upon an important municipal topic was by holding the municipal election at the same time with the general election.

Ebenr Crosby[1]

Under the second constitution of the State, which was then in operation, the commonwealth was divided into eight senatorial districts. New-York city contained but one district. Large senatorial districts have ordinarily been found certain to bring into the service of the community, in the State senate, men of prominence and character; and so great of late years has been seen to be the advantage which former legislatures enjoyed in the personnel of their members, that an effort was made by the State convention of 1867 to return to the former system. Unhappily, the amendment adopted upon this subject, like all the proposed amendments of this convention, except that to the judiciary article, was defeated at the polls. County representation then prevailed in the assembly, and it brought to the front men recognized throughout the city for their equipment for legislative life. Even in municipal elections, although these were conducted on ward lines, the spirit which regulated State nominations also prevailed, at least until the period when the suffrage was enlarged. Aldermen, assistant aldermen, delegates to city conventions, and other municipal officers were men of distinction in mercantile or professional pursuits. The highest type of judges then sat in our courts. In the chancellorship there was Reuben H. Walworth, a worthy successor to Robert R. Livingston and James Kent; and as vice-chancellors, Murray Hoffman, Lewis Sandford, and McCoun. Upon the Supreme Court bench were Samuel Nelson, afterward one of the justices of the Federal Supreme Court, Greene C. Bronson, and Esek Cowen, and in the Circuit Court, Ogden Edwards. In the recently created Superior Court the judges in the thirties and forties were Samuel Jones, Thomas J. Oakley, and John Duer; in the Common Pleas, a recent outgrowth of the old mayor's court, John T. Irving, a brother of Washington Irving, and an author of no mean pretensions, presided up to his death in 1838. The standard of the New-York judiciary has generally been high, but at no period in the history of the State has the ermine been worn by abler or purer men than those in the long and brilliant roll of judges who were appointed to the various courts from 1822 to 1847. The wisdom of the change wrought by the constitution of 1847 in providing for the election of judges for specified terms, although at times since debated, has never been successfully challenged at the polls; but it has been observed by writers upon State constitutions that other States which, after New-York's change in 1847, were induced to adopt the elective system, have since returned to the appointive plan, while few, if any, States which did not yield to the popular impulse of that time, have since adopted the elective system.

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[1] Dr. Ebenezer Crosby was born September 30, 1753, and was the son of Judge Joseph Crosby, of Braintree (now Quincy), Mass., his birthplace. Educated at Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania, he settled in New-York city after the war, and was elected, in 1785, Professor of Obstetrics in Columbia College, and, in 1787, one of its trustees. He was previously surgeon to General Washington's body-guard. Dr. Crosby died July 16, 1788, at the residence of Colonel Henry Rutgers, in Wall street, whose niece he had married. He was the father of William B. Crosby of this city. EDITOR.

W B Crosby

In recurring to the annals of these days, one cannot but lament the deplorable change which has taken place in respect to the independence of the city government. To-day the city's charter is amended, or a new charter is enacted, whenever the legislature may desire, but in the olden times a charter amendment without the people's consent was a thing unheard of. The constitutions of 1777 and 1822 expressly recognized and confirmed the ancient Dongan and Montgomerie charters. The expediency of amending the city charter was decided by the voters of the city in 1829. They elected a convention of their own citizens to undertake the task of revision; the work of that convention was submitted to the people of the city at the polls, and was ratified by them before it was submitted to the legislature. The city convention, called in 1846, was summoned by the votes of the people of the city, and the act of the legislature providing for the election of delegates to the convention directed that its work should be submitted for approval to the citizens. The charter reported by the convention was ratified at the polls, and then, by legislative enactment, in 1849, became the new charter of the city. Never before 1857 was an attempt made to provide a charter or government for New-York without the express approbation of its citizens at the polls. So firmly was the city's right to control its own affairs recognized, that no important legislation exclusively affecting the municipality was undertaken without its express consent. Twice during this decade was the free-school question submitted to popular vote; the act establishing the municipal police was also voted upon by the people; sanction of citizens at the polls was in like manner obtained to the construction of the Croton aqueduct, and the question of the establishment of the Free Academy was submitted to the electors of the city, who, by a large vote, declared themselves unqualifiedly in favor of free higher education for the boys of the city schools. The benefits which have already resulted from the establishment of this admirable institution have been very great, and with the creation of the Normal College for girls, it is to be hoped that free higher education in New-York has been permanently guaranteed to the youth of the metropolis.

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.[1]

The charter of 1830 provided that the executive business of the corporation should be performed by distinct departments, to be organized and appointed by the common council. One of the amendments made in 1849 was the creation of executive departments altogether independent of the common council, the heads of which, in accordance with the prevailing spirit of the time, were, with the exception of the Croton aqueduct board, to be elected by the people. Several of these departments had their origin during the decade which ended with 1850. The police department and the Croton aqueduct department were created in this era, which marks also the organization of the first Board of Education.

The Knickerbockers of the early thirties, in matters of police, had not advanced much, if any, beyond the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam. There was no day police force. Civil processes were executed by the marshals attached to the courts; public order was maintained by the constabulary, except upon occasions of unusual public excitement or during riots, actual or apprehended, when, under laws for the time in vogue, a mayor possessed the power of appointing special constables. As in the Dutch times, the city watch began shortly after sunset and continued until dawn. In the early Knickerbocker days the watch was a small force, but before 1840 it had increased to a corps of nearly one thousand men. Watchmen were drawn from all avocations. The stevedore, truckman, or carpenter who was dissatisfied with his wages, or anxious for a larger income, was eligible to serve as watchman by night. There were divisions of the watch, with hours for relief. Watchmen wore no particular uniform except the old varnished fireman's hat, from which the front helmet-piece was removed, and the wearing of which gave rise to the sobriquet of "Leatherheads," which long continued to be applied to these public servants. The old round of duties, known for nearly two centuries, was still maintained: watchmen were to call the hours of the night, give alarms of fire, cry out the street in which the fire was raging, ring the watchmen's bell, and hang out a lantern upon a pole to indicate the site of the conflagration.[1]

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[1] St. Patrick's Cathedral was dedicated May 4, 1815. Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who was in New-York in that year, speaks of the new cathedral as "at the extremity of the city towards the country." It was the second Roman Catholic church in New-York, and stands at the corner of Mott and Prince streets. A fire destroyed the spire.
EDITOR.

R. Riker

Legislation and city ordinances in this period upon the subject of watchmen show that the city was then conscious that it had outgrown this antiquated system. As New-York advanced in wealth and population her criminal classes increased also, and there developed a baser and more reckless order of wrong-doers, requiring a curbing power more constantly and rationally applied. Crimes were committed both by day and night. Gangs of hardened felons superseded the sportive young bloods whose pranks were the worst evils which the old Knickerbocker watchmen had to encounter.

At first improvement was attempted by the creation of additional police justices, the mayor and the recorder, then the famous Richard Riker, celebrated by Halleck in the "Petition" commencing,

> My dear Recorder, you and I
> Have floated down life's stream together,

having previously exercised the functions of these officials; then by the enlargement of the watch, and the enactment of more stringent penalties for neglect of duty; afterward by the creation of special marshals or constables by appointment of the mayor, to be summoned to aid the usual constabulary force in special emergencies, and by the formation of the first detective squad ever known in the city.

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[1] The old watchmen were notorious for sleeping on their posts. In "Fanny," Halleck, in describing his heroine's vocal efforts, thus satirizes the watchmen's failing:

> "And every song, whose dear, delightful theme
> Is 'Love still Love,' had oft till midnight tried
> Her finest, loftiest, 'pigeon wings' of sound,
> Waking the very watchmen far around."

Wm C Bouck

The continued development of the city, the accessions to its criminal classes, the numerous election riots, the Abolition riot in July, 1834, the Bread and Flour riot in February, 1837, and other disturbances, the enlargement of the city's commerce and increasing complications in police duties, rendered it evident that the old watch system was an obstacle to the city's progress. In 1844 the legislature enacted the Municipal Police Act, but, with the commendable humility of the legislators of those times, the act was to be left unexecuted until the city, by appropriate ordinances, should put it in operation. The common council, not being in political accord with the legislature, was unwilling to give the act vitality, and it therefore by ordinance established a municipal police of its own. By the new ordinance, the force was of a treble character: there were the watch, the municipal police, and the police proper, each owing its appointment to a different source. The duties of the several classes were ill defined. So complicated a system, designed evidently to preserve to each appointing interest its share of patronage, could result only in lack of discipline and utility on the part of the force and conflicts among the appointive powers. Under the ordinance the mayor, with the consent of the aldermen, appointed men to the municipal police, and prescribed their dress. Mayor Harper appointed the first uniformed police corps, a body of two hundred men. This force was indiscriminately called "Harper's Police" and "M. P's." After a year's trial the ordinance was repealed, and the act of 1844 was put into execution, terminating the old watch system. It swept out of existence a variety of sub-officers, such as marshals, street inspectors, health-wardens, fire-wardens, dock-masters, lamplighters, inspectors of pawnbrokers and junk-shops, and officers specially charged to attend election polls; and it provided for a day and night police force not to exceed eight hundred men, under the control of police captains and assistant captains in the several district headquarters. The act established also a chief of police, to be appointed by the mayor and nominated by the common council. In addition to their other functions, policemen were obliged to light lamps, ring alarm-bells, attend fires, report suspicious persons, disorderly houses, receiving-shops, gaming-houses, and all places where idlers, tipplers, gamblers, and other disorderly or suspicious persons might congregate; and to administer proper caution to unwary strangers, to whom also they were, if necessary, to act as guides. The municipal police continued to be the locally constituted guardians of the city until, in 1857, the legislature, departing from all traditions that had previously governed its action upon city matters, without the consent of the metropolis, created the metropolitan police.

Jacob Hays

Even the most brief account of the ante-police era seems incomplete without allusion to the office of high constable and its last incumbent, Jacob Hays. Edward Livingston, while mayor of the city, appointed Hays to this office, which was somewhat analogous to that of chief of police; and so well did Hays discharge his duties that he was reappointed by each succeeding mayor up to the time of his death in his seventy-eighth year. As that event occurred after the repeal of the watch system, the office of high constable terminated with his life. Hays seems to have possessed detective qualities of a high order, and he was certainly able to inspire a wholesome dread of punishment in the criminals of the day. Of large and powerful physique, representing admirably the majesty of the law, it frequently needed nothing more than his presence to disperse street brawlers or stop riotous proceedings. "Whenever," says Costello,[1] "the high constable was made aware that a street brawl was assuming threatening proportions, he at once repaired to the scene of disturbance, and without a moment's hesitation mingled in the throng of excited wranglers. His great strength was then exerted towards separating the combatants and in driving back the crowd. He did not crack the heads of the brawlers; he usually knocked off their hats with his staff, and while they were in the act of stooping to pick them up he would shove them forward and throw them down; their prostrate bodies generally served as a barrier to keep others back. He would then deal with the principals, and by the time he was reinforced by his men, the greater part of the trouble was generally over." His treatment of a mob, while rough, was not brutal, and he rarely inspired hatred, but was uniformly liked. As a detective he was singularly successful, and it was the common opinion of the time that no offender could long remain undiscovered if old Hays was set upon him.

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[1] "Our Police Protectors," by Augustine E. Costello. New-York, 1885.

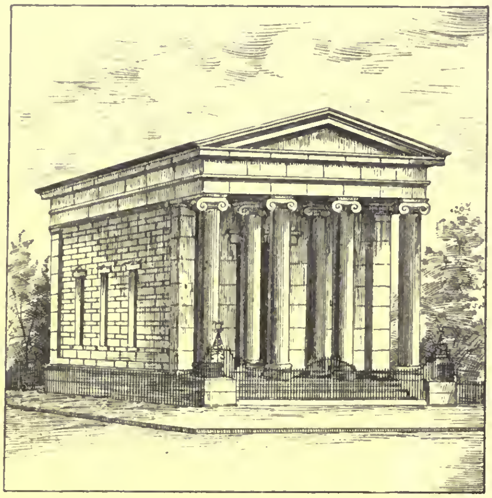
In a recent work entitled "The Puritan in Holland, England and America," Douglas Campbell has admirably shown the amplitude of our indebtedness to the people of the Netherlands for the ideas underlying our system of government. Holland having, in the midst of a struggle for self-preservation, founded the celebrated University of Leyden, it is not surprising that in its colonies it should have evinced an interest in popular education. To the Dutch, and not to our English ancestors, are we indebted for the germ of our public-school system. The cause of education languished after the cession of New-York to the English, and it was not until peace was made with Great Britain that the State actively manifested a sense of the importance of the education of its people.

Rob: Benson

In 1784, Governor Clinton invited the attention of the legislature to this subject, and the legislature, in response, established a board of regents for the University of New-York, and changed the name of King's College to Columbia, which by this act was also erected into a university. The members of the board of regents were patrons of learning, and they, in turn, persistently advocated the organization of a common-school system. In 1789 the State took the first real step toward the establishment of education upon a substantial foundation. The legislation of that year was followed, in 1795, by an act appropriating annually for five years, out of the public revenues of the State, the sum of fifty thousand dollars, to encourage and maintain common schools in the several cities and towns of the State, and requiring supervisors to raise by tax in each town a sum equal to one half of its proportion of the moneys appropriated by the State, and commissioners and trustees were directed to be appointed, and were required to make annual reports to the secretary of state. This legislation expiring in 1800, Governor Morgan Lewis again brought up the subject in his message to the legislature of 1805. A law was thereupon enacted by which the proceeds of 500,000 acres of public land were to be erected into a fund to be accumulated until its annual income should attain the sum of fifty thousand dollars, when the income was to be applied to the support of the schools. This fund was enlarged by various appropriations, and in 1819 it had reached the sum of $1,200,000. By the constitution of 1822 the common-school fund was rendered inviolable and directed to be devoted in perpetuity to the advancement of common schools. By degrees the productive capital of the fund was augmented, so that by the year 1842 it amounted to $10,000,000.

It was incumbent upon the State superintendent to apportion among the school districts of the State the income of the school fund.

The moneys so apportioned to each district were to be paid by the State comptroller, upon the superintendent's certificate, to the proper fiscal officer of each county, who, in turn, was charged with the obligation of distributing to the school commissioners of each town the proportion of the fund to which the several school districts in the town were entitled. The town commissioners were to receive the fund and, after dividing their towns into districts, to subdivide it among such of the districts as had maintained a school for at least three months of the year. Inspectors were elected to ascertain the qualifications of teachers. School-district meetings were to be held annually by tax-paying inhabitants in their several districts, for the election of school trustees and the raising of moneys for school sites and district libraries. All funds requisite for the maintenance of the schools not raised by taxation or provided from the district's share of the school fund, were to be defrayed by means of the rate-bill, which was a tuition fee charged to parents or guardians of children in attendance at the schools. Thus three sources were provided for the maintenance of the schools—the school fund of the State, the fund raised by taxation, and the rate-bill.


L'ÉGLISE DU ST. ESPRIT.[1]

From the time of the creation of the school fund, a share of it was assigned to the city of New-York. But the public-school system which prevailed in the rest of the State did not extend to the city. The New-York city school system was of private foundation. In 1805, the legislature chartered the Public School Society, a private corporation, organized by a number of sagacious and far-seeing residents of the city, prominent among whom was De Witt Clinton. The society was by law allowed a share of the State fund. The supervisors were required to raise an equivalent sum by taxation, but the residue of its moneys the society obtained from voluntary donations and a slight tuition fee, analogous to the rate-bill in the country district schools. The schools of the society rapidly increased in number and in importance. Side by side with them sectarian schools also furnished instruction, but to none of these was allotted any portion of the State fund. Not being under the supervision of the State, as were the district schools outside of the city, the Public School Society had supreme control of its share of the public fund. During the Knickerbocker days its schools imparted practically all the education furnished to city children. With the changes in urban population which came with increased immigration between 1830 and 1840, parochial schools were founded under the superintendence of the Roman Catholic clergy, and these demanded a share of the common-school fund. They were met with the response that sectarian schools were not allowed to participate in it, and that the schools of the Public School Society were open to all the children of the metropolis. The reply of the Catholics was that these schools were in reality sectarian, that they employed a Protestant Bible, and inculcated religious tenets not accordant with Catholic teaching, and that the funds of the State were perverted in their hands.

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[1] L'Église du St. Esprit, the first church in the city where the services were conducted in French, was built by the Huguenots in 1704, in Pine street. In 1834 they sold this building and erected the white marble church, shown above, at the corner of Church and Franklin streets. In 1804 the congregation adopted the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and their present attractive church building is situated in West Twenty-second street, near Fifth Avenue. EDITOR.

MRS. HARRIET BAYARD VAN RENSSELAER.

The Public School Society refuted these charges, and remonstrated against any participation in the fund on the part of the Catholic schools. The press, the public, and particularly the Protestant clergy of the city were aroused by the demands of the Romanists. The agitation was contemporaneous with the Native American movement, which doubtless intensified the general opposition to the Catholic claims. The controversy was carried into the city council, where able advocates, both lay and professional, appeared for both causes, and from the city chamber to the State capital. Here, much to the surprise and chagrin of the Whig and Native American element, Governor Seward was discovered to be an advocate of the justice of the Romanists' view. In his message to the legislature at the opening of the session of 1840, the governor recommended the establishment of separate schools for the children of foreigners, in which they might "be instructed by teachers speaking the same language as themselves, and professing the same faith." He renewed his arguments at the opening of the ensuing session. "There are," he said, "thirty thousand children in this State growing up in ignorance. By their religious training they are practically excluded from the excellent schools of the Public School Society." The legislature still remaining inactive, he renewed the subject in his message in January, 1842. "It will," he said, "be shown to you, in the proper report, that twenty thousand children in the city of New-York of suitable age are not instructed in the public schools, while the whole amount in the residue of the State not taught in the common schools does not exceed nine thousand." While conceding the great importance of the work performed by the Public School Society, the governor nevertheless argued that it had failed to command the confidence "reposed in the general system of the State, and indispensable to every scheme of universal education." He therefore suggested "the expediency of restoring to the people of the city of New-York — what I am sure the people of no other part of the State would, upon any consideration, relinquish — the education of their children. For this purpose it is only necessary to vest the control of the common schools in a board to be composed of commissioners elected by the people, which board shall apportion the school moneys among all the schools, including those now existing, which shall be organized and conducted in conformity to its general regulations and the laws of the State, in the proportion of the number of pupils instructed."

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, FORDHAM.[1]

Under the influence of this message, the legislature passed the law of 1842, and it met with the governor's approval. This act, for the first time, extended the common-school system of the State to the city of New-York. Treating each ward of the city as analogous to a town, the act gave each ward two school commissioners, two inspectors, and five trustees, to be elected by ballot at a special election to be held on the first Monday in June of each year. The commissioners were to constitute a Board of Education with the powers and duties of commissioners of common schools throughout the State. Schools of the Public School Society were permitted to continue side by side with the new ward schools, and to share with the latter in the common-school fund, but participation in this fund was denied to any and every school in which any religious or sectarian doctrine was inculcated or taught. This legislation was a compromise and a disappointment to both of the contending parties. Neither had sought for it, and neither expected it. But its wisdom is palpable. The governor's action for a time alienated many of his earnest supporters.

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[1] St. John's College was opened for the reception of students June 24, 1841, with Rev. John McCloskey as president and professor of rhetoric. The building shown was the first erected. EDITOR.

Great as was this innovation, the act accomplished an even greater boon. It rendered the schools of the city absolutely free. For the future no rates were to be exacted from any parent or guardian. The act authorized the commissioners to raise by tax from the inhabitants of the county a sum equal to its share of the State school fund, and also a further sum equal to one twentieth of the value of the real and personal property within the city subject to assessment. In terms it expressly forbade the imposition of any tax upon parents or guardians for school privileges. Subsequent amendments reduced the number of commissioners, inspectors, and trustees, and changed their term of office, but no substantial departure from the principle of this legislation has since been made. The schools of the Public School Society and the new ward schools existed together for more than ten years. Gradually the Romanist opposition to the ward schools subsided, and the trustees of the Public School Society soon learned to appreciate the advantages of the new system. In 1853 the society was dissolved by act of the legislature, some of its trustees taking places in the Board of Education, and its schools and their furniture and apparatus were conveyed to the city. During the existence of this admirable institution it had educated six hundred thousand children, and at the time of its dissolution and consolidation with the ward schools, the property which it transferred to the city was worth upward of $600,000.

Arch. Gracie

"There is not perhaps in the Union," says a book published in 1837, "a city more destitute of the blessing of good water than New-York." The chief sources of water supply at this time were the old "Tea-water Pump";[1] the town pumps, which then garnished nearly every block; the Manhattan Company; and Knapp's Spring, which furnished the supply to the upper part of the city. The mains of the Manhattan Company were distributed through the lower part of the island, and its fluid, like the gas of more recent days, was dispensed for a price. The water from Knapp's Spring was carted about in hogsheads and sold at a penny a gallon. The town pumps were free.

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[1] "The famous 'Tea-water Pump,'" says Devoe, in his History of the Markets of New-York, "was a fine flowing spring in a well, which, no doubt, originally assisted in forming the 'Fresh-water' or 'Kolch Pond.'" It was "near the north-east corner of Orange and Chatham streets."

"I found the once celebrated 'Tea-water Pump' again in use, but unknown, in the liquor store of a Mr. Fagan, 126 Chatham street. I drank of it to revive recollection." Watson's "Annals of New-York" (1846).

All the water used in the city was, and had always been, drawn from the island itself. The earliest projected reservoir was to have been placed on Broadway, between Pearl and White streets, on lands purchased from the Van Cortlandts in 1774; but the Revolutionary struggle prevented its construction. For a number of years after the Revolution, various plans for increasing the city's supply were suggested, but no unanimity of opinion seems to have prevailed, except upon the one theme of the impropriety of granting any exclusive water franchise to individuals or private companies. Even in those early days the purity of the water from the Collect and the city's wells was questioned by eminent physicians, many of whom thought that the Bronx River would be a more wholesome source of supply than springs beneath the sands of the city, into which all manner of impurities percolated. The objection to private water franchises seems shortly to have vanished, for in 1799 Burr obtained from the legislature the charter of the Manhattan Company. This company was incorporated ostensibly to furnish water, but in reality to do a banking business. The only banks previously chartered were controlled by Federalists' capital, and Burr's friends, who were largely Republican (*i. e.*, Democratic), could never have obtained a banking franchise from their political enemies had their designs been plainly announced. Under a clause shrewdly incorporated in its charter, permitting it to use its surplus capital in any enterprise not inconsistent with the laws of the State or of the Union, the Manhattan Company obtained full warrant for engaging in banking. But for many years it actually furnished the city's chief water supply, pumping its waters from the Collect,[1] or from its well at Cross and Duane streets, into hollow log pipes distributed underground through the lower portions of the town. The monopoly enjoyed by this company was not seriously disputed until after the close of the second war with England, when, with the extension of the city and the increase of its population, several new water companies were organized. The promoters of these incorporations were fertile in schemes: they had plans for obtaining water from the Rye Ponds, from the Housatonic River by an open canal, from Sharon, Connecticut, by the same means, and from artesian wells, which it was proposed to bore at different places in the city. Public sentiment, however, still insisted

Chas Wilkes

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[1] The Collect was filled in before 1838; in that year the Tombs, erected upon its site, was completed. Dickens, in his "American Notes," styles the architecture of this building, so generally admired at the time, "bastard Egyptian." The cupola of the Tombs was destroyed by fire on the day set for the execution of John C. Colt, who had murdered the printer Samuel Adams in his office at the Irving House. Colt's case excited great sympathy, but Governor Seward refused to pardon him. That Colt actually committed suicide during the fire was the opinion of Lewis Gaylord Clarke. (See "Account of Colt's Suicide, by L. G. Clarke," in note to "Remarkable Trials." Diossy & Co., 1863.) Although Clarke produced convincing evidence of the suicide, the popular belief that Colt escaped from prison has never been fully dispelled.

that water should be furnished by the city corporation, and that no privilege should be accorded to private capital. But practical obstacles, the rivalries of these companies, and the apathy of the people frustrated all efforts to increase the city's supply. Circumstances were soon to happen which would rudely awaken the city to the necessity of prompt and energetic action.

In 1828 the city was visited by a disastrous fire, which consumed over six hundred thousand dollars' worth of property, and this calamity renewed interest in the efforts to give the city purer and more abundant water. Resolutions were presented at meetings of the common council, by which a committee was appointed to consider and report. The committee urged the construction of a well and reservoir at Thirteenth street and the Bowery, the laying of iron pipes throughout the city, the erection of steam pumps to force the water into the reservoir, and of hydrants at the various street corners. One reason which the committee sagaciously advanced for the laying of the pipes, was that whenever the long-desired object of supplying the city with water for domestic purposes should be carried into effect, these same pipes would be found serviceable. The immediate purpose of their introduction was to furnish water for use at fires. The report was reluctantly approved by the city council, the well and reservoir constructed, and the pipes laid.

Laura Keene[1]

"From this feeble and economical beginning," says Charles King, in his "Memoir of the Aqueduct," "sprang our noble Croton Aqueduct; for the immense and immediate advantage in cases of fire derived from the reservoir impressed more vividly upon the public mind the far greater advantages that would result from having a river at command." But these measures neither increased nor improved the supply for domestic and commercial uses, although from time to time fresh projects were broached—among others, for bringing the water from the Croton by open canal or pipes; for taking the waters of the Passaic above the Paterson Falls, and conveying them in pipes under the Hudson River. In all these progressive measures a worthy champion was found in the board of aldermen in Samuel Stevens, who was afterward a member of the first board of water commissioners. In January, 1831, he urged that a memorial should be presented to the legislature asking a repeal of the privileges of the Manhattan Company, the vesting of all power for supplying water in the corporation of the city, and authority to the corporation to raise by loan a sum not exceeding two millions of dollars for introducing a supply of pure, wholesome water. Investigations made about this time by eminent chemists and physicians emphasized the need of prompt measures. A report was presented to the board of aldermen from the Lyceum of Natural History, prepared, it was assumed, by Dr. DeKay. This report set forth with startling clearness the menace to the city's health from the continued use of water impregnated with the discharges entering into the soil. In the most populous neighborhoods, and in the vicinity of the numerous graveyards, which were then scattered through the town, the water was found by test to be dangerously impure. The graveyards communicated "a ropy appearance to the water," and in warm weather the water itself was found to become offensive in a few hours. The noted coolness of the pump waters, then so highly prized by the community, might disguise these impurities, but could not eliminate the noxious elements. Until within the last few years the water on the elevated ground in Broadway was considered to be the best in the city, but in the progress of improvement this had become more and more unpalatable. "Indeed," continues the writer of the report, "we know of families living above Broome street, in Broadway, who are now supplied throughout the year by water-carts from the country; and in the direction of Laurens street, we have been informed that this foreign supply is required still further to the north of Broome street.

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[1] Laura Keene was born in England in 1820, and at an early age evinced a taste for the stage, appearing first under Madame Vestris at the Lyceum Theater in London. On October 20, 1852, she made her first appearance in this country at Wallack's Theater, scoring a success which was repeated in Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities, her best delineations being in comedy. She opened a theater of her own in New-York shortly after her return, in 1855, from Australia; organized a traveling company, and died in Montclair, N. J., November 4, 1873. EDITOR.

Robt. L. Stevens.[1]

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[1] Robert Livingston Stevens, a son of John Stevens, was born in New-York, October 18, 1787, and died April 20, 1856. As an engineer he stood at the head of his profession; and he invented numberless improvements in steam-vessels, notably the walking-beam, still in use. He invented the T-rail, which is generally used in this country and in Europe; a successful percussion-shell; and built the famous ironclad known as the Stevens Battery.
EDITOR.

Into the sand-bank underlying the city are daily deposited quantities of excrementitious matter to an extent, were it not susceptible of demonstration, which would be assumed to be incredible." [1]

"If," continues this report, "the above facts be well founded, we must naturally anticipate a deterioration of our water *pari passu* with the increase of the city." The report, in closing, expressed in terse but strong language the conviction that no adequate supply of good or wholesome water could be obtained on the island for the wants of a growing community like New-York. In the face of such startling facts, confirmed by various other analyses, the subject could not be abandoned.

GARDINER ARMS.

These analyses demonstrated the futility of all efforts to secure a pure or copious supply from the springs of the island. But the advocates of economy at once sought less expensive sources than the Croton River. Various projects were discussed both within and outside of the city council, and the idea of utilizing the Bronx River was again urged with great persistency. The chief argument in favor of the waters of this river was their cheapness when compared with the gigantic enterprise contemplated by the friends of the Croton plan. The waters of this stream, in point of purity, matched those of the Croton, but it is amusing now to read that the promoters of this plan could not hope for a greater maximum daily supply than nine millions of gallons. This, they argued, would, with an allowance of twenty gallons per head, suffice for all the requirements of a city of 450,000 population. The consumption of the city within a few years reached 18,000,000 gallons, and before its population had much more than doubled the consumption was more than five times as great. But, commended by its comparative cheapness, the Bronx River scheme found friends in the city council, and they drafted a bill empowering the council to borrow two million dollars to be devoted to the procurement of these waters; but the legislature refused to pass the bill. The council then decided to employ Colonel De Witt Clinton to report his opinion as to the best mode of bringing the waters of the Croton to the city, and the probable expense of their introduction, if he should conclude that the city should look for its supply to this source. This distinguished engineer made a most careful examination of the various proposed sources of water supply, and reported strongly in favor of the use of the Croton. The waters of this river he declared to be the purest and most copious, and amply abundant for any possible future population of the city. The elevation of their bed would give them a sufficient head to convey them to the distributing reservoir in the city at a height sufficient for the supply of the loftiest dwellings and the extinguishment of fires. His plan contemplated an open canal from which could be excluded the wash of the soil and rains, and upon which, by the construction of a narrow and deep channel, the winter's cold could have no serious effect. The cost of the whole work would not exceed two million dollars.

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[1] Devoe quotes the following as showing the reputation of the city's water as far back as 1798: "The Collect behind the 'Tea-water Pump' is a shocking hole, where all impure things centre together and engender the worst of unwholesome productions. . . . Some affect to say that the water is very cool and refreshing. Everybody knows from experience the water gets warm in a few hours, and, sometimes, almost before it is drawn from the carter's hogsheads. Can you bear to drink it on Sundays in the summer-time? It is so bad before Monday mornings as to be very sickly and nauseating; and the larger the city grows, the worse the evil will be. Already it has been whispered by some vigilant travelers through our city that the New-Yorkers are like the dog in the manger — they will not provide aqueducts themselves, nor let others do it." Public sentiment in that day was hostile to grants of franchises to individuals or private corporations.

DeWitt Clinton

Colonel Clinton's report soon bore fruit. The conflicting plans did not allow of a unanimous expression in favor of either, but as all parties were agreed that definite action was necessary, the common council requested the legislature to authorize the appointment of five commissioners, with ample powers to examine all plans, make actual surveys, estimate the probable expense, and generally to do whatever might be necessary. This led to the enactment of the law of 1833, under which Governor Marcy, with the consent of the Senate, appointed Stephen Allen, Benjamin M. Brown, Samuel Dusenberry, Saul Alley, and William W. Fox commissioners. They were armed with plenary powers, and were to hold office for one year.

Upon one of the heights in Greenwood Cemetery, not far from its entrance, may be seen an imposing monument reared in memory of the engineer who, in 1838, designed and laid out that beautiful city of the dead. That magnificent achievement was the work of David B. Douglass, and he it was whom the newly appointed water commissioners engaged to make their surveys and report upon the different plans. For this work Major Douglass was admirably equipped by long preparation and experience in scientific and mathematical pursuits. He had held both mathematical and philosophical chairs at West Point, and had been the chief engineer of the Morris Canal. To him the city of New-York is also indebted for the design of the

University Building on Washington Square. Owing to differences between him and the commissioners after their reappointment in 1835, he was not permitted to complete the aqueduct, but the task devolved upon equally competent hands. It must, however, be conceded that to Major Douglass the city in large measure owes the introduction of the Croton. In an able and exhaustive report he demonstrated the feasibility of the scheme and its superiority to all other projects. After a most careful examination of the several plans submitted to the commissioners, who gave a full hearing to the advocates of different propositions, he proved that the Croton River was alone adequate to the city's present needs, and was its only reliance for the future. His plan contemplated the bringing of the waters of that river at a sufficient elevation above the Harlem to deliver them without the use of power into a distributing reservoir, to be located near Fifth Avenue and Thirty-eighth street (one of the highest altitudes upon the island, and then far out of town), from which they could be conveyed to the top of the loftiest dwellings in the city. Besides proving the insufficiency and uncertainty of the Bronx and Rye Pond supplies, he showed that the Bronx waters could not be elevated to the proposed reservoir, for there was not enough power in the tide-waters of the Harlem to raise even a sufficient amount for the daily consumption of the existing city. The views of Major Douglass were adopted by the commissioners, and were urged upon the city fathers in an able report. Upon receiving the commissioners' report, the common council again decided to bespeak legislative permission to raise the necessary money. The application resulted in a law, passed May 2, 1834, by which five commissioners were appointed with more ample powers than the previous board enjoyed, for the new commissioners were to adopt a plan and make provisional contracts. Upon the approval by the council of the plan and contracts, the act made it the duty of that body to submit the whole subject to the

David Gardiner[1]

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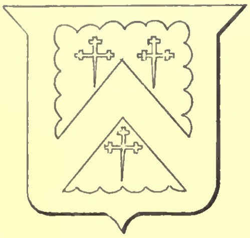
[1] David Gardiner was born in New-York city, May 2, 1784; was State senator from 1824 to 1828, and the author of "Chronicles of Easthampton." His eldest daughter, Julia, became the wife of President Tyler. Mr. Gardiner met an untimely death on February 28, 1844, by the bursting of a wrought-iron gun on board the U. S. steam-frigate Princeton, on the Potomac River. Several other prominent persons were killed at the same time, including Judge Upshur, secretary of state, who had accompanied President Tyler and the other members of the cabinet to witness the experiments with a new gun. EDITOR.

voters of the city at the charter election of 1835, and upon its ratification by the people the council were authorized to issue interest-bearing water stock of the city not exceeding two and a half millions of dollars in amount. The same commissioners were appointed as before, and they retained their engineer. Their report to the common council in February, 1835, shows how profoundly they were impressed with the magnitude and seriousness of their task and the importance of energetic but conservative action. A full hearing was again accorded to the friends of other projects, and the availability of the domestic supply was again examined, with the conclusion, in the language of the report, that "nothing less than a river distributed through thousands of channels and brought to the premises of every householder will be commensurate to the wants of a population such as the city of New-York contains and will contain." That river was the Croton. Its waters were to be taken near its mouth and conveyed to the city in an aqueduct declining fifteen inches in a mile, and were to be delivered in a reservoir on Murray Hill. In the dry seasons this river could supply at least thirty millions of gallons per day, and ordinarily more than fifty million gallons. Later experience has demonstrated that this was by no means its maximum capacity. The expense of conveying the water in a close aqueduct of masonry was estimated at $4,250,000, and this figure, like estimates almost contemporaneously given to the legislature for improvements in the Erie Canal, and for the construction of lateral waterways through the State, fell far below the actual cost. The common council approved the report, and submitted the question for decision at the polls. As no provision had been made by law for the distribution of ballots, the public might have been deprived of an opportunity of authorizing this noble work but for the munificence of several large property-holders of the city, who, sagaciously appreciating the importance of abundant water, contributed the necessary funds for the printing and distribution of ballots. The vote, which was held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of April, 1835, was overwhelmingly favorable, being 17,330 for, to 5963 against, the prosecution of the undertaking upon the commissioners' plan.



STURGIS ARMS.

The work was at once begun with great earnestness. The area that was to comprise the Croton Lake was first staked out, and afterward the entire land from the dam to the Harlem River was determined. Difficulties having arisen between Major Douglass and the chairman of the board of commissioners, the chief engineer was retired, and John B. Jervis, an engineer and inventor of distinction, who had assisted in the construction of the Erie Canal, was substituted in his

Catherine J. Clinton[1]

stead; but no substantial departure was made from the plans adopted by Major Douglass. Section after section of the work was completed, the legislature meanwhile authorizing the expenditure of additional sums to defray its cost. Engineering obstacles of great difficulty were encountered at almost every step: there were deep ravines to be crossed by embankment or bridge, and lofty hills to be pierced by tunnels. To these formidable natural obstacles were added the construction of the dam across the Croton River, the aqueduct bridge over the valley of Sing Sing, and finally the problems attendant upon the crossing of the Harlem. The execution of this part of the work gave rise to serious controversy. Two plans had been advocated: one, initiated by Douglass, contemplated a bridge on elevated piers so constructed as not to interfere with navigation; the other, involving the use of iron pipes, requiring less expenditure and shorter time for construction, was approved by the new engineer and the board. Major Douglass's plan of a bridge at the level of the aqueduct was generally popular, was sustained in the board of assistant aldermen, and was eventually enforced by the State legislature.

In 1840 the commissioners who had so admirably conducted the work were removed, and the execution of their trust turned over to a new board, the president of which was Samuel Stevens, who, while a member of the board of aldermen, had worked long and ardently for increased water facilities. The other members of the new board were Benjamin Birdsall, John D. Ward, and Samuel B. Childs. No change was made in the staff of engineers. Every effort was made to finish the aqueduct by the summer of 1842, but difficulties in obtaining rock foundation for the Harlem bridge prevented its completion at that time, and in order that the entrance of water into the distributing reservoir might not be delayed beyond this date, resort was temporarily had to the system of inverted siphons or iron pipes for carrying it over the Harlem River. In June, 1842, the commissioners and their engineers made a journey through the aqueduct on foot, when examinations were made to test the perfection of the structure. On June 22 the water was for the first time introduced, when the Croton Maid, a little craft designed especially for the purpose, and capable of accommodating four persons, was placed in the aqueduct to begin her novel voyage to the Harlem. On June 27, the water was admitted into the receiving reservoir at Yorkville, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of the mayor, common council, the governor, and the members of the court for the correction of errors, then the highest appellate tribunal in the State. With similar impressive ceremonies it was, on July 4, introduced into the distributing reservoir at Fifth Avenue and Forty-second street.

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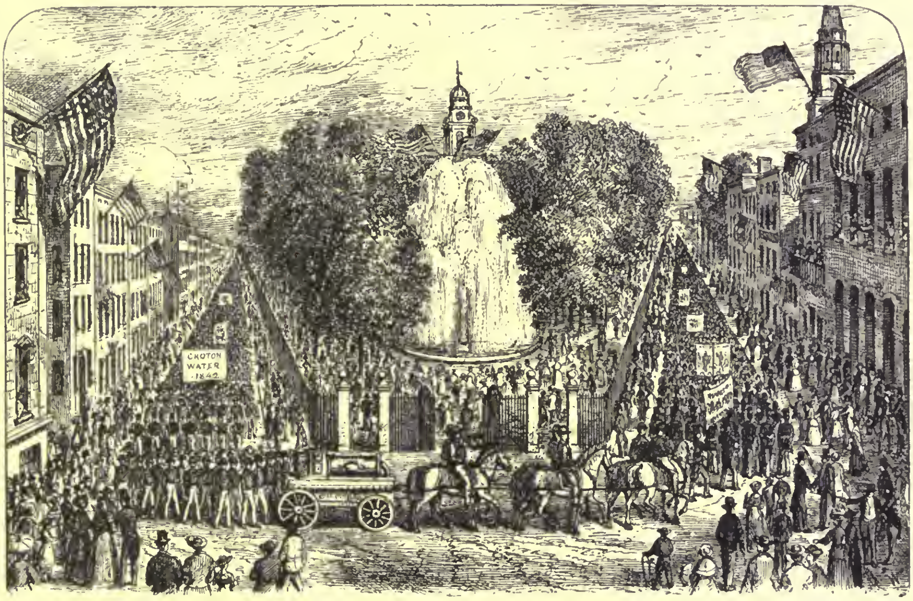
[1] Catherine Jones, the second wife of De Witt Clinton, was the daughter of Dr. Thomas Jones, son of a Welsh physician, Dr. Evan Jones, who settled in Jamaica, L. I., in 1728, and whose family was made known to New-Yorkers of fifty years ago through the historical addresses of Dr. J. W. Francis and Dr. William A. Duer. Dr. John Jones, brother of Thomas, attained eminence as a surgeon, and was one of the two original founders of the New-York Hospital — Dr. Samuel Bard being the other — in 1771. He was honored by the confidence and friendship of both Washington and Franklin. Mrs. Thomas Jones, Mrs. Clinton's mother, was the daughter of Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a prominent merchant of New-York, and a loyal patriot at the epoch of the Revolution. Mrs. Clinton was a woman of marked character and energy, and was devotedly attached to the memory of her husband. She was an admirable hostess and faithful friend, an open enemy of everything evasive, and noted for her strong sense of mind and conversation. In early life and middle age handsome, she retained her dignified appearance and presence up to the time of her death, July 2, 1855, at the age of seventy-two years. The following letter, written fifteen years after Clinton's death, is of interest:

"TIVOLI, Aug. 8, 1843.

"SIR: I cannot appreciate your motive in sending me a number of the 'New World' containing an article of which you are the author, purporting to be a review of Hammond's political history of New-York. Notwithstanding the opinion of Chancellor Kent and Mr. Hone, I think the article very offensive. Charles Clinton has spoken to me several times of these papers, but in truth I never took the trouble to read a line of them. My late illustrious husband's character (thank heaven) stands on too firm a basis to be at all injured by the political writings of such men as Hammond or his puerile commentators. May I beg you will never take the trouble of sending me any more of these papers, and should you be at a loss for something to insert in the next, pray publish this letter under its proper signature of CATHERINE J. CLINTON."

EDITOR.



CROTON WATER PROCESSION, 1842.

On October 14, 1842, the advent of the water was duly celebrated by the entire populace. The fine weather, which had continued uninterruptedly for more than three weeks, like the splendid days of the Columbian celebration of the present autumn of 1892, "held out," as Mayor Hone said, "one day longer to smile upon the great pageant." The city was justly proud. The victim but a few years earlier of a desolating conflagration, upon which closely followed a crisis that, for a time, crippled her commercial and financial interests, she had, nevertheless, unaided, completed a work of the greatest magnitude, and had voluntarily incurred in its execution a debt of twelve millions of dollars; and this, too, at an epoch when many States and communities were shamelessly repudiating their obligations. The celebration was worthy of the city; it surpassed the great demonstration which attended the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. President Tyler was among the invited guests, but, to the intense satisfaction of the Whigs of the metropolis, he responded that circumstances would deny him the pleasure of attending. In June of the following year he made a visit to the city, in conjunction with his son and several cabinet officers, while on his way to attend the great Bunker Hill celebration and to hear Webster's magnificent oration, when a public reception, chiefly attended by the Democrats, was held in his honor. But to the water celebration there came the governor, various other State officials, members of Congress and of the State legislature, foreign consuls, and mayors from other cities of the State, among whom was Henry C. Murphy, then mayor of the recently incorporated city of Brooklyn. In the morning of the day, there was presented to the Fire Department,[1] which was now to receive a powerful auxiliary in the Croton, a banner covered with appropriate devices symbolizing the heroic services of our firemen, and old Father Neptune exulting in his new triumph over the demon of fire. Then followed a parade, unrivaled by any military or civic demonstration ever before witnessed in the city. The procession contained representatives of all the leading societies, arts, and professions. The gov-

Henry C. Murphy

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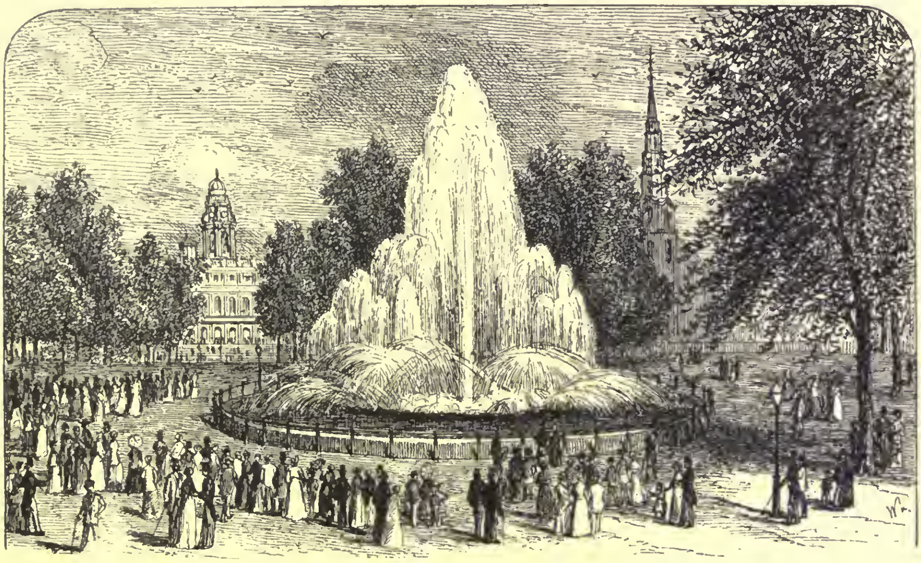
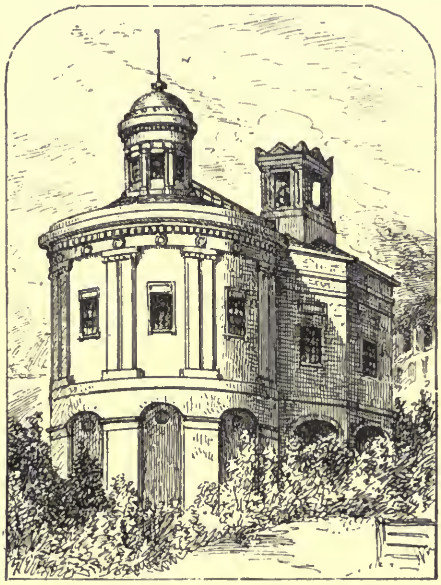
[1] This was the Volunteer Fire Department, which was disbanded in 1865.

ernor and other invited guests of distinction, the water commissioners, and members of the Croton aqueduct board, and Mayor Morris, rode in barouches, followed by the military, the firemen both of this city and of Philadelphia, the representatives of various literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions, the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the numerous temperance organizations, which had found a new ally in the Croton, and mechanics and printers. In the midst of the division in which the printers marched was a vehicle transporting the old press with which Benjamin Franklin had once worked in London, while from a new press upon the same cart were printed and distributed to the assembled crowds copies of the commemorative ode written by George P. Morris, then, in conjunction with Theodore S. Fay and Nathaniel P. Willis, editing the "Mirror." Pipe, symbolic of the Croton conduits, and the implements of the workmen, were carried or drawn by others in the procession.


OPENING OF THE FOUNTAIN, CITY HALL PARK, 1842.

"There was," says the "New-York Express," "a multitude present that no man could number, and the devices presented an almost endless variety. We could neither number the one nor the other. The procession was two hours and ten minutes in passing the 'Express' office on Broadway. The ranks were from two to ten deep. Every rank, every age, and every profession was represented. . . . The church-bells mingled their merriest peals, and the cannon spoke out morning, noon and night in their most vociferous tones of power."

At the City Hall, in the presence of a vast throng, President Stevens made formal transfer of the water-works to the city authorities, and a speech of acceptance was made by John L. Lawrence, president of the Croton aqueduct board. The Sacred Music Society then sang Morris's ode. The collation, which was dispensed at the City Hall, was in admirable keeping with the other festivities. It was a veritable water day: no wine or spirits of any kind were served. There was an address by the mayor, and a speech by the governor, in which he urged the completion by the State of the enlargement of the Erie Canal, which had been recently suspended because the expense of its execution was discovered to be greater than had at first been anticipated. With a fair at Niblo's, and an illumination at the Astor House, a day of great rejoicing closed. No riot or disorder marred its serenity. The newly erected fountains in the City Hall Park and Union Square, for many years after the delight of foreign visitors, had all day long been shooting their lofty jets into the air, to the joy and astonishment of assembled multitudes.[1]



MANHATTAN RESERVOIR, 1846.

With the completion of the aqueduct, with the private improvements which could be witnessed on every hand, with the increase and decoration of public squares, the initiation of railroad enterprises, the construction and equipment of steam vessels for use upon the Sound and the Hudson, and the regular arrival and departure of ocean packets (which in this decade first came to the port), with the increasing wealth of the merchants and the growing diversity and magnitude of the commercial and industrial operations of the city, it was evident that it had outgrown the old lethargic methods of the Knickerbockers and was becoming a metropolis in reality. Nature had given it a safe and capacious harbor, the Erie Canal and the railroads were opening the markets of the West, and ocean packets and river steamers were securing outlets and inlets for its commerce. The sharp contrasts of riches and poverty now began to assert themselves, but these were partly tempered by the character of our institutions and by the active and growing spirit of benevolence which the wealth of a free and enlightened people is sure to evoke. Nor had civic spirit begun to abate, for the affairs of the city still occupied the attention of large numbers of its best citizens, who did not hesitate to devote their time to its interests.

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[1] "If I must live in a city, the fountains alone would determine my choice in favor of New-York." (Letters from New-York by Lydia M. Child.) The same authoress says that the Old World has nothing to equal the magnificence of the fountain in City Hall Park. "There is such a head of water that it throws the column sixty feet into the air, and drops it into the basin in a shower of diamonds." The fountain in this park "consists of a large central pipe with eighteen subordinate jets in a basin one hundred feet broad. By shifting the plate of the conduit pipe, the fountains can be made to assume various shapes: The Maid of the Mist; the Croton Plume; the Vase; the Dome; the Bouquet; the Sheaf of Wheat; the Weeping Willow."

Fashionable New-York was rapidly making its escape from its old abodes. The erection of Grace Church on Broadway near Tenth street, and the new Church of the Messiah, in which Dr. Dewey regularly officiated, and where could occasionally have been heard the eloquence of Dr. Channing, exhibit this tendency. Washington Square, Waverly Place, Astor Place, Bond street, the lower part of Fifth Avenue, and East Broadway were the neighborhoods to which the wealth of the day aspired. Here pretentious mansions were built at a cost which would have shocked the old residents about Bowling Green or in Wall street. Says Valentine, in his invaluable "Manual of the Corporation," a few years later: "The dwellings now generally in course of construction by our wealthy inhabitants for their private residences are among the most splendid and costly city dwelling-houses in the world. . . . One hundred thousand dollars for the cost of a single city lot, freestone house and furniture, is not an infrequent expenditure." "Rapid approximation to the European style of living," wrote Lydia Maria Child, in 1842, "is more and more observable in this city. The number of servants in livery visibly increases every season. Foreign artistic upholsterers assert that there will soon be more houses in New-York furnished according to the taste and fashion of noblemen, than there are even in Paris or London"; and she adds that "furniture for a single room is often ordered at a cost of ten thousand dollars."

Saml. F. B. Morse

These luxuries came with the steam packet, which first made ocean voyages popular. When a trip to Europe could be made in sixteen days in the Sirius, the Great Western, the Britannia, or the Arcadia, there was no longer a bar to elegant travel. In 1839 James W. Wallack made the round trip within six weeks from the day of his farewell benefit at the National. Steam navigation brought accessions of noted strangers, some to be fêted and honored, as Dickens, Marryat, Lord Morpeth, or the Prince de Joinville;[1] others, like Louis Napoleon, or the ex-King of Spain, to escape for a time from an atmosphere of insecurity. The Orontes had begun to flow into the Tiber, in a double sense: not only was America becoming the asylum of Europe, but the luxury and fashion of Paris were also commencing to pervade New-York. We are fast approaching the days of Mrs. Crœsus and Mrs. Potiphar, and the life which Ik Marvel satirizes in the "Lorgnette."

Andrew Jackson

The presidential campaign of the year 1844 may, we think, be regarded, next to 1860, as the most important canvass in our history. Controversies about banks and tariffs were fast hurried to the background before the onset of the slavery question. Houston at San Jacinto in 1836 had made Texas independent of Mexico, but the "Lone Star" was courted by the South, and one of the last acts of the Tyler administration was the proposed treaty with the republic of Texas for its annexation to the Union. The resolution of Calhoun and the South to acquire the full area of this new republic for additional slave territory prevented Van Buren's renomination at Baltimore, and secured the nomination of Polk and Silas Wright; but the Kangaroo ticket, as it was immediately dubbed,[2] did not long continue in the field. Wright, who was then a senator from New-York at Washington, immediately telegraphed to the convention his refusal to accept the proffered honor. History records that the convention disdained to believe that the news of the nomination had been conveyed to Washington, and that a veritable declination had been sent from that city, within an hour after the nomination. The explanation of this incredulity lies in the fact that the proceedings of this convention constituted the first public news ever transmitted over telegraphic wires. The skeptical convention adjourned to the following day before acting upon Wright's declination, meanwhile despatching a committee to Washington, to ascertain the nominee's decision. When it was discovered that Morse's invention was no chimera, but a veritable working machine, the city was as much astonished at this intelligence as at the unexpected nomination of Polk.

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[1] The Prince de Joinville came to this port in the historic frigate La Belle Poule, which had recently conveyed Napoleon's remains from St. Helena to France, and which in the fall and winter of 1841 could have been seen off the Battery, "with her tricolor flying." In November, 1841, Dr. Valentine Mott and his wife gave a ball, at their residence in Bleecker street, in honor of the Prince, to whom on the following day the city fathers gave a grand dinner at the Astor House.

[2] "The ticket," said a leading Democrat, "is like a kangaroo—it goes upon its hind legs."

GENERAL WORTH'S RESIDENCE.[1]

After years of disappointment and privation Morse had at last been permitted to demonstrate the possibility of employing electromagnetism for the instantaneous transmission of news. Although by profession an artist, this pupil of Washington Allston had from his college days at Yale been profoundly interested in science, and had patented many inventions. The idea of an electromagnetic recording telegraph had first suggested itself to him while he was on a voyage from Havre to New-York in 1832. Returning to his professional work in the university, he spent years in perfecting his invention, and was at last able to demonstrate its perfect utility to a company of gentlemen assembled in the Geological Cabinet of the university in 1838. Patents were granted to him by the United States, but for many years no means of enabling him to test the invention were put at his disposal. England refused him a patent. Arago, the aged Humboldt, and other scientists at home and abroad were convinced of the value of the Morse system; but Congress, busied with problems of politics and finance, refused any appropriation for testing its value until 1843. At the very close of the session (on the third of March) of this year, Congress passed a bill authorizing an appropriation for a trial line between Baltimore and Washington. This bill was not passed without keen and scornful opposition. One member of the House wished an amendment adding a provision that part of the money should be expended in researches upon animal magnetism, a subject then engaging the scientific and popular mind; and blunt Sam Houston, conceiving Morse to be a visionary enthusiast, worthy of enrolment with "Second Advent" Miller, suggested that "Millerism"[2] should receive a share of the fund. The establishment of a circuit of forty miles was a work of great magnitude because of its novelty, and its progress occasioned the deepest anxiety to the inventor. Morse was unable to complete the line at the date when the Whig convention met, but his system was ready for operation when the Democratic convention was summoned to order.

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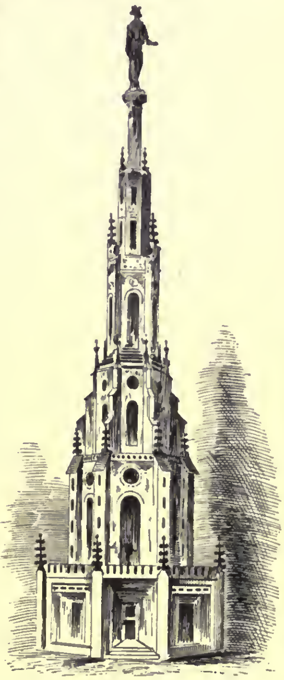
[1] General William J. Worth's residence commands one of the finest views on the Hudson River. The house is a large square building, with a broad portico and Ionic columns extending across its entire front, while the grounds in which it stands are shaded with magnificent old trees. EDITOR.

[2] "Millerism" found votaries in the city. Miller fixed October 22, 1844, for the end of the world. Stones and brickbats were thrown at the speakers at the Millerite meetings, and crackers and torpedoes were exploded under their feet. Finally the mayor, with an array of constables, was obliged



PROPOSED WASHINGTON MONUMENT.[1]

The anxiety of Van Buren's friends for the nomination of their candidate was intense. When the telegraph announced to Morse that Van Buren had been defeated, and that Wright, the friend of Van Buren, had been selected for the second place upon the ticket, he at once communicated the intelligence to the senator, who was in another part of the Capitol, and who was thus enabled to send an immediate declination. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, was nominated in Wright's place. "Polk and Texas!" was the cry which rang from many a Democratic torch-light procession in the city in the autumn of 1844. The issue centered in this State. The Whigs held great public meetings, and their adversaries organized vast counter-demonstrations, very much after the manner of the present day. But Clay lost New-York through the action of the "Conscience Whigs" and of the Abolitionists, and Polk became president.

To his cabinet the new executive summoned Mr. Marcy to assume the portfolio of war, and to the historian George Bancroft he gave the office of secretary of the navy. The last act of the Tyler administration was the annexation of Texas to the United States by joint resolution. Mexico, having never acknowledged the independence of her revolted province, smarted under the action of Congress, recalled her ambassador, and assumed a front of war. Polk ordered General Taylor to the Rio Grande and the Nueces until he came upon Mexican soil, where a conflict took place with Mexican troops, in which

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to attend the meetings to prevent a repetition of such dangerous tricks. "A vendor of stoves has shut up his shop, with the announcement that no more stoves will be needed on this earth. A shoemaker on Division street began to give away all his stock, but in came his son during the process and caused him to be sent to an insane asylum, until the excitement of his mind abated. A shop in the Bowery mounted a placard on which was inscribed in large letters, *Muslin for Ascension Robes!* I do not know whether this was done for waggery or from that spirit of trade which is ever willing to turn a penny on war, pestilence, or conflagration. . . . Thousands of minds are in a state of intense alarm, but I have heard of very few instances of stolen money restored, or falsehoods acknowledged, as a preparation for the dreaded event." (Lydia M. Child.)

[1] Hamilton Square was a large tract of ground on Lenox Hill, and it was here that the corner-stone of a proposed monument to Washington was laid, October 19, 1847, as seen above. EDITOR.

our soldiers were victorious. Polk at once addressed Congress, and the famous vote was taken which declared that war already existed "by act of Mexico." It is not our province to narrate the history of that war, the triumphs of Taylor, or our own Worth and Wool, Scott's entry into the city of Montezuma in 1847, or the resulting controversy over the attempted exclusion of slavery from the vast territory purchased from Mexico under the guise of a treaty of peace; but the part which New-York took in the conflict merits brief notice.

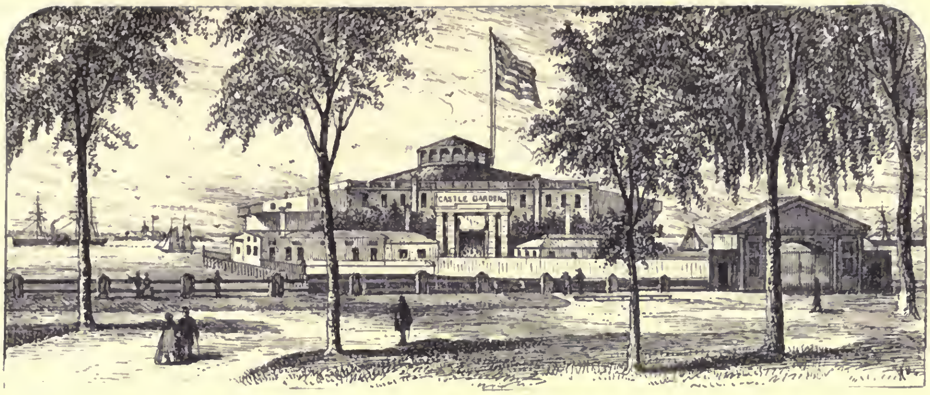
The history of the events which led up to the war, of the war itself, and of its effects, would form a most absorbing book. The war was waged for the dismemberment of Mexico. The military honors are unquestionably due to Taylor and Scott and their brilliant subordinates; but the policy which added California, Utah, and New Mexico to the territory of the United States had its origin largely in the minds of Marcy and Bancroft, and they found men capable of executing their bold designs. It was Commodore John Drake Sloat, a native of this city, a hero of the war of 1812, who stole, under cover of darkness, in his ship, the Savannah, from the harbor of Mazatlan, and, reaching Monterey, California, in advance of the British admiral, compelled its surrender, and raised the American flag in the old Mexican capital. Under instructions from Marcy, General Stephen Watts Kearny led a force of sixteen hundred men a thousand miles through the desert to seize Santa Fé and hold New Mexico. His brilliant nephew, Philip, also a native of this city, was the first soldier to enter the gates of the city of Mexico. In attempting to follow the Mexicans into their capital after their defeat at Churubusco, he received a shot which necessitated the amputation of his left arm. Of him General Scott said, "He was the bravest man I ever knew, and the most perfect soldier." In this war other New-Yorkers either won their spurs or gained fresh laurels. General Worth, whose statue was subsequently erected in Madison Square, was in the thick of the fight at Monterey, at Vera Cruz, at Cerro Gordo, at Chapultepec, and at the capture of Mexico. The energetic and indomitable spirit of General Wool enabled him to raise and equip a volunteer force of twelve thousand men in less than six weeks, and as a veteran he displayed equal energy during our late civil war in saving Washington from Confederate troops. Among others who won distinction or lost their lives in this struggle were descendants of the Hamiltons, the Schuylers, the Morrises, and others of New-York's leading families.

During the exciting and bloody drama of the last years of this decade New-York city steadily continued her development. No serious calamity occurred except the fire of July 19, 1845, the third great conflagration in the city's history, which broke out about dawn of a calm midsummer morning. As there was little wind, and an ample supply of water at the service of the firemen, the flames would have been speedily extinguished but for an explosion of a large quantity of saltpeter which was stored in a building in New street, in which the fire had its origin. The force of this explosion was so tremendous as to overthrow several neighboring buildings and to shatter the glass in the windows of structures as distant as Broadway, Greenwich, and Wall streets. Several firemen were killed, and the fire service was temporarily paralyzed. The flames almost instantaneously spread in every direction, and in the short space of two hours many of the fine buildings erected after the fire of 1835 upon New, Broad, Beaver, and Whitehall streets and Exchange Place were in ruins. The fire raged over the heart of the area which had been devastated in the last great fire, consuming the old Waverly House on Exchange Place, Schermerhorn's Hotel, the scene of many a fancy ball, and numerous granite stores, and destroying in all 345 edifices, which, with their contents, were valued at from $6,000,000 to $10,000,000. The bell of the "old jail," until then preserved as a curiosity in the cupola of the Naiad Hose Company in Beaver street, was the most interesting historic relic consumed in this fire. Although this disaster crippled many merchants and insurance companies, its evils were soon repaired. The city was vastly larger and richer than in 1835, when Harriet Martineau, speaking of the fire in that year, wrote that "the commercial credit of New-York could stand any shock short of an earthquake like that of Lisbon." Three weeks after the conflagration of 1845, Hone wrote in his diary that "fine stores were in process of construction amidst smouldering ruins, the materials of which were too hot to be removed by the naked hands of the workmen."

Of these structures a citizen of the year 1892 might find no more traces than of the men who were then so prominent in the public eye. Some of the latter passed away at the close of this epoch, as John Jacob Astor; the venerable Morgan Lewis, third governor of the State, whose name vaguely recalls the compacts and the feuds of the old landed families; the aged jurist and delightful companion, James Kent; and the financier Albert Gallatin, who during his later years was closely identified with every progressive movement in the city's life. Almost the last time his voice was heard in public it was raised in emphatic condemnation of the policy which had annexed Texas to the Union. The places which the old Knickerbockers filled with old-fashioned integrity and ability were in a few years to be occupied by what the Romans so aptly styled "new men," unfortunately alien in many senses to the better life and the true spirit of the metropolitan city.

GOTHAM AS APPLIED TO NEW-YORK.

Gotham derives its origin from Goth, one of an ancient tribe of barbarians who overran the Roman Empire, and signifies a rude, ignorant person. It was also the name of a parish in Nottinghamshire, England, where people were noted for their simplicity and stupidity, which gained for them the satirical appellation of the "wise men of Gotham." As a popular name for the city of New-York, it was first used by Irving and Paulding in "Salmagundi," because the inhabitants were such wiseacres. In that humorous volume is quaintly recited the "Chronicles of the Renowned and Antient City of Gotham," and its invasion and final capture by the Hoppingtots, a race noted for "an unaccountable and unparalleled aptitude for huge and unmatchable feats of the leg. Led by two chiefs, Pirouet and Rigadoon, who ordered each man "to arm himself with a certain pestilent little weapon called a fiddle; to pack up in his knapsack a pair of silk breeches, the like of ruffles, a cocked hat of the form of a half-moon, a bundle of catgut," and "a bunch of right merchantable onions," they swooped down upon the devoted Gotham. The appearance of this host, capering and grimacing, filled the citizens with alarm, followed by despondency, as fresh onslaughts to the sound of screeching fiddles were made day after day by the enemy. And the wise men of the town implored the dancing men and women to "make heel against the invaders, and to put themselves upon such gallant defence, such glorious array, and such sturdy evolution, elevation, and transposition of the foot as might incontinently impester the legs of the Hoppingtots, and produce their complete discomfiture." Finally the two chiefs, marshaling their entire force, made a general attack on the whole line of fortifications by a grand ball. The garrison had previously been corrupted "by a most insidious and pestilent dance called the waltz. . . . By it were the heads of the simple Gothamites most seriously turned"; the ladies of the city had been already captivated by the besiegers, and the defenders themselves were wavering. Rigadoon made a short address to his companions, and without more ado "leaped into the air about a flight-shot, crossed his feet six times, after the manner of the Hoppingtots, gave a short partridge-run, and with mighty vigor and swiftness did bolt outright over the walls with a somerset. The whole army of Hoppingtots danced in after their valiant chieftain with an enormous squeaking of fiddles, and a horrific blasting and brattling of horns; insomuch that the dogs did howl in the streets, so hideously were their ears assailed." The city was shortly won, and the captors immediately put the citizens in charge of certain professors of the Hoppingtots, "who did put them under most ignominious durance for the space of a long time, until they had learned to turn out their toes and flourish their legs after the manner of their conquerors." All ages, sexes, and conditions were put to the fiddle and the dance without mercy, so that "in process of time they have waxed to be most flagrant, outrageous, and abandoned dancers; they do ponder on naughte but how to gallantize it at balls, routs, and fandangoes; insomuch that the like was in no time or place ever observed before." This sad chronicle closes as follows: "And to conclude, their young folk, who whilome did bestow a modicum of leisure upon the head, have of late utterly abandoned this hopeful task, and have quietly, as it were, settled themselves down into mere machines, wound up by a tune, and set in motion by a fiddlestick!" Gothamite is now occasionally used to denote an inhabitant of New-York city. EDITOR.



CASTLE GARDEN AS IT APPEARED IN 1850.

CHAPTER XI

TELEGRAPHS AND RAILROADS, AND THEIR IMPULSE TO COMMERCE

1847–1855

THIS period was marked by a wonderful commercial development, due in part to the rapid expansion of railway, steamboat, and telegraph interests, in part to the China and East India trade, no little also to the California trade consequent upon the discovery of gold in that State in 1848. The telegraph, which had come fairly into use by 1847, revolutionized the methods of business. Heretofore it had been the custom of the merchants of Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and all the larger interior towns to visit New-York once a year, usually in the spring, spend a month, and select their stock of goods for the coming year. Now all this was changed. The development of the railroad and telegraph made it possible for merchants in the interior to order any particular goods wanted, and to receive them within a day or two, so that the great wholesale houses, instead of carrying a large and miscellaneous stock of goods, began to limit themselves to a single line, and their customers in ordering would divide their orders among perhaps a dozen houses.

Dealings in stocks, bonds, and produce between the exchanges of the various cities were also changed by the advent of the new agent, for now the brokers could know the state of the market, and operate at the same time in New-York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Charleston, or New Orleans. The first telegraph-line in practical operation was finished in 1844, as has been narrated. In June, 1846, the line between Philadelphia and Washington was completed and opened for business. The line between New-York and Philadelphia had been opened on January 26, 1846. The receipts of the new line from January 27, 1846, to June 30 of the same year, as appears from the old books of the company, now in the possession of the Western Union Company, were for January, $108.75; for February (no record); for March, $202.58; for April, $120.97; for May, $362.25; for June, after the opening of the through line, $731.32. Total for the six months, $1525.87.

Jas. H. Hackett[1]

From this time on telegraph-lines were extended throughout the United States with great rapidity. There were the New-York and Boston Telegraph Company; the New-York, Albany and Buffalo Company, owned by the great stage-line proprietors, Foxton and Butterfield; the New-York and Albany Company, owned by Morse's partners; the St. Louis Company, owned by Henry O'Reilly, to which Morse and his partners gave a license so loosely worded as to locality that it produced later much contention and some lawsuits; the Washington Company, owned by Morse's agent, Amos Kendal; the New-York and Mississippi Valley Printing Company, which operated under the Key printing device of Royal House; and scores of others. In seven years there were over fifty separate telegraph companies doing business in the United States, nearly all of them in open competition and rivalry. This rivalry occasioned many evils and imperfections. It necessitated copying and retransmitting, with the attendant loss of time; and together with the delays, inaccuracies, and various tariffs, the result was such that in 1851 a movement was begun to effect a consolidation of the various interests. On March 30, 1854, the New-York and Mississippi Valley Printing Company purchased the lines of the Lake Erie Telegraph Company, extending from Buffalo to Detroit, and from Buffalo to Pittsburgh, and a month later secured control of the Cleveland and Cincinnati, the Cincinnati and St. Louis, and the Ohio Telegraph companies, which gave it a virtual monopoly of the western business. Between 1860 and 1866 the terms of Morse's patents expired. The competing lines in the East and South at this time had been consolidated into the American Telegraph Company, covering the Eastern, South Atlantic, and Gulf seaboard, and the Southwestern Telegraph Company, comprising the lines of the Mississippi Valley from Louisville to New Orleans, and of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Texas. An opposition company, called the United States Telegraph Company, sprang up on the expiration of the patents, and carried its lines into the district occupied by both the companies named above. The American and Southwestern companies met the new foe by consolidating under the name of the American Telegraph Company. The Western Union then bought the United States Company, and after an expensive competition the American, in 1866, also came into its hands. Since that date the Western Union has been master of the field.

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[1] James Henry Hackett, actor, was born in New-York city, March 15, 1800. He studied law at Columbia College, went into mercantile life, and soon married Katherine Lee-Sugg, an actress and the daughter of an English ventriloquist. Failing in business, he essayed the stage, meeting with great success. His Falstaff was for years the best on the American stage. In 1854 he brought Grisi and Mario to this country, and made a handsome fortune. Hackett numbered among his personal friends Cooper, Halleck, Irving, Paulding, and other prominent men. He died December 28, 1891. EDITOR.

KIP ARMS.

The first trunk-line railroad to enter the city and to exert an appreciable influence on its commerce and prosperity was the Erie, which was opened to Dunkirk, on Lake Erie, in 1851. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, and the benefits derived from it, showed how valuable to New-York was the trade of the great West. The successful introduction of railroads into England and into this country (1825–34) opened the eyes of the shrewd merchants and other business men of New-York to the importance of yoking the new genius to its car, and forcing him to contribute to their interests. The legislature of New-York at the session of 1825 directed a survey of a "State road" through the southern tier of counties from the Hudson to Lake Erie, following the general course of that "public road to the west" to construct which the assembly of New-York, "in the time of Queen Anne," had appropriated five hundred pounds, and which was to be to the southern tier what the Erie Canal was to the northern. The report of this survey, when made, proved unfavorable, and there were so many rival and conflicting interests involved that the project for a time was abandoned. The beneficent results of the canal, however, becoming more and more apparent, and the utility of the railroad as a common carrier more and more demonstrated, the scheme was revived, and on April 24, 1832, as before remarked, the New-York and Erie Railroad Company was chartered "to lay a single, double, or triple track from the city of New-York to Lake Erie, to transport property or persons by the power of steam, or of animals, or by any other power" or combination of the above. The capital stock was limited to ten millions of dollars, and the charter was to expire after fifty years. In the list of officers and incorporators were many names powerful "on 'change" fifty years ago.[1]

During this summer (1832) a preliminary survey was made by Colonel De Witt Clinton, Jr., under authority of the national government, and his report was so favorable that a complete and accurate instrumental survey was decided upon. By 1833 one million dollars of the capital stock had been subscribed, and in August officers and directors were appointed. The legislature of 1834 made an appropriation for a survey of the route under State authority, and Governor Marcy appointed Judge Benjamin Wright to conduct it. He began operations May 23, 1834, dividing the work into two grand divisions or sections—the eastern extending from the Hudson River to Binghamton, under the direction of James Seymour, and the western from Binghamton to Lake Erie, conducted by Charles Ellet, Jr. Judge Wright reported on January 20, 1835, that the survey had been finished, and that the complete maps, profiles, and estimates had been deposited with the secretary of state. The whole route from Piermont on the Hudson to Dunkirk on Lake Erie was four hundred and eighty-three miles in length (subsequently reduced to four hundred and forty-six). In his report the engineer spoke of the vast and acknowledged benefits of the Erie Canal to its commercial emporium, and that in selecting the route of the railroad he had considered economy of construction, passenger traffic, cheapness of transportation, connection with lateral branches, accommodation of the inhabitants, and development of resources. The report aroused much opposition to the proposed road in the legislature. The project was denounced as "chimerical, impracticable, and useless." It was said that the road could never be constructed, and if it could, would never be used, as the southern counties were sterile, mountainous, and thinly populated, yielding but few marketable products, which could easily find their way to market through their natural channel, the Mohawk Valley and Erie Canal. The friends of the project, however, were strong enough to overcome this opposition, additional subscriptions were secured, the State granted a loan of three millions of dollars, and on September 8, 1836, the company advertised for bids to construct a section of forty and one half miles from Delaware to Callicoon Creek. Construction of a section of ten miles nearest Piermont on the Hudson was begun at about the same time. On September 23, 1841, the first section of forty-six miles from Piermont to Goshen was put into operation. The company then becoming embarrassed, its affairs were placed in the hands of receivers, by whom the road was completed to Middletown, and opened to traffic January 3, 1843.

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[1] They were: President, James G. King; Vice-President, Eleazar Lord; Directors, John Duer, Goold Hoyt, Michael Burnham, Peter G. Stuyvesant, Elihu Townsend, Samuel B. Ruggles, James Boorman, Stephen Whitney, John Rathbone, Jr., J. Green Pearson, John G. Coster, J. H. Pierson, of Rockland County, George D. Wickham, of Orange County, Joshua Whitney of Broome County; Incorporators, Samuel Swartwout, Stephen Whitney, Robert White, Cornelius Harsen, Eleazar Lord, Daniel Le Roy, William C. Redfield, Cornelius J. Blauvelt, Jeremiah H. Pierson, William Townsend, Egbert Jansen, Charles Borland, Abraham M. Smith, Alpheus Dimmick, Randal S. Street, John P. Jones, George D. Wickham, Joseph Curtis, John L. Gorham, Joshua Whitney, Christopher Eldridge, James McKinney, James Pumpelly, Charles Pumpelly, John R. Drake, Jonathan Platt, Luther Gere, Francis A. Bloodgood, Jeremiah S. Beebe, Ebenezer Mack, Ansel St. John, Andrew De Witt Bruyn, Stephen Tuttle, Lyman Covell, Robert Covell, John Arnett, John Magee, William McKay, William S. Hubbell, William Bonham, Arthur H. Erwin, Henry Brother, Philip Church, Samuel King, Walter Bowne, Morgan Lewis, William Paulding, Peter Loveland, Isaac Lawrence, Jeromus Johnson, John Steward, Jr., Henry I. Wyckoff, Richard M. Lawrence, Gideon Lee, John P. Stagg, Nathaniel Weed, Hubert Van Wagenen, David Rodgers, John Hone, John G. Coster, Goold Hoyt, Peter P. Nevius, Robert Buloid, Thomas A. Ronalds, John Haggerty, Elisha Riggs, Benjamin L. Swan, Grant B. Baldwin, William Maxwell, and Darius Bentley.

Matilda Heron[1]

In 1845 the State released its claim of three millions of dollars, provided the road should be opened to Lake Erie within six years, the original stockholders at the same time giving up half of their stock. Up to February 1, 1844, the road had cost $4,736,949, and it was estimated that seven millions more would be needed to complete it. After the reorganization work was resumed, and the road opened to Port Jervis, January 6, 1848; to Binghamton, December 28, 1848; to Elmira, October 10, 1849; to Hornellsville, September 3, 1850; and to Dunkirk, April 22, 1851.

The opening of each of the various divisions was attended with fitting ceremonies. The completion of the entire line was celebrated, May 14, 1851, with still more imposing ceremonies. Two trains of cars appropriately decked with bunting conveyed President Fillmore, Daniel Webster (then secretary of state), and a noble company of distinguished citizens, as guests of the directors, from the Hudson to Dunkirk, the trains being met at all important points along the road by the firing of cannon, the waving of flags and handkerchiefs, and cheers of the thousands assembled; by speech-making, banquets, and felicitations on the completion of the gigantic enterprise. The "New-

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[1] Matilda Heron studied for the stage in Philadelphia, appearing first at the Walnut street theater, in 1851, as Bianca in Dean Milman's "Fazio." She met with success in New-York and elsewhere, and, in 1857, at Wallack's theater, she played Camille; marrying the same year Robert Stoepel, a musician, from whom she afterward separated. She performed in London in 1861 with moderate success, soon returning to New-York. Her last engagement was at Booth's theater in 1874–75; and she died in New-York in 1877. EDITOR.

York Tribune" of Friday, April 25, said on its editorial page, "The iron track from Piermont to Dunkirk is at length completed, and the first train passed over the road on Tuesday. The directors left this city on Monday, stopped for the night at Elmira, and arrived at Dunkirk about six o'clock on Tuesday evening, amid the rejoicings of thousands who had gathered to witness the advent of the first train of cars from the banks of the Hudson. The company remained at Dunkirk Tuesday night, and on Wednesday afternoon started on their return to this city,"—and closed its account with the query, "Should not the completion of this mighty undertaking be commemorated by our citizens?" "Step by step," said a New-York publication of 1855, "mile by mile, over mountains, across valleys, on airy viaducts, from the river to the great lakes the work was at length accomplished, and immediately, as if a magic wand had touched the great West, roads connecting with it sprang into existence, leading to every State in the Union north of the Ohio and Mississippi, and the wealth of the great Northwest was poured into the lap of New-York. St. Louis formerly bought goods at New Orleans, now it comes to us. Illinois bought at St. Louis, now it purchases on the Atlantic coast. Ohio went bodily to Cincinnati for its supplies. Cincinnati itself now seeks them in the metropolis of the Empire State."

C. S. Woodhull[1]

During the year ending September 30, 1854, 1,125,123 passengers were transported, with 743,250 tons of freight. The road then owned 183 locomotives, and 2935 cars. The cost of the road and equipment was $33,439,431.10, and its earnings for that year $5,359,958.68, or nearly one sixth of its total cost. The company fell into evil hands, however, and in 1859 its road and property were placed in the hands of a receiver for non-payment of interest on its funded debt. A reorganization was effected under the name of the Erie Railway Company in June, 1861. In May, 1875, the road and property were again placed in the hands of a receiver in default of payment of interest on its bonds, and its affairs were by him administered until April 24, 1878, when the road, franchise, and property were sold under a foreclosure of the mortgage bonds, and a second reorganization was effected under the title of the New-York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company, the articles of association being filed on the 27th of the same month. Since then the affairs of the great corporation have been in a much more prosperous condition.[2]

It is worthy of mention that none of the other great trunk-lines entering the city were originally projected as such, but have been formed by the consolidation of connecting lines constructed under separate charters, and managed by different corporations. For instance, the second great trunk-line between New-York and the West in point of time — the New-York Central and Hudson River Railroad — was organized so recently as November 1, 1869, by the consolidation of the New-York Central and the Hudson River Railroad companies. The New-York Central had then had a corporate existence of sixteen years, having been organized by special act of the legislature passed April 2, 1853, authorizing a consolidation of the various railroads then existing between Albany and Buffalo, viz., the Albany and Schenectady, the Schenectady and Troy, the Utica and Schenectady, the Syracuse and Utica, the Syracuse and Utica Direct, the Rochester and Syracuse, the Buffalo and Lockport, the Mohawk Valley, the Rochester, Lockport and Niagara Falls, and the Buffalo and Rochester roads, heretofore operated by different boards at increased and useless expense. The Albany and Schenectady, it is interesting to note, was the first railroad built in the State of New-York, having been chartered in 1826 as the Mohawk and Hudson, and opened for traffic September 12, 1831. The Hudson River Railroad Company was chartered May 12, 1846, to construct and operate a railroad between New-York and Albany, and was opened to East Albany, October 3, 1851. This great system, since the consolidation, has four tracks between Albany and Buffalo, and, besides numerous branch lines, operates the Harlem Railroad between New-York and Albany under a lease for four hundred years dating from April 1, 1873, and the West Shore trunk-line between New-York and Buffalo. The Harlem was chartered April 25, 1831. A few statistics from the last annual report of this company will show the vast extent of its resources, and the great volume of business transacted.[2]

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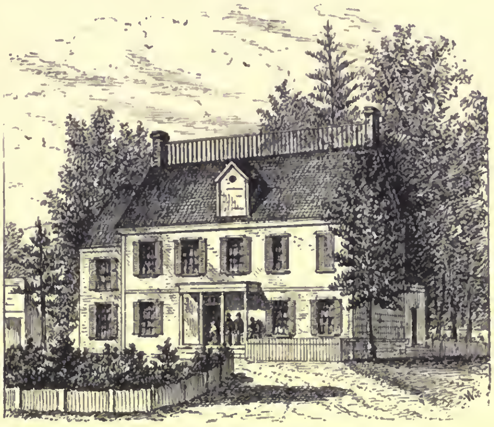
[1] Caleb S. Woodhull was elected mayor by the Whigs in 1849, and served one term. It was during his administration that the Astor Place riot occurred. EDITOR.

[2] In 1891 it was operating a total of 1696.59 miles of line. Its total earnings for that year were $30,090,699.51. It carried 13,756,292 passengers, and 24,911,699 tons of freight. It then had 870 locomotives, 703 passenger-cars, and 40,580 freight-cars. Its capital stock is $85,951,100.



BURNHAM'S HOTEL.[1]

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company,[3] the third trunk-line to enter the city, was formed by the consolidation, in June, 1871, of the original Pennsylvania Railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburg (first opened February 15, 1854) with the United Railroads of New Jersey, which had at that date absorbed the various independent railroad companies of New Jersey, and controlled and operated a through line to Philadelphia. These independent companies were the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company, the Camden and Amboy, the New Jersey, and the Philadelphia and Trenton railroad companies.

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[1] Burnham's Hotel was for many years a favorite resort on the Bloomingdale road, much frequented by young pleasure-loving New-Yorkers of a past generation. EDITOR.

[2] The number of miles of road operated in 1891 was 2,096.46. Its capital stock is $89,428,300. It owns 1132 locomotives, 914 passenger-cars, 40,443 freight-cars, and has 25,810 employees. It moved 16,621,567 tons of freight, and carried 20,057,234 passengers. Its earnings were $37,902,115.26. The total cost of road and equipment was $151,002,282.79.

[3] This large and ably managed corporation operates 2507.46 miles of road, has 1623 locomotives,

A C Kingsland[1]

The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, by the extension of its lines to Buffalo and to Oswego on Lake Ontario, is entitled to be considered as one of the trunk-lines and feeders of the metropolis. It was organized December 10, 1853, by the consolidation of the Lackawanna and Western, which had been chartered March 14, 1849, and the Delaware and Cobbs Gap Railroad (chartered December 26, 1850). In 1868, by its lease of the Morris and Essex Railroad (chartered 1835), it gained an entrance to Jersey City and New-York, and made connection with the Hudson. On October 2, 1882, it leased the New-York, Delaware and Lackawanna Railroad, running from Binghamton to the International Bridge, New-York, with a branch line to the city of Buffalo, and thus became a trunk-line and a rival of the Erie. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western was originally organized as a coal road, its line extending from Scranton, Pennsylvania, to the Delaware River, and it is now one of the greatest coal-carrying companies entering New-York.[2]

The West Shore Railroad, although now leased by the New-York Central and Hudson River system, was built for a through line between New-York and the West, in opposition to the last-named company. It extends from Weehawken, New Jersey, opposite New-York city, to Buffalo, New-York, a distance of four hundred and twenty-six miles, with branches to Albany and Schenectady. The company was formed on the 14th of June, 1881, by the consolidation of the North River Railroad Company and the first New-York, West Shore and Buffalo Railroad Company, which had been organized February 18, 1880, to build a trunk-line from New-York to Buffalo. The road was opened to Syracuse on October 1, 1883, and to Buffalo on January 1, 1884. The New-York Central and Hudson River Railroad, whose line it paralleled, at once reduced rates on its lines, and the West Shore, being unable to compete, was thrown into the hands of

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1291 passenger-cars, and 36,141 freight-cars. It carried, in 1891, 44,810,727 passengers, and moved 66,500,209 tons of freight. Its total earnings were $67,026,666.63. Its capital stock is $126,771,200.

[1] The Whigs were again successful in 1851, electing Ambrose C. Kingsland to the office of mayor. EDITOR.

[2] The total number of miles of road operated on January 1, 1891, was 788.29. The company then owned 564 locomotives, 386 passenger-cars, and 34,065 freight-cars. Its capital stock was $26,200,000. It carried 11,475,878 passengers, and moved 11,383,567 tons of freight. Its total earnings were $22,011,820.90.

receivers in June, 1884, and sold under foreclosure in November, 1885. A new company was organized December 5, 1885, by whom the road was leased to the New-York Central for four hundred and seventy-five years, dating from January 1, 1886.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the last of the great trunk-lines to enter New-York, reaches the city by means of its Philadelphia division to Philadelphia, and then by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and Central Railroad of New Jersey, to New-York. This arrangement was consummated in December, 1886, and the first through train was run to New-York on December 15 of that year. The Central Railroad of New Jersey is one of the great coal roads centering at Jersey City, with extensive coal docks at Port Johnston and Elizabethport. It was formed by the consolidation, February 22, 1849, of the Elizabeth and Somerville, and Somerville and Eastern Railroad companies. It was opened to Phillipsburg in July, 1852, and its line extended to Jersey City in 1864. It was leased in May, 1883, with all its leased and branch lines, to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, which wished to use it as a through line to New-York; but the lease was declared void by the chancellor of New Jersey, and the road was placed in the hands of receivers on January 1, 1887.

John Young[1]

In his annual message to Congress in December, 1848, President Polk announced the discovery of gold in California. A man named Marshall, while digging a mill-race for a Captain Sutter on the American Fork of the Sacramento River, had discovered the precious metal in large quantities; other rich deposits were soon discovered by eager adventurers. The news, traveling slowly overland, reached New-York in September, 1848, and stirred the pulses of men to fever-heat. On 'change, in the streets, in the drawing-rooms, little was talked of but the new El Dorado and the fortunes to be washed from its golden sands. Men settled their affairs, sold their property, left their families, and set out for the land of promise, some by sea around Cape Horn, some overland, some by water to Vera Cruz, and thence across Mexico to Acapulco, or Panama, on the Pacific, where they took ship for California. During the year 1849 it was estimated that twenty-seven thousand emigrants went by water to California, and nearly as many more by land. A little later the favorite route was by the fine steamships of the Pacific Mail Company to Aspinwall, on the Isthmus of Panama, thence by rail across the isthmus to Panama, where the company's steamers were taken for San Francisco. In three years California became a State with a population of 250,000 souls. Commodities of all kinds for its people were supplied largely by New-York and Boston. A short time before, the tea ports of China had been thrown open to American commerce, and our merchants now sent their ships full-laden to San Francisco, and then despatched them in ballast to Canton for tea, thus obtaining profitable return cargoes for at least half the distance.

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[1] John Young was born June 12, 1802. He studied law, and went to the legislature in 1832; was elected to Congress in 1836; again in 1840 and in 1844. He received the Whig nomination for governor in 1846, and was elected. In July, 1849, he was appointed assistant treasurer of the United States in New-York city, where he died, April 23, 1852. EDITOR.

JAY ARMS.

The demands of this China and California trade for despatch (tea deteriorating greatly in flavor if long at sea) ushered in the era of the clipper ship, by far the most honorable and satisfactory period in the history of American shipping. The clippers superseded the packets, which were first built in 1816 to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing trade with Europe, as well as to give European travelers swifter service and better and more luxurious accommodations. The clippers, according to Frederick C. Sanford of Nantucket, an authority on American ships and shipping, originated in Baltimore about 1840, but the building and sailing of them were quickly transferred to New-York. A clipper was constructed primarily for speed, at whatever sacrifice of her carrying capacity. Her lines were sharper and she was longer and narrower than were her predecessors—the packets and cargo-carriers. The first clippers (1843 to 1850) were comparatively small craft of from 750 to 940 tons. The Rainbow, the first clipper, built in 1843 by Smith and Dimon for William H. Aspinwall, was of the first-named figure, and the Samuel Russell, built by Brown and Bell for A. A. Low and Brother, one of the most famous of her class for speed and beauty, was of the latter tonnage (940 tons). But it was soon found that these were too small to be profitable; besides, they were liable to be so strained in rough weather that the cost of repairs became a serious item. The California trade also required larger ships. Accordingly, in 1851, William H. Webb, one of the noted ship-builders of that day, designed four vessels of this class, with special reference to the demands of the merchants for speed, strength, and capacity. They were the Challenge, of about 2000 tons; the Invincible, of 2150 tons; the Comet, of 1209 tons; and the Sword-Fish, of 1150 tons — perhaps the swiftest, most beautiful and graceful sailing craft ever produced, or that ever will be produced. These, with others like them, carried the American flag and the fame of the American genius to the remotest ports. They were epistles that the most illiterate could read. New-York was proud of them. One may have ocular proof of it in the head-lines of the newspapers of that day. "The Contest of the Clippers," "Race Round the World," "Quickest Trip on Record," "Shortest Passage to San Francisco," "A Clipper as is a Clipper," "Extraordinary Dispatch," "The Quickest Voyage to China," were some of the more striking. The swiftness of some of these sea-birds was almost incredible. The Comet, for instance, sailed to San Francisco, around the Horn,—16,308 miles,—and returned in seven months and nine days, her homeward voyage having been performed in seventy-six days, the shortest time on record.

THE CLIPPER SHIP DREADNAUGHT.[1]

The Sword-Fish made the voyage from Shanghai to San Francisco in thirty-one days, at the average rate of 240 miles a day — a record which, if we mistake not, has never been broken. The Surprise, built in East Boston and owned by A. A. Low and Brother of New-York, once sailed to San Francisco in ninety-six days, carrying 1800 tons of cargo of an estimated value of $200,000. Her greatest run in a day of twenty-four hours was 284 miles; she made the entire distance of 16,308 miles without once furling her topsails. From San Francisco she sailed to Canton, took on board a cargo of tea, and proceeded to London, her freight-money earned since leaving New-York having paid her cost and running expenses, and cleared her owners a net profit of $50,000. The Surprise was paid two and three pounds sterling more a ton for freights at Canton than were the clumsier English vessels, because of her superior sailing qualities. In 1852 there entered at the port of San Francisco 157 vessels, of which 70 were clippers. The impetus thus given to commerce is shown by the fact that in 1853 the value of the tea imported into New-York exceeded eight millions of dollars.

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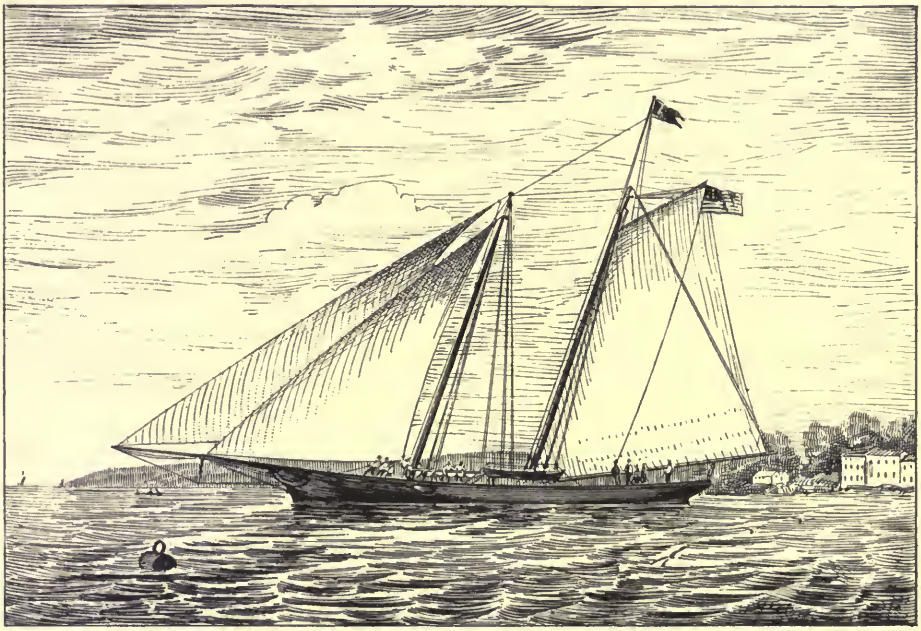
[1] The Dreadnaught was a famous clipper of which it was said nothing ever overtook her with a fair wind. She was built in 1853 for Edwin D. Morgan, Captain Samuels, and others, and was named after the famous vessel in Nelson's squadron. On her first return trip from Liverpool in February, 1854, she beat the steamer Canada, reaching Sandy Hook before the Cunarder arrived at Boston, although the latter left Liverpool one day earlier. EDITOR.

John C. Stevens.

The regatta of the Royal Yacht Squadron at Cowes, England, in 1851, attracted extraordinary attention, owing to the fact that it was the year of the first great exhibition, or World's Fair, and an unusual number of yachts were expected to be present for the races. Early in the year the famous ship-builders James R. and George Steers, of New-York, launched a fine schooner yacht of 170 tons, which was named the America. She was designed by George Steers, and built by his firm from a model made by him. Her owners were Commodore John C. Stevens (founder of the New-York Yacht Club in 1844), Edwin A. Stevens, Hamilton Wilkes, J. Beekman Finlay, and George L. Schuyler, and their object in building her was to make a match in English waters, and, if possible, defeat any boat that could be brought against her. The America proceeded to Havre, France, with Commodore Stevens and his party and the designer on board. Here she underwent some trifling alterations, and was put into proper racing condition. Leaving Havre, she soon met a boat which proved to be the cutter Laverock, sent out to try the speed of the stranger, and after some manœuvering, to quote Commodore Stevens, "the America worked quickly and surely ahead and to windward of her wake. As a consequence, not many hours after anchoring at Cowes, it was well understood, from the known capacity of the Laverock, that certainly no schooner, and probably no cutter, of the Royal Yacht Squadron could beat the America in sailing to windward in a moderate breeze."

Upon arriving in Cowes, Commodore Stevens posted a challenge offering to race any English yacht, for any sum from one to ten thousand guineas, the only stipulation being that there should be not less than a six-knot breeze. This challenge was not accepted, and it was determined to return to New-York, but, yielding to pressure from friends who desired to see the America's racing qualities, the commodore decided to enter in the regatta of the Royal Yacht Squadron, which was open to all nations. The day set for the event was August 22, and the conditions were as follows: "No allowance of time for tonnage; yachts to start at 10 A. M. from Cowes, and sail around the Isle of Wight; no time prescribed for accomplishing the distance, so that the Cup might be won in a tempest or a drift — with entries ranging from 392 to 47 tons."[1] An immense fleet of steamers, tugs, and sailing boats of every description was congregated in the harbor to see the race.



YACHT AMERICA, WINNER OF THE QUEEN'S CUP.

There were fifteen starters, comprising seven schooners (including the three-master Brilliant of 392 tons) and eight cutters. The America, though slow in getting off upon the firing of the starting-gun, passed her competitors rapidly in the light breeze prevailing; and, as the wind freshened, left them all astern, finishing the course and winning the cup by about eight miles. In passing the royal steam-yacht Victoria and Albert, upon which were the queen and prince consort, near the finish-line, Commodore Stevens, although still racing, instantly lowered his ensign, while he and his crew remained with uncovered heads for some minutes. The next day the America sailed from Cowes to Osborne, upon invitation of the queen, who desired to inspect the wonderful yacht. She was received by Commodore Stevens and his friends, and spent half an hour on board, expressing great admiration for the general arrangements of the famous schooner.[1]

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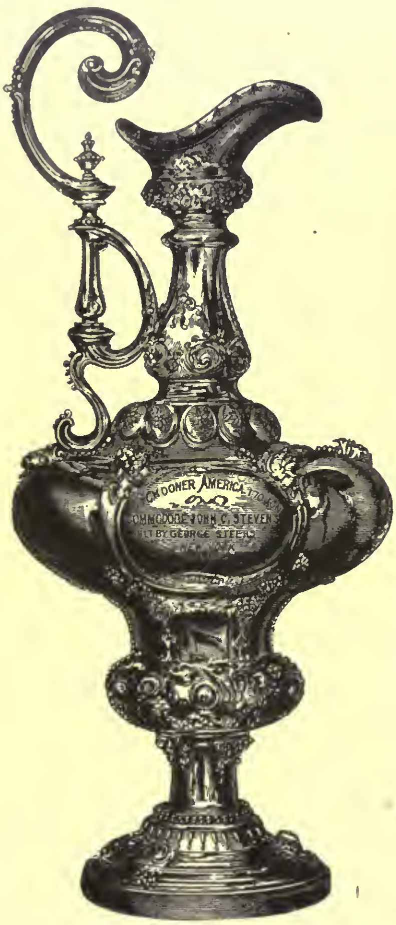
[1] "The America's Cup: how it was won by the yacht America in 1851, and has been since defended," by Captain Roland F. Coffin. New-York, 1885.



THE AMERICA'S CUP.[2]

The demands of the packet and clipper service created in New-York as large and able a body of shipbuilders as the annals of any port can show. The years 1840–60 were the golden days of the craft. "New-York," said a newspaper of 1852, "is one of the great shipyards of the world. Our clippers astonish distant nations with their neat and beautiful appearance, and our steamers have successfully competed with the swiftest-going mail packets of Great Britain. In the farthest corners of the earth the stars and stripes wave over New-York built vessels." The corner of Scammel and Water streets, near the present site of the Grand street ferry-houses, was a center of the industry. Christian Bergh, father of Henry Bergh, had his office on the northeast corner of Scammel and Water streets. "Below him," says a recent writer,[3] "at the foot of Montgomery street, was the shipyard of Thorn and Williams, and lower still, near the foot of Clinton street, the shipyard of Carpenter and Bishop. Ficket and Thoms's yard

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[1] Mr. Schuyler, the last survivor of the yacht party, who died on board the Electra in the summer of 1891, was fond of relating the incident of Her Majesty appearing on the deck of the Victoria and Albert when it was announced that the leader of the race was in sight, and saying to the captain, "Which of our yachts is that?" To which he replied, "Madam, that is the America." "Which is second?" "Your Majesty, there is no second," answered the English captain. EDITOR.

[2] This prize, which is erroneously designated as the "Queen's Cup," should properly be called the "America's Cup," as it became the property of her owners after winning it in the regatta of the Royal Yacht Squadron. As this event was open to all nations, the famous cup fairly represents the yachting supremacy of the world. Seven unsuccessful attempts have been made since by British yacht-owners to recover the coveted prize, the last race for the cup in 1889 being between the Volunteer and the Scotch cutter Thistle, and proving an easy victory for the American boat. Another contest for the cup is expected to take place in the summer of 1893. EDITOR.

[3] Mr. George W. Sheldon, in "Harper's Magazine."

(afterward at the foot of Houston street) adjoined it, and, farther south, James Morgan and Son had built a bark at the foot of Rutgers street, and Joseph Martin the brig Mary Jane at the foot of Jefferson street, and the ship General Page at the foot of Pike street. Above Mr. Bergh was a series of yards extending along the East River as high up as Thirteenth street: Sneden and Lawrence's yard, near the foot of Corlears street; Samuel Harnard's yard, near the foot of Grand street; Brown and Bell's yard, from Stanton to Houston streets, which was formerly occupied partly by Henry Eckford, and partly by Adam and Noah Brown; Smith and Dimon's yard, from Fourth to Fifth streets; Webb and Allen's yard (afterward William H. Webb's), from Fifth to Seventh streets; Bishop and Simonson's yard (afterward Westervelt and Mackay's), from Seventh to Eighth streets; James R. and George Steers' yard, William H. Brown's yard, and Thomas Collyer's yard, higher still. Many other builders or repairers of ships occupied the same interesting shore of the East River at about the same time or later: Mr. George Thorburn, a well-known spar-maker, who now uses a part of the old yard of Sneden and Lawrence, counted, the other day, not less than thirty-three of them, whose yards resounded with the axes and hammers of

THE AMERICAN YOUTH AND MASTER JOHNNY.[1]

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[1] The above cartoon appeared in London "Punch" for September, 1851, with the legend "Look out for Squalls!" followed by the sentence: "American Youth — I guess, Master Johnny, if you don't look sharp, I 'll show you how to make a seventy-four next!!" EDITOR.

busy American ship-carpenters, calkers, blacksmiths, and joiners. . . . Morning, noon, and evening Lewis street was almost filled with the multitude of mechanics going to work in the shipyards or returning thence; the sidewalks were not wide enough to hold them.

"The stranger sailing down the East River and viewing the busy yards that lined the New-York shore, the noble vessels on the stocks, the thousands of busy workmen, and the huge collections of timber — white oak, hackmatack, and locust for the ribs of the ships, yellow pine for the keelsons and ceiling timbers, white pine for the floors, live-oak for the 'aprons' — might have been pardoned for supposing that Manhattan Island was the headquarters of the shipbuilding of the world; for such indeed it was."

SUNNYSIDE, IRVING'S RESIDENCE.

Meantime events of great local interest, if not so far-reaching in character, had been happening which require notice at our hands.

Early in the year 1847, the Century, one of the oldest and best-known of the many clubs of the city, was organized.[1] It was founded along the lines of the Artists' Sketch Club, which had been reorganized in 1844 by the leading artists and literary men of the city. At a meeting of this club late in 1846, John G. Chapman, a well-known artist of the city, proposed the forming of a society of artists and authors, the membership of which should be restricted to one hundred. The proposal met with marked favor, and a circular letter, bearing the signatures of John G. Chapman, Asher B. Durand, Charles C. Ingham, Abram M. Cozzens, Francis W. Edmonds, and Henry T. Tuckerman, was sent to about one hundred gentlemen resident in the city, and who were either artists, authors, or interested in the fine arts, inviting them to meet on January 13, 1847, in the rotunda in the New-York Gallery of Fine Arts, in the City Hall Park.

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[1] The New-York Sketch Club originated in 1827, and was often known as "The XXI.," being originally limited to that number, and including Verplanck, Bryant, Morse, Hillhouse, Ingham, Halleck, and Cole. It was at a meeting of this club, held at Charles M. Leupp's in Amity street, that the "Century" was organized, the list of names being headed by that of Gulian C. Verplanck. Among the latest survivors of the Sketch Club were Miss Sands, the sister of Robert C. Sands, in whose house in Hoboken they often met, and the only lady member; and the artists Asher B. Durand, Professor Robert W. Weir, and John G. Chapman. The last meeting of its members was held at Bryant's residence, No. 24 West Sixteenth street, in 1869, to meet his friend and former pastor, Dr. Orville Dewey, then residing at Sheffield, Mass. EDITOR.

Most of the gentlemen invited responded. David C. Colden was elected chairman. Mr. Chapman presented the draft of a constitution, which was adopted. The society was organized, and was, on motion of Edward S. Van Winkle, called the Century, because its membership was restricted to one hundred persons. A committee of management was appointed, composed of Gulian C. Verplanck, John L. Stephens, Asher B. Durand, John G. Chapman, David C. Colden, and Charles M. Leupp. Daniel Seymour was appointed secretary, and Thomas S. Cummings treasurer.[1]

The managers first secured rooms at No. 495 Broadway for the meetings of the club. These were well attended. A journal filled with contributions from the members was read once a month, a reading-room and the nucleus of a library were established. Receptions were also given to men who had distinguished themselves in art, letters, statesmanship, and science. The later history of the club will be found on subsequent pages.

James Harper

One of the most important events of this period was the passage by the legislature, on April 2, 1849, of an amended charter for the city, which was to take effect on the first day of June following. The amended instrument provided that the mayor and aldermen should hold office for two years instead of one, and that the charter election should be held on the first Tuesday in November, the same date as the State election. Its most important provision, however, was the establishment of nine executive departments, the heads of which were to act as the constitutional advisers of the mayor, after the federal plan of government. The nine departments thus created were:

I. The Police Department, under the especial care of the mayor, with a bureau, the head of which was to be called the chief of police.

II. The Department of Finance, under control of the comptroller of the city. Its three departments were to be presided over by the receiver of taxes, collector of the city revenues, and city chamberlain respectively.

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[1] The original members of the Century were: William C. Bryant, Rev. Henry W. Bellows, Henry K. Brown, John G. Chapman, Abram M. Cozzens, David C. Colden, John D. Campbell, Lewis Gaylord Clark, Thomas S. Cummings, Asher B. Durand, Rev. Orville Dewey, Francis W. Edmonds, Charles L. Elliott, Thomas Addis Emmet, Dudley B. Fuller, Thomas H. Faile, George Folsom, Alban Goldsmith, John H. Gourlie, Henry Peters Gray, Daniel Huntington, Ogden Haggerty, William J. Hoppin, Charles C. Ingham, Gouverneur Kemble, William Kemble, Shepherd Knapp, Robert Kelly, Charles M. Leupp, Samuel E. Lyon, Christian Mayr, Dr. William J. MacNeven, Eleazer Parmly, Thomas P. Rossiter, Daniel Seymour, Jonathan Sturges, John L. Stephens, Joseph Trench, Henry T. Tuckerman, Henry P. Tappan, Gulian C. Verplanck, and Edgar S. Van Winkle. Mr. Cummings, Mr. Hoppin, and Mr. Huntington are believed to be the only survivors. EDITOR.

[2] James Harper, founder of the firm of Harper and Brothers, publishers, was born April 13, 1795, and was the son of Joseph Harper, a farmer at Newtown, L. I. Having, with his three brothers John, Wesley, and Fletcher, established a printing business in New-York, they soon began publishing, issuing first "Locke on the Human Understanding," in 1818. The present firm — sons and grandsons of the four brothers — continue the business in Franklin Square, in buildings covering half an acre of ground, absolutely fire-proof, having all the operations necessary to the mechanical production of a book carried on under one roof, and giving employment to about one thousand persons. Mr. Harper was elected mayor of the city, in 1844, by the Native American party — the only occasion upon which that organization was successful; he was thrown from his carriage while driving in Fifth Avenue, and died a few days afterward at St. Luke's Hospital, New-York. March 27, 1869. EDITOR.

John. J. Audubon

III. A Street Department, to be presided over by an official called the commissioner of streets, and to have two bureaus, the heads of which were to be known as the collector of assessments and superintendent of wharves.

IV. Department of Repair and Supplies, presided over by a commissioner of repairs and supplies. The heads of its four bureaus were to be known as superintendents of roads, of repairs to public buildings, of permits, and chief engineer of the Fire Department.

V. Department of Streets and Lamps, under a commissioner with three bureaus, presided over by superintendents, respectively, of lamps and gas, of streets, and of markets.

VI. The Croton Aqueduct Board, under a president, engineer, and assistant commissioner, with one bureau, the head of which was to be known as the water register.

VII. Department of the City Inspector, to be presided over by an officer of that name.

VIII. Almshouse Department, the chief officials to be known as governors of the almshouse.

IX. Law Department, its chief officer to be called the counsel for the corporation, with one bureau, to be administered by the corporation attorney.

The heads of the various departments, with the exception of the Aqueduct Board, were to be elected by the people, and were to hold office for the term of three years. They were all under the legislative authority of the common council.

New-York suffered two visitations in the summer and autumn of 1849, from either of which it might well have prayed to be delivered — the Astor Place riot and the Asiatic cholera. The riot startled the city by showing what dangerous and explosive elements were sheltered in its bosom. It was caused primarily by the ill feeling existing between two well-known and talented actors — Edwin Forrest, an American, and William Charles Macready, an Englishman; but later, national prejudices were invoked. Forrest had made the tour of the English play-houses a short time previously, where he had been the rival of Macready for popular favor. The latter, Forrest charged and believed, visited the theater in London where he was playing, and publicly hissed him; and the fact, having been made known in America, caused great indignation among the friends of Forrest, who were numerous and influential. Unaware of this feeling, Macready returned to New-York in September, 1848, and appeared in tragedy at the Astor Place opera-house, which had been erected the year before by subscription, with John Sefton as manager. After filling his engagement Macready went to other cities, but returned for a farewell appearance early in May, 1849. Forrest was then playing "Macbeth" at Wallack's Broadway theater, and the two rivals were soon advertised on the bill-boards to appear on the same night, in the same play, "Macbeth." This was taken as a gage of defiance thrown down by Macready, and greatly incensed the friends of the American actor. They determined that Macready should not play. On the night in question, a typical New-York crowd gathered before the opera-house in Astor Place an hour before the doors were opened. There were laborers from the streets and public works, hoodlums, respectable mechanics, and fashionably dressed gentlemen and ladies. Some were in tattered garb, some in their shirt-sleeves, some in evening dress. When the doors were thrown open, the motley crowd, which had been supplied with tickets, poured in and quickly filled the pretty interior. Soon the curtain rose upon a weird scene — the three witches on the blasted heath performing their incantations in "lightning, thunder, and in rain." The scene awed the populace, and it remained silent until Macbeth appeared and entered upon his rôle, when it at once drowned his voice in hisses, cat-calls, and every manner of boisterous disapproval. Macready became angry, but continued through the act, although not a word that he said could be heard amid the tumult. Lady Macbeth (Mrs. Pope) then came upon the stage, but was received with such ribaldry and abuse that she fled to her dressing-room. Macbeth again appeared, and was met by such a shower of

AUDUBON'S RESIDENCE.[1]

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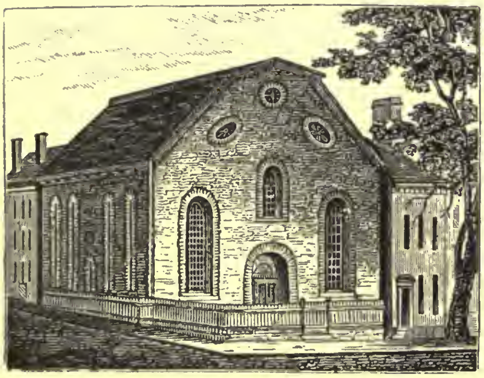
[1] John James Audubon, the eminent naturalist, whose work on "The Birds of America" forms such a noble monument to its author, resided in the midst of a beautiful grove of trees situated just above One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street. The house is now included in the tract known as Audubon Park, through which a thoroughfare to be known as Audubon Avenue will soon be opened. This park formed a part of the scene of the battle of Harlem Heights. EDITOR.

addled eggs and still more dangerous missiles that, believing his life to be in jeopardy, he fled behind the curtain. The play was suspended, whereupon the disturbers, having accomplished their task, quietly withdrew. Macready proposed to his managers to throw up his engagement; but on this becoming known, the better class of citizens, feeling that the city had been disgraced by the affair, and would be still more deeply dishonored were the actor prevented from filling his engagement, addressed to the latter an open letter,[1] regretting the circumstance, promising protection if he would again appear, asking him not to yield to the spirit of lawlessness so suddenly and unexpectedly developed, and begging that he would grant the city an opportunity to wipe out the disgrace inflicted upon its character. Macready responded favorably, and named Thursday, May 10, as the date for his appearance in the same play. When the announcement was made, placards billing Forrest for the same play on the same night at the Broadway were posted beside the Macready bills; at the same time a handbill appeared on every prominent point in the city, bearing this appeal: "Workingmen! Shall Americans or Englishmen rule in this country? The crews of the British steamers have threatened all Americans who shall dare appear this night at the English aristocratic Opera House. Workingmen! free-



ST. JAMES LUTHERAN CHURCH.[2]

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[1] NEW-YORK, Wednesday, May 9, 1849.
William C. Macready, Esq.:

Dear Sir: The undersigned, having heard that the outrage at the Astor Place Opera House on Monday evening is likely to have the effect of preventing you from continuing your performances and from concluding your intended farewell engagement on the American stage, take this public method of requesting you to reconsider your decision, and of assuring you that the good sense and respect for order prevailing in this community will sustain you on the subsequent nights of your performances.

Ambrose L. Jordan,
Edward Sandford,
Willis Hall,
James Foster, Jr.,
Duncan C. Pell,
Ogden Hoffman,
Howard Henderson,
Samuel B. Ruggles,
James Collis,
Edward S. Gould,
William Kent,
John W. Francis,
Wessell S. Smith,
William M. Prichard,
Benjamin D. Silliman,
David Austin,
Mordecai M. Noah,
Francis R. Tillou,
Henry J. Raymond,
Charles A. Davis,
Pierre M. Irving,
Moses H. Grinnell,
Henry A. Stone,
George Bruce,
Washington Irving,
Francis B. Cutting,
Joseph L. White,
Matthew Morgan,
David C. Colden,
Ogden P. Edwards,
John R. Bartlett,
Richard Grant White,
Evert A. Duyckinck,
J. Prescott Hall,
Robert J. Dillon,
Ralph Lockwood,
William C. Barrett,
David Graham,
Edward Curtis,
James Brooks,
James E. De Kay,
Jacob Little,
Hickson W. Field,
J. Beekman Finlay,
Denning Duer,
Simeon Draper,
Herman Melville,
Cornelius Mathews.

So far as known, Mr. Silliman is the sole survivor among the forty-eight gentlemen who signed the above letter. EDITOR.

[2] The first Lutheran church in New-York was built in 1702, at Rector street and Broadway, and was destroyed by fire in 1776. In 1767 the building reproduced above was erected at the corner of Frankfort and William streets, and was known as the Swamp Church. The present St. James Lutheran Church is a handsome stone edifice erected in 1891 at the corner of Madison Avenue and East Seventy-third street. EDITOR.

men! stand up to your lawful rights!" This incendiary appeal was taken as presaging violence. The friends of Macready appealed to the chief of police, who promised to detail a large force to preserve order, while two regiments of the city militia were ordered to be ready to march at the word of command. To keep out the adherents of Forrest, tickets were sold only to those known to be in sympathy with Macready.

Early on the evening of the 10th, three hundred policemen were placed inside and outside the opera-house, while, as on the previous night, a large and motley crowd gathered outside. When the doors were opened the police allowed only those having tickets to enter, and as soon as these were within, the doors were closed and barred, the windows having previously been secured by nailing planks across them. Doors and windows were assailed by the mob with paving-stones which were piled in heaps along the street preparatory to being laid, and with chips from a neighboring marble-yard; but the rioters were repulsed by the police.

Jacob A Westervelt[1]

The curtain rose, and Macready appeared. Notwithstanding all precautions, however, many lawless persons had penetrated the playhouse, and were about to rush forward by preconcerted action and seize Macready, when, at a signal, the police, who had learned their plans, rushed in and soon overpowered them. The ringleaders were secured inside, and the others were ejected. When this became known without, the mob attacked the police, and had nearly overpowered them when the famous Seventh Regiment, under Colonel Abram Duryee, appeared, having marched up Broadway, under orders, from its armory near Centre Market, preceded by its troop of horse. The latter was ordered to charge the mob, and did so, spurring down upon them from Broadway, but was met with such a shower of missiles, that it retreated toward Third Avenue, leaving quite a number bleeding on the street. Evidently the mob was in earnest, and required to be met in the same spirit. Colonel Duryee now ordered his men to load with ball-cartridge. Finding that he could not move in column because of the density of the crowd, he led his men in file under shelter of the rear wall of the opera-house, and thus gained the front. They were met with stones, yells, and execrations from the mob. Many of the soldiers were wounded, and nearly forty stand of muskets were battered in their hands.

Recorder Frederick A. Tallmadge, who represented the city authorities in the absence of Mayor Woodhull, was told that unless the men were allowed to fire a retreat would be ordered. He addressed the

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[1] Jacob A. Westervelt was chosen mayor by the Democratic party in 1853, succeeding Mayor Kingsland. He was a shipbuilder, and constructed the United States steam-frigate Brooklyn. Editor.

mob, begging it to retire, but without result. Finally, after consultation with the division commander, General Charles W. Sandford, Sheriff John J. V. Westervelt, the highest civil officer present, gave the order to fire, but to aim at the dead wall of a house opposite, over the heads of the crowd. This, instead of intimidating the mob, only excited its contempt. The leaders argued that the authorities were afraid to fire upon them, and defied them to do so, responding to the harmless first volley with a shower of missiles. By order of General Hall, a second volley, aimed low, immediately followed the first, killing and wounding many of the rioters, and causing the mob to retreat in haste. The soldiers, pursuing, soon cleared the neighborhood of the opera-house and provision was made against a return of the mob by stationing large detachments at each end of Astor Place. Another attack on the regiment was made by a portion of the rioters, who had rallied their forces in Third Avenue, and who, advancing from that direction toward Astor Place, injured several of the members of the Seventh by throwing stones and bricks. This assault was met by a third volley, which proved fatal to the mob, and it was dispersed.

Anna Cora Mowatt[1]

One hundred and forty-one members of the Seventh were wounded, including Colonel Duryee and Captains Henry C. Shumway and William A. Pond; Generals Sandford and William Hall and Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew B. Brinckerhoff also were hurt. Thirty-four of the mob were killed and many wounded. Meantime all was excitement and alarm within the opera-house. Until the troops arrived it was feared that the rioters would tear the building to pieces. The play, however, was performed, with the exception of the after-piece, which was omitted. Macready was then assisted to escape by one of the rear exits, and, after being secreted in a private house for two days, was driven in a carriage in disguise to Boston, whence he sailed for England.

The affair caused great excitement in the city when, next morning, the full extent of the occurrence became generally known. Early in the morning posters were scattered throughout the city, calling upon all opposed to the destruction of human life to assemble in the park at six o'clock that evening, "to express public opinion upon the lamentable occurrence of last night." A great multitude assembled at the hour appointed, speeches were made denouncing the city authorities for their efforts to maintain order, although no word of condemnation was uttered against those who had broken the law and led their fellows to riot and destruction. Resolutions of censure having been passed, the meeting quietly adjourned without attempting any hostile demonstration, and although the Seventh remained on guard duty during the 11th and 12th, no further call was made upon their steadiness and bravery. The mob spirit was quelled for the time.

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[1] Anna Cora Mowatt was the daughter of Samuel Gouverneur Ogden, a New-York merchant. In 1841 she gave readings in New-York and Boston; wrote plays; and on June 13, 1845, appeared as Pauline in the "Lady of Lyons" at the Park Theater. Her husband, James Mowatt, having died in 1851, she married William F. Ritchie in 1854. She was the author of "Twin Roses," "The Clergyman's Wife and other Sketches," "Pelayo," and several other popular works; frequently using the pen-name of "Helen Berkley." Mrs. Ritchie died in 1870, aged fifty-one. EDITOR.

John Jacob Astor

The first case of cholera during the visitation of 1849 appeared on May 14 in the Five Points, then one of the pest-holes of the city. A sanitary commission, composed of James Kelly, Robert T. Hawes, Alexander H. Schultz, Charles Webb, George H. Franklin, Edwin D. Morgan, Robert A. Sands, Jacob F. Oakley, and Oscar W. Sturtevant, was at once appointed by the Health Department, and every effort made to hold the dreaded scourge at bay. The commission was invested with the full powers of the Board of Health, and had the advice of three eminent surgeons, Drs. John B. Beck, Joseph M. Smith, and Samuel W. Moore, who were officially connected with it as medical counselors. A large three-story building on the corner of Monroe and Pearl streets was secured, and soon transformed into a hospital to which all cholera patients were transferred. About the same time the board published in all the city papers an address to the people stating that Asiatic cholera was present in the city as an epidemic, and warning all that cleanliness of streets, dwellings, and persons was imperative to secure immunity from it. It was then held that cholera was not contagious, but was communicated through the atmosphere.

As the epidemic spread, the Board of Health proposed using the public-school buildings for hospitals. There was much opposition from the Board of Education and from the citizens; public meetings were held to protest against taking such action; but in the end the buildings were thus appropriated, and did good service. To these hospitals 1901 patients were admitted, of whom 1021 died. How many perished in their own homes was never known, but it was estimated that three thousand persons died in New-York from the malady.

While the city was thus growing in wealth and population, certain philanthropic and charitable organizations and institutions were founded, whose beneficent influence on the city's life and character cannot be overestimated. John Jacob Astor, the richest merchant of the city, died on March 29, 1848, and by will left the sum of four hundred thousand dollars for the establishment of a free public library in the city of New-York. The library was incorporated January 13, 1849, the first board of trustees comprising Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, James G. King, Samuel Ward, Samuel B. Ruggles, Daniel Lord, Joseph G. Cogswell, William B. Astor, son of the founder, his grandson Charles Astor Bristed, and the chancellor of the State and the mayor of the city *ex officiis*. Dr. Cogswell, then editor of the "New-York Review," was appointed superintendent of the library, and visited all the literary centers of Europe, selecting books for the various departments of the new library. The institution was first opened to the public early in February, 1854.[1]

C A Bristed[2]

The New-York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor was incorporated in 1848, having been organized in 1843. Its first president was James Brown, the banker. Its vice-presidents were Horatio Allen, John G. Green, James Lenox, Apollos R. Wetmore, and John David Wolfe; the recording secretary, Joseph B. Collins; the corresponding secretary, Robert M. Hartley; the treasurer, Robert B. Minturn. The board of managers comprised Jonathan Sturges, Stewart Brown, George Griswold, and Erastus C. Benedict. In 1851 the New-York Juvenile Asylum was incorporated chiefly through the efforts of Robert M. Hartley, Benjamin F. Butler, Luther Bradish, Horatio Allen, Apollos R. Wetmore, Thomas Denny, Joseph B. Collins, and Dr. John Dennison Russ, secretary of the Prison Association, the latter becoming its first superintendent.

The Five Points Mission was founded during this period through the efforts of devoted Methodist women, and has wholly transformed the appearance and character of a locality which was once one of the city's vilest slums. The Five Points is an open area of about one acre of ground at the intersection of Mulberry, Orange, Anthony, Cross, and Little Water streets. Charles Dickens, who visited it in 1841 under protection of the police, has given a vivid description of it as it then existed and continued to be up to 1850–51:

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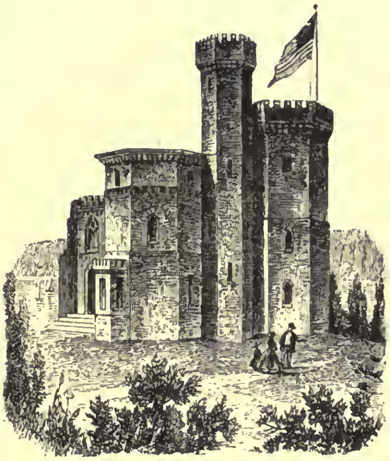
[1] The later and more complete history of the Astor Library will be given by Frederick Saunders in a monograph in the concluding volume. EDITOR.

[2] Charles Astor Bristed was born in New-York, October 6, 1820, and was the son of the Rev. John Bristed, who married a daughter of John Jacob Astor. He traveled in Europe after his marriage with Henry Brevoort's daughter, and wrote many articles for the magazines, over the pen-name of "Carl Benson." He was one of the original trustees of the Astor Library, and the author of "The Upper Ten Thousand," sketches of New-York society life, "Five Years in an English University," and other works. He died in Washington, D. C., January 15, 1874. EDITOR.

> These narrow ways diverging to the right and left and reeking everywhere with dirt and filth. . . . Debauchery has made the very houses prematurely old. . . . Nearly every house is a low tavern. . . . Here are lanes and alleys paved with mud knee-deep; underground chambers where they dance and game; . . . ruined houses open to the street, whence through wide gaps in the walls other ruins loom upon the eye; . . . hideous tenements which take their name from robbery and murder: all that is loathsome, drooping, and decayed is here.

This place the New-York Ladies' Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church began in 1850 to cleanse and reform. At their request the New-York Conference detailed the Rev. Lewis M. Pease as a missionary to the Five Points, and a mission was opened in a little room, about twenty by forty feet in size, at the corner of Little Water and Cross streets, which would accommodate about two hundred persons. The ladies began their efforts by organizing a Sunday-school of about seventy pupils. Soon after a day-school was opened, for it was quickly found that the children, running wild during the week, forgot all the lessons of self-restraint, cleanliness, and morality taught them on the Sabbath. Next, the old brewery, a huge dilapidated structure standing in the midst of the square, a haunt of vice for generations, was purchased and fitted up as a mission-house. This soon became the stronghold of the reformatory movement. An employment bureau was established. The pledge was circulated, drunkenness being the besetting sin of the neighborhood; and on each recurring Thanksgiving Day a notable dinner was given the children of the mission. By December, 1852, the society thought itself strong enough to build a new mission-house, and the old brewery was demolished to make room for it. The corner-stone of the new mission was laid on the 27th of January, 1853, the address of the day being delivered by the Rev. Dr. Thomas De



FONT HILL, FORREST'S CASTLE.[1]

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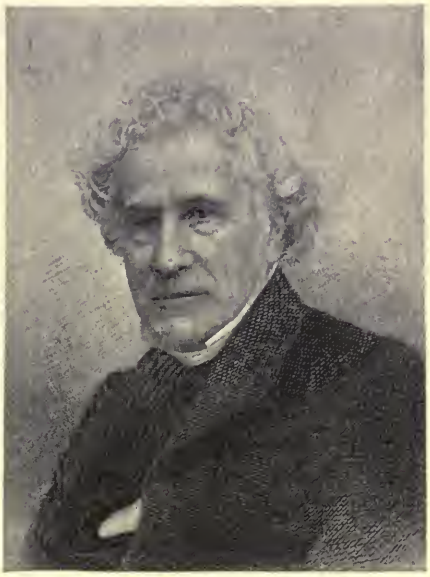
[1] Font Hill, a mile and a half below Yonkers, on the banks of the Hudson, was the former home of Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian. From its architecture it was known as Forrest's Castle, and from the highest of its six towers superb views were obtained. It was eventually sold to, and is now occupied by, the Convent and Academy of Mount St. Vincent. EDITOR.

Witt of the Reformed Dutch Church, and a brief history of the operations of the mission being given by the secretary of the American Bible Society.

In laying its corner-stone, Bishop Edmund S. Janes thus referred to its uses: "Education is to be promoted, therefore here is to be a free school-room; virtue and temperance are to be advanced, and here we have a lecture-room; the salvation of immortal souls is our end in view, and there will be a chapel in the edifice; and as temporal blessings will be an object, here will be accommodations for the sick and needy." The building was dedicated on the 18th of June, 1853,—a large brick edifice, fronting seventy-five feet on the street, forty-five feet in depth, and five stories high. On the ground floor were school-rooms, and in the upper stories model tenements for twenty families, who paid no rent on condition of keeping the building clean. There was a chapel seating five hundred persons, and adjoining it a dwelling-house for the missionary. The cost of the original building, which has been largely added to within recent years, was $36,000.

The efforts of these ladies, and of others working toward a similar end, quickly transformed the character of the Five Points and its neighborhood. As a leading journal remarked at the time of the demolition of the old brewery, "What no legal enactment, what no machinery of municipal government could effect, Christian women have brought about quietly, but thoroughly and triumphantly. . . . The great problem of how to remove the Five Points had engaged the attention of both the legislative and executive branches of the city government, and both had abandoned the task in despair. It is to the credit of the Methodist Episcopal Church that it was the first to enter the then unpromising field, and it will be an imperishable honor to the Ladies' Home Missionary Society of that church that with them the idea originated, and by them has been so successfully carried out."

The Five Points House of Industry is an institution having the same object as the mission, but working on somewhat different lines. It was founded by the Rev. L. M. Pease, who was, as we have stated, the first missionary appointed to the Five Points. This gentleman differed with the promoters of the movement as to the best methods of gaining the desired result, and, severing his connection with the Ladies' Mission, founded an institution in which he could put his own theories into practice. His theory was, that the wretched outcasts of the Five Points were most of them so from necessity, and not from choice, and that they should be aided to help themselves, while, at the same time, their spiritual and moral instruction should not be neglected. He first hired two houses in the locality, and with his family took up his residence in them. He opened a school; he became a manufacturer, and gave the wretched women of the locality work and wages at making shirts. In a short time both school and mission were taken under the patronage of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Ascension. By May, 1851, the mission comprised eight houses, with accommodations for one hundred and twenty souls, and had become a power for good in that benighted neighborhood. It was incorporated in 1854, the first trustees being Charles Ely, Henry E. Remsen, George Bird, Edward G. Bradbury, Archibald Russell, Thomas L. Eells, Charles B. Tatham, William W. Cornell, and George C. Waters. In the year 1856 a building well adapted to the purposes of a mission-house was erected on Worth street, near Centre, and there the beneficent work of the society is still carried on.



W. A. Muhlenberg[1]

In January, 1849, the New-York Free Academy, which was later expanded into the present University of the City of New-York, first opened its doors to the youth of the city. The school building was a spacious structure of brick, four stories high, with a peaked roof and dormer-windows, situated on the corner of Lexington Avenue and Twenty-third street. To enter this excellent institution the candidate must be fourteen years of age, a resident of the city, have attended one of the city grammar-schools for at least twelve months, and must pass an examination in the branches taught in these schools. The Free Academy had its inception in an application of the Board of Education to the legislature of 1847 for a law authorizing the establishment of a free college or academy in the city for those pupils who had been educated in the common schools. The act was passed May 7, 1847, with the proviso that it should be submitted to the electors of the city for acceptance or rejection. On being submitted on June 9, 1847, 19,404 votes were recorded in favor of, to 3,409 against the measure, and the act became a law.

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[1] William Augustus Muhlenberg, D. D., was born in Philadelphia in 1796, and was ordained a minister of the Episcopal Church in 1817, preaching in Philadelphia and later in Lancaster, Pa. He founded St. Paul's School at Flushing, Long Island, in 1828, remaining as its head until 1846, when he assumed the rectorship of the Church of the Holy Communion in New-York. Dr. Muhlenberg wrote a number of well-known hymns, including "I would not live alway" and "Shout the glad tidings," and was the author of many books, tracts, and essays. He died in 1877. EDITOR.

In 1853 the Children's Aid Society, an organization that has done great work for the homeless and friendless street children of New-York, was organized, chiefly through the efforts of Charles L. Brace, who was made its first secretary and chief executive officer. The society was non-sectarian in character, both in patrons and beneficiaries. Its first effort was to establish a workshop in Wooster street, where the boys could earn an honest penny at useful work; but this proved a failure, owing to the competition of private firms in the same business. It next turned its attention to the newsboys of the city, an uncared-for, homeless, reckless, jolly band of little Ishmaelites, but shrewd, energetic, persevering, and not devoid of instincts of honor and manliness. Mr. Brace first secured a loft in the old "Sun" building, and fitted it up as a dormitory for the boys, charging them six cents for a bed, six cents for breakfast, and five cents for tea, with a bath gratis. From this small beginning in March, 1854, grew the present Newsboys' Lodging-house, one of the institutions of the city. An industrial school for girls, evening schools, Sunday meetings, girls' lodging-houses, and the placing of children in good homes in the West, are other forms of labor of this most excellent society.

Jenny Lind[1]

In this same year (1854) the corner-stone of the present St. Luke's Hospital was laid with appropriate ceremonies. This admirable institution, which is soon to be removed to Westchester County, had been projected as early as 1846 by the Rev. Dr. William A. Muhlenberg, rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, and had been incorporated in 1850, with Dr. Muhlenberg as its pastor and superintendent. Another excellent charity was established in 1851—the Demilt Dispensary, whose building on the corner of Second Avenue and Twenty-third street is one of the charitable landmarks of the city. At a meeting held in March, 1851, and attended by a number of benevolent people, it was resolved to provide a medical dispensary for the northeastern section of the city, and a committee was appointed to carry the resolution into effect.

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[1] Jenny Lind, from whom the original of the above portrait was received, always cherished pleasant recollections of her visit to New-York. When I saw her for the last time at a famous reception given in London to Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, the renowned singer spoke of the enthusiastic welcome extended to her in our city, and she recalled many American friends. EDITOR.

Two years before there had died in New-York two unmarried sisters, named Sarah and Elizabeth Demilt, who had bequeathed $20,000 to the three dispensaries then existing in the city. The residuary legatee of the two ladies, George T. Trimble, now came to the committee and offered to give from what he had received of the estate $5,000 to the proposed dispensary, provided it should be called the Demilt Dispensary. This was agreed to, and the dispensary was accordingly established and named. The substantial building was finished in March, 1853.

In 1852 the Young Men's Christian Association was formed in New York, in imitation of that already existing in London. At the meeting for organization, the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, then rector of the Church of the Ascension, and later Bishop of Ohio, presided, and the Rev. Isaac Ferris, D. D., pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Market street, delivered an address. A large number of members were at once enrolled, among them Hon. Henry Arnoux, Dr. Howard Crosby, Alfred S. Barnes, William E. Dodge, Professor Elie Charlier, Theodore Dwight, Morris K. Jesup, D. Willis James, and many other equally well-known citizens.

L. Kossuth[1]

New-York society was pleasantly moved in September, 1850, by the arrival of Jenny Lind, the Swedish songstress, who appeared in Castle Garden under the management of Phineas T. Barnum. A large and brilliant audience greeted her there, and sat spellbound under the magic of her voice. Afterward she made a triumphal progress through the principal cities of the United States. Castle Garden, the fortress of Revolutionary times, had been some years before turned into a summer garden and used for the reception of distinguished visitors. Lafayette had been received there in 1824, President Jackson in 1832, President Tyler in 1843, and Louis Kossuth, the eloquent and devoted Hungarian patriot, there met in December, 1851, his first generous and heartfelt welcome to America. A public reception was tendered him upon his arrival; immense throngs cheered him again and again, and he was escorted by all the local troops to the City Hall, where they passed in review before him. A few days afterward, on the 16th, the interior of Castle Garden witnessed a remarkable scene—that of the great Kossuth meeting—when the First Division of the National Guard, in full uniform, with side-arms, appeared there, together with an excited multitude of citizens. The spacious building was elaborately decorated, and Kossuth's appearance on the stage was the signal for a wild burst of enthusiasm; so deeply did the American people sympathize with him and his country's wrongs. Having a thorough knowledge of American history, and being singularly gifted as an orator, his theme, which was a plea for substantial aid for Hungary, and a picture of her sufferings, as well as an appeal for the interference of the United States in her behalf, met with extravagant applause. Resolutions of sympathy for Hungary were adopted by the meeting, and a committee was named to solicit subscriptions for the relief of that country. Castle Garden was later made a concert-hall, and in 1855 was changed into a depot for the reception of immigrants. In 1891 the depot was removed to Ellis Island, which was purchased from the State in 1808 for $10,000.

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[1] This portrait represents the venerable Hungarian of past fourscore and ten, as he appeared at the period of his visit to New-York; for, like Irving, he prefers to be represented in early or middle life. Writing under date of October 17, 1892, Kossuth says: "As you may imagine, I have no particular wish to see the ruins of my earthly frame conveyed in your pages." He continues: "I am sorry to hear that Mayor Kingsland and Judge McCurdy have passed away; we are all travelling in the same direction, and my wish is that my friends should reach the end of their journey less disappointed in the object of their lives than I shall be when my hour comes and I shall pass away, an exile from my native land. . . . I still remember vividly William H. Seward, and everything concerning the life of this most able statesman interests me." EDITOR.

The year before Jenny Lind's arrival, the old Park Theater, one of the landmarks of the American stage, took fire (December, 1848), and was totally consumed. Just before the doors were opened a file of play-bills hanging near the stage was blown against a gas-jet, and, taking fire, communicated the flames to the stage scenery; and in a few hours the leading theater of New-York, for half a century the pride of its citizens and a fountain of many happy memories, was a mass of smoking ruins. It was opened in January, 1798, and nearly all the prominent actors from that date to 1848 had appeared upon its boards. George Vandenhoff, John Brougham, Mrs. Brougham, Macready, Forrest, Ole Bull, the Seguins, Charles Kean, and Anna Cora Mowatt were among those who had made the old Park famous.

In May, 1850, the attention of the citizens was directed to arctic exploration by the fitting out of an exploring expedition by a New-York merchant—Henry Grinnell—to go in search of Sir John Franklin and his party. Sir John had left England in May, 1845, in two vessels, the Erebus and the Terror, to seek a northwest passage to the Pacific; and after having been spoken in Baffin's Bay some two months later, had never been heard of since. The British government and Lady Franklin had sent out rescuing expeditions which returned without tidings. Mr. Grinnell now proposed to assume the quest, and incidentally to prosecute discoveries in the neighborhood of the north pole. He offered two of his vessels, happily named the Advance and the Rescue, to the government for the search. The latter accepted the gift, and the Navy Department appointed Lieutenant Edwin J. De Haven, U. S. N., to the command. The expedition left New-York on May 22, 1850, and returned September 30, 1851, having been nearly a year and a half in the frozen solitudes. No traces of Sir John or of his men were found, but important additions to the world's knowledge of the arctic regions were made; Grinnell Land, the large body of land separated from Greenland by Smith's Sound, having been discovered, named, and placed on the chart.

Henry Grinnell

A second search expedition was fitted out by Mr. Grinnell and George Peabody in 1853 in the Advance, under Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, which did not succeed in its main object (the fate of the unfortunate explorer and of his men still remaining one of the mysteries of the north), but it accomplished more than years of previous arctic exploration had done in securing the first trustworthy evidence that an open sea existed around the pole, and mapping out its coast-line. It also explored the interior of many unknown lands. These discoveries awakened such interest in the public mind that the American Geographical Society was shortly organized in New-York, with the object of "collecting and diffusing geographical and statistical information."[1] It is among the most prosperous societies of the city.

During the period under consideration the project of a pleasure park worthy of the city was conceived and well advanced toward completion. The matter was first broached by Andrew Downing, the celebrated landscape-gardener, in a letter to the "Horticulturist," written from London in the autumn of 1850. In this letter Mr. Downing described the extensive parks of London, enlarging upon their beauty and utility, and calling the attention of the citizens of New-York to the fact that the metropolis could not then boast of a single park worthy of the name. The letter provoked a great deal of quiet discussion among all classes of citizens, and at length Mayor Kingsland, on May 5, 1851, sent a message to the common council, urging that suitable provision for the health and pleasure of the citizens should be made by establishing a spacious public park in the upper wards of the city. The common council acted promptly on the recommendation. Securing authority from the State legislature, it purchased nearly all the ground now included in the Central Park. Commissioners to purchase the land, examine titles, and adjust conflicting interests were appointed by the Supreme Court in the autumn of 1853, those so appointed being William Kent, Michael Ulshoeffer, Luther Bradish, Warren Brady, and Jeremiah Towle. These gentlemen were engaged on their delicate task for nearly two years, but early in 1856 forwarded their completed report to the Supreme Court, which accepted it. The comptroller then advised the common council (February 5, 1856) that since by law the awards to the owners of the land, and the expenses of the commissioners, must be made immediately on the acceptance of their report, it was necessary for the common council to make an appropriation to meet such expenditure. The sum of $5,028,844.10 was accordingly appropriated. The later history of the park will be given in subsequent chapters.

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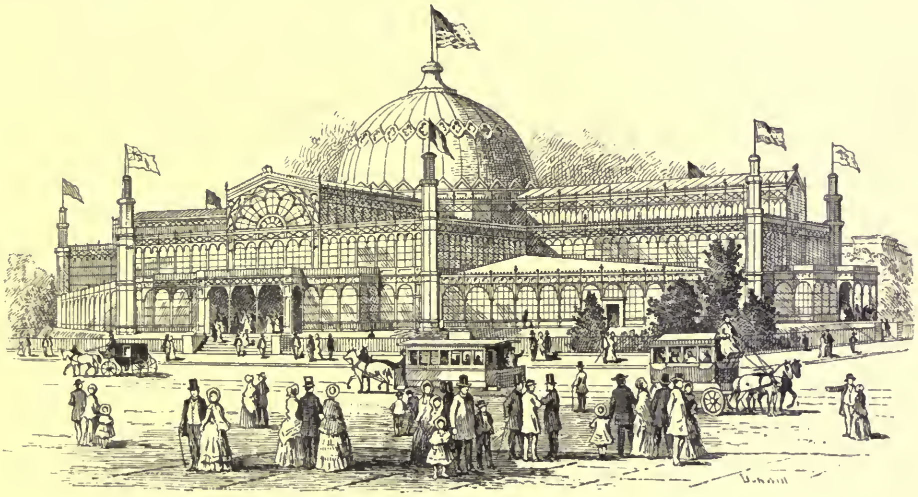
[1] This society was incorporated in 1854, the corporators being George Bancroft, Henry Grinnell, Francis L. Hawks, John C. Zimmerman, Archibald Russell, Joshua Leavitt, William C. H. Waddell, Ridley Watts, S. De Witt Bloodgood, M. Dudley Bean, Hiram Barney, Alexander I. Cotheal, Luther B. Wyman, John Jay, Alexander W. Bradford, Edmund Blunt, Cambridge Livingston, Henry V. Poor, and J. Calvin Smith. George Bancroft was elected the first president.



THE NEW-YORK CRYSTAL PALACE.

On July 4, 1853, the first World's Fair ever held in America was opened in New-York by President Franklin Pierce with imposing ceremonies. The exhibition was held in the famous Crystal Palace, a beautiful edifice constructed wholly of iron and glass, cruciform in shape, and with a lofty translucent dome rising from its center. Thirty-nine thousand square feet of glass and 1250 tons of iron were used in its construction. It stood in the open space between the distributing reservoir and Sixth Avenue. In this beautiful gallery the largest and most notable collection of paintings and sculpture ever seen in New-York was exhibited in connection with the fair. The exhibition remained open for several months, and was visited daily by throngs of interested people from all parts of the Union, as well as from foreign countries. The palace was reopened as a permanent exhibition on May 14, 1854, but the exhibition was not successful.

In 1853, the Clearing House Association, one of the most important financial institutions of the city, was formed, and on October 11 of that year opened its doors for business at No. 14 Wall street. It had a membership of fifty-two banks, representing a capital of $46,721,262.

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.[1]

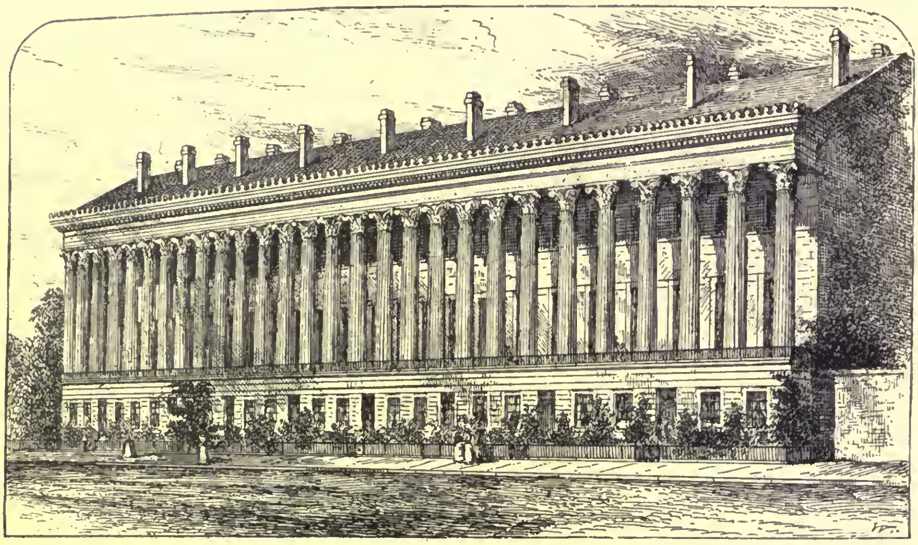
During this period, the growth of New-York city in population, wealth, commerce, and territorial expansion was steady and rapid. Her population in 1840 was 312,700, her foreign commerce a little over $100,000,000. In 1850 her population was 515,547, an increase of 202,847 during the decade. By 1855 it had risen to nearly 630,000. Her foreign commerce in 1850 was $260,000,000, an increase of $160,000,000 over 1840. By 1855 it had grown to $323,000,000. To accommodate the shipping engaged in this vast trade and in internal commerce, it had one hundred and thirteen piers stretched along a water-front of some thirteen miles, fifty-five on the Hudson River front, and fifty-eight on the East River. Sixteen hundred and eighteen buildings were erected in 1849.

Fifteen public markets supplied the citizens with food at this time, distributed as follows: Catharine, foot of Catharine street, founded in 1786; Washington, in Washington street, between Fulton and Vesey; Gouverneur, corner of Gouverneur and Water; and Greenwich, corner of Christopher and West streets,—all opened in 1812; Centre, in Centre street, between Grand and Broome, opened in 1817; Essex, in Grand, between Essex and Ludlow, 1818; Fulton, at the foot of Fulton street, and Franklin, at Old Slip, both opened in 1821; Clinton, filling the square between Washington, West, Spring, and Canal streets, and Manhattan, in Houston, corner of First, both opened in 1821; Chelsea, on Ninth Avenue at Eighteenth street, and Tompkins, on Third Avenue between Sixth and Seventh, founded in 1828; Jef-

[1] This handsome monument of brown freestone was erected in the churchyard by the vestry of Trinity parish in 1852, in consonance with a general desire of the citizens to commemorate the American patriots who died in British prisons in New-York city during the Revolutionary war. It faces Broadway, and is placed directly opposite Pine street. EDITOR.

ferson, on Sixth Avenue, corner of Greenwich Avenue, 1832; Union, junction of Houston and Second streets, 1836; and Monroe, junction of Monroe and Grand streets, opened in 1836.[1]

New-York at this period had also become a great manufacturing center, the census of 1850 giving her a total of 3387 manufactories employing 83,620 persons, producing manufactured articles to the value of $105,218,308, and employing a capital of $34,232,822. The city at this date extended to Thirty-fourth street on the north, and from river to river, although there were many open spaces. Bloomingdale, Manhattanville, and Yorkville were then isolated villages in a rough, sparsely settled quarter. Bond street, Washington Square, and East Broadway constituted the fashionable quarter of the city.



LA GRANGE TERRACE, OR COLONNADE ROW, IN LAFAYETTE PLACE.

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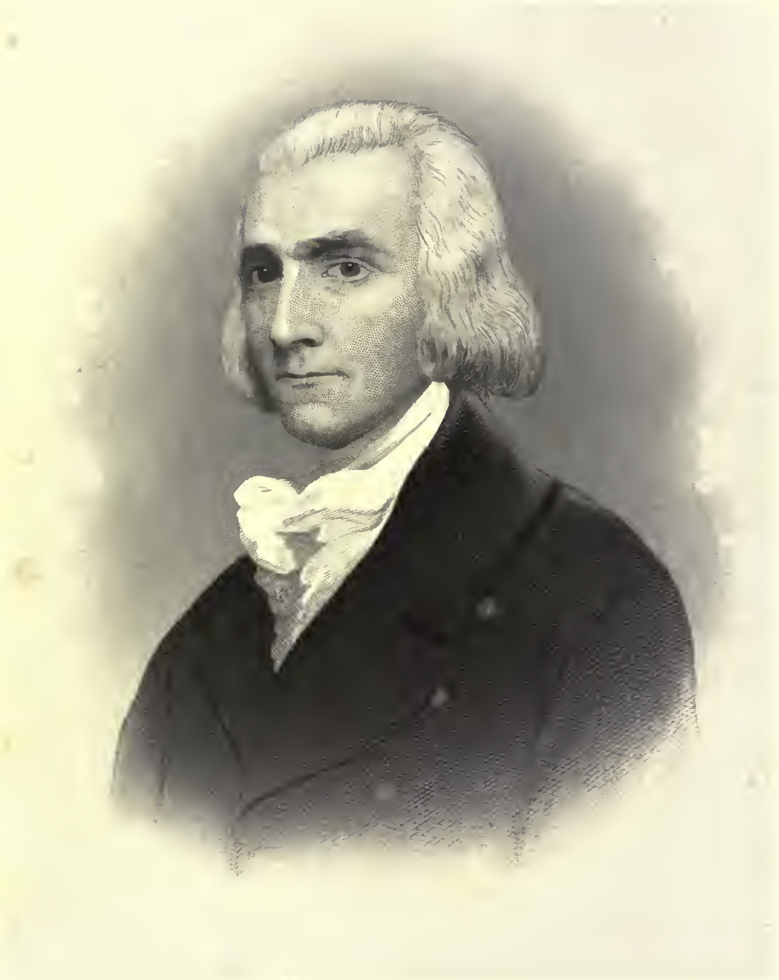
[1] For further details of markets, the reader should consult Thomas F. Devoe's "Market Book."



Eng^d by Geo E Perine, N Y

JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

CHAPTER XII

PREMONITIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR

1855–1860

NEVER had New-York seemed more peaceful or more prosperous than in the opening of the year 1856. It had not yet attained the metropolitan greatness of the present time: it was still a provincial city, compared to the chief European capitals, London and Paris. Some unseen cause weighed upon its progress and kept it in a kind of vassalage to Europe. Yet its growth had been comparatively rapid; its population in 1856 was about 630,000;[1] its commerce flourished with unusual vigor; its fine ships and able seamen contended almost equally with those of England for the mastery of the seas. The city had grown rapidly from its early limits below Canal street to the once rural district from Fourteenth to Twenty-third and Thirty-fourth streets. Some fine houses had been built on Fifth Avenue, and instead of the red brick and the London style that had been used until now on Broadway and around St. John's Park and Washington Square, brownstone was introduced to give an air of gloomy dignity to the streets of New-York. It was to become a city of brownstone. In 1856 we should miss many of the conveniences that surround us to-day. The slow stage still traveled its weary way along Wall street and Broadway; the street-cars were just coming into use. No vision of rapid transit, no dream of an elevated railway, had yet dawned upon our patient citizens: a trolley-road in those happy days would have seemed a miracle, and a telephone a gift from above. Who could have fancied, in 1856, that he might one day converse at ease with his friends in Boston, or send his messages by telegraph around the world; that he could speak to his antipodes in China, and bargain with the merchants of Australia from his office in New-York!

In 1856 the suburbs of the city still retained many of their rare at-

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[1] The following curious estimate of the population of New-York, made by Mr. John Pintard at the opening of the century, fourscore and ten years ago, cannot fail to be read with interest:

"By the enumeration of the inhabitants of this city recently published, the progress of population for the last five years appears to be at the rate of 25 per cent. Should our city continue to increase in the same proportion during the present century, the aggregate number, at its close, will far tractions. Bloomingdale was still not unworthy of its name, and where now great blocks of houses cover the land, gardens bloomed and fair landscapes of river and shore opened from Burnham's and Claremont. Harlem was a quiet country town, shut off by a long ride or sail from its ruling center; there was yet no city beyond the Harlem River — only country-seats, and scenery of rare beauty. In those early days each citizen lived in his own home, and not in an apartment; tenement-houses had begun their odious career, but the great blocks of apartments that now form the chief trait of New-York's domestic life were wholly unknown. The flat or apartment-house was the invention of the Roman commons: it was revived in Edinburgh and Paris, and has within twenty years covered New-York with a crowded population. It cannot be said that our city in 1856 was a model of neatness; in fact, its odors and its malaria might rival those of a medieval capital. Its politicians paid little attention to the comfort and health of the people. The mayor was Fernando Wood; the aldermen were no longer reputable; political influence often shielded great criminals; bribery was common; the worst class of the population often carried the elections of New-York. Fortunately, the State was in the hands of a higher order of politicians; a King or a Clark was governor. A metropolitan police was provided for New-York and Brooklyn, and Mayor Wood, who had garrisoned the City Hall and attempted rebellion, was forced to obey the law.

James W. Beekman

The Central Park was scarcely begun; the Battery Park was neglected, and lay for many years a repulsive waste. Our streets were

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exceed that of any other city in the old world, Pekin not excepted: as will appear from the following table.

Progress of Population in the city of New-York, computed at the rate of 25 per cent. every five years.

1805	75,770	1855	705,650
1810	94,715	1860	882,062
1815	110,390	1865	1,102,577
1820	147,987	1870	1,378,221
1825	184,903	1875	1,722,776
1830	231,228	1880	2,153,470
1835	289,035	1885	2,691,837
1840	361,293	1890	3,364,796
1845	451,616	1895	4,205,995
1850	564,520	1900	5,257,493

"From this table it appears that the population of this city, sixty years hence, will considerably exceed the reputed population of the cities of Paris and London. Cities and nations, however, like individuals, experience their rise, progress. and decline. It is hardly probable that New-York will be so highly favoured as to prove an exception. Wars, pestilence, and political convulsions must be our lot, and be taken into calculation. With every allowance, however, for the "numerous ills which life is heir to," from our advantageous maritime situation, and the increase of agriculture and commerce, our numbers will in all probability, at the end of this century, exceed those of any other city in the world, Pekin alone excepted.

"From the data here furnished, the politician, financier, and above all the speculator in town lots (a subject, to our shame be it spoken, which absorbs every generous passion), may draw various and interesting inferences." EDITOR.

noted for their uncleanness and bad pavement; our public buildings were mean and poor; the police was inefficient, the city unhealthy, its death-rate high, and life and property insecure. But already New-York was assuming the position of a metropolitan city, and had drawn in nearly all the commerce of the Union. The California mines contributed to its prosperity; the decay of Charleston and Norfolk sent their ships to its harbor: it had no longer a rival. Yet, more than ever, as it rose to comparative supremacy, did it become dependent upon the strength and prosperity of the whole Union. It was the offspring of union, the seaport of a united nation, the center and source of its political life. President Pierce, in his messages, had drawn a pleasing picture of the general advance of the country. "It is a matter of congratulation," he said in one, "that the republic is advancing in a career of prosperity and peace." New-York reflected the general improvement. One proof of its blindness to any political danger at this time was the celebration of New Year's day, 1856. "Never," we are assured by a contemporary, "had the venerable custom of New Year's calls been so generally observed." The streets were filled with visitors; the houses thrown open with generous hospitality; in whole blocks there was not a parlor that did not blaze with light, nor a family that did not receive its New Year's guests. The city was all mirth and rejoicing, and one who, in our less fortunate time, wanders through our silent streets on New Year's day, will miss the graceful hospitality that has forever passed away.

THE MADISON SQUARE COTTAGE.[1]

Yet the winter of 1856 opened cold and severe upon the city. The snow lay for many weeks upon the ground, until the people grew weary of the sleigh-bells and the impassable streets; the rivers were frozen hard, the means of communication with the interior were still imperfect, and many suffered. All over the country the same rigorous weather prevailed. Far away in Kansas the chill winter opened upon the settlers with unexampled severity; the boundless prairies were covered with a thick veil of snow, the thermometer sank to twenty degrees below zero, and the people in their imperfect cabins shivered and froze in the unusual cold. New-York gave liberally to their aid. From Kansas too came often reports of the violence of the opposing factions and the raids from Missouri; yet no one saw the cloud gathering in the West, or fancied that anything could check the rapid progress of our metropolitan city.

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[1] Madison Cottage was situated on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Broadway, on the spot now occupied by the Fifth Avenue Hotel. It was a wayside resort kept by Corporal Thompson, and from 1850 to 1855 was the principal building in that immediate neighborhood. EDITOR.

In this period the Central Park, the origin of which has been referred to in the preceding chapter, was gradually transformed from a wild and rocky tract of land to a beautiful pleasure-ground. Its accomplished designers prepared a plan that was carried out with rare taste and discretion. Over the bare rocks vines were cast and sheets of flowers; in the valleys the lakes were formed, and swans black and white glided over them in stately grace. The ramble, one of the earliest of its attractions, soon glittered with running streams and was covered with early flowers. The mall, the terrace over the lake, the long line of trees, the fine walks and drives, the wild scenery of the upper park, completed its early charm. And since then, year by year, the Central Park has added a thousand beauties to its earlier grace; its walks, once nearly bare, are now overshadowed by lofty trees and a fine foliage; its meadows are green, its rocks and hills clothed in flowers; the admirable taste of its landscape-gardeners has been proved in the gradual perfection of their plans. No city has so fair a park; none a more valuable and useful ornament. It had long been the desire of the leading citizens of New-York to provide a public park for the use of all the people. Very early in the century it was proposed to encircle with a fine ornamental garden the lake or pond that then covered all the grounds where now stand the Tombs and its uncleanly neighbors. The lake was then known as the "Fresh-water Pond," and its marshy environs were never healthy, and often covered the city with fogs and malaria. It would have been fortunate if the plan could have been carried out. We should then have had a fine sheet of water in the midst of the city, where now are some of its least reputable districts, and should have lost the "Five Points," and the marshy site of the Tombs and the new municipal building. But the design was never perfected. Gouverneur Morris, as Miss Booth tells us, when he laid out a plan for the upper part of the city, proposed to form a park of three hundred acres reaching from Twenty-third to Thirty-fourth streets, and from the Third to the Eighth avenues. This too was almost certain to be rejected. It would have made the center of the city a scene of beauty, and given health and recreation to millions. Possibly Madison Square is a poor remnant of the more extensive project. We lost the fine improvement of the Fresh Pond, the park above Twenty-third street, and had left in 1856 only a few squares, scattered over the city, little attended to and of less use to the people. In nothing had our rulers been so inattentive to the wants of the city as in providing for it a succession of public pleasure-grounds. They might have been carried all the way from the Battery to the Harlem, and given New-York, like imperial Rome, or even London or Paris, a breathing-spot in the midst of its densest quarters. The opportunity was neglected, and our city will not in many years recover its loss. Our crowded quarters are still our disgrace. But a succession of small parks may yet be provided on the east and west sides of Broadway, by some future friends of humanity.

BAPTIST CHURCH.[1]

It was at first proposed in 1851 to purchase Jones' Wood, a fine tract of land on the East River and bounded by the Third Avenue and Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh streets. The site was attractive; it was covered with trees, and the views over the water were fine and varied. Mayor Kingsland had made a report to the board of aldermen, April 5, 1851, as previously stated, recommending the purchase of some land for a new park. A committee of the aldermen decided in favor of Jones' Wood; the common council confirmed their report, and the legislature authorized the purchase of the land. But it was easily seen that, however attractive might be the situation, Jones' Wood was too far away from the center of the town to be easily reached by the majority of its people. Much opposition at once arose to the proposed site. The board of aldermen appointed a new commission to select one more accessible; they carefully studied the wants of the city, and decided at last upon the present site. At first the park was to reach only to One Hundred and Sixth street, and was bounded by the Fifth and Eighth avenues; but in 1859 it was extended to One Hundred and Tenth street. A consulting committee, with Washington Irving and George Bancroft at its head, acted in concert with the commissioners. On the finance committee were Charles H. Russell and Andrew H. Green; and to no one is the park more indebted than to Mr. Green, who has so long watched over its interests. Thirty-three plans for its construction and decoration were sent in anonymously to the commissioners; that marked "Greensward" was selected, and proved to be the one offered by Messrs. Olmsted and Vaux, whose taste and skill have since never ceased to add to the attractions of the park.

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[1] The engraving represents the building known as the Fayette Street Baptist Church, where worship began in 1791; the name was changed to the Oliver Street Church in 1821. In 1795 the congregation built a church at the corner of Oliver and Henry streets; rebuilt in 1800 and 1819; and, it having been destroyed by fire in 1843, a handsome brick edifice was erected the following year. This church, with its increasing numbers and larger buildings, became very prosperous. EDITOR.

An ordinance passed by the common council, May 19, 1856, appointed the mayor and the street commissioner as commissioners of the Central Park. A number of private citizens of known taste and literary ability were invited to attend the meetings; they were known as the consulting board. They met for the first time May 29, 1856, and chose Washington Irving as their president. As yet no money had been appropriated for the laying out and decoration of the grounds; they were yet a bare and rocky waste. But, fortunately, the rare abilities and artistic taste of Messrs. Olmsted and Vaux were at once recognized, and the plans offered by them were approved, money for the completion of the park was liberally provided by the issue of stock, the new land on One Hundred and Tenth street was purchased, Manhattan Square was added in 1864, and the Central Park now embraces a little more than 862 acres—a public garden laid out with singular beauty, the resort of the people. Here they come in summer, with wives, children, nurses, to sit under the cool shade, listen at times to the music of the band, or walk or drive through the endless paths and roads that invite them to almost rural pleasures. It is, and must always remain, the people's park.

But one excellent trait of the Central Park is that it has been the example and the model to many cities. It has, in fact, reformed and improved the whole system of building and caring for them. No one of our chief towns is now or will long remain without its series of parks, its open squares, its playgrounds for the young and old. Brooklyn soon followed its sister city, and laid out its Prospect Park, whose wonderful woodlands and boundless views of the ocean and the harbor are unrivaled of their kind. Philadelphia planned its park on the banks of the Schuylkill, the most extensive and, in rural scenery, the most beautiful of all. Chicago is a city of parks; San Francisco is richly adorned with them. We may attribute even the Yellowstone Park to the early suggestion of the Central. But its success and its rare value are evidently best felt in our own city, and here the new parks that have been laid out for future generations will always own as their true parents the first founders and promoters of the Central Park. They are, in fact, the natural expansion of its plan. Its chief fault is its narrow limit between the two avenues, and its division into two parks by the reservoirs in its midst. As Clarence Cooke has suggested in "Johnson's Cyclopedia," it should have been extended on both sides and made less formal and confined. It is two and one half miles long, and only half a mile wide. The reservoirs embrace one hundred and fifty acres, and yet one would hardly wish them away; they form cool lakes in summer that are always pleasant to see, and in winter sheets of ice that glitter in our gay sunlight. In spite of its narrowness, our park has endless scenes of beauty. The finest of its views is the wild-wood around the upper pond. The walks through the woodland shade to the Harlem Mere are always charming. The waterfalls, the clear brooks, the yellow leaves of autumn, the birds, the quiet shade, lead one to forget the city and all its toils and splendor. One may be as much lost here as in some rural solitude. The lower park has been too much subjected to a taste for building and display. The terrace is well done, its view over the lake pleasing, its carved stonework of American birds, flowers, fruits, and harvests instructive and entertaining; one may spend many days in their study. The mall, with its fine row of elms, its greensward, its statues and busts, its graceful outline, and its closing view over the terrace, is better than anything in London or Paris. The ramble, with its well-wooded heights, its cave, its streams, its walks along the lake, its belvedere and graceful landscapes, will always please. In spring the lilac-clad drives, the rocks covered with pink and gold, the fresh green leaves, and the waters of the lakes gleaming through the trees, are all traits of rare beauty. But the park has yet been too often the prey of the spoiler; corrupt politicians and tasteless rulers have inflicted upon it painful wounds. It is the duty of the people of New-York to save it from their hands and greater disaster. In the future it is capable of endless improvement; it may open the way to that wide system of pleasure-grounds and places of recreation for the people that is to extend over the Harlem River to the limits of the city. It should be left chiefly to the hand of nature and to a natural growth. It is already too artificial. Let its trees grow until they rival the oaks of Kensington Gardens, its greensward be sown with violets and pansies, like that of the Bois: its wild beauties forming a pleasing contrast with the angry waves of life without.

SOLI DEO GLORIA ET HONOR
Boudinot

The later additions to the park of the Metropolitan Museum, the Museum of Natural History, the Menagerie, and the skating-pond, the restaurants, and the cottages, have increased its attractions, and made it the joy of thousands. Still, it may be doubted whether these extensive buildings should have been allowed to encroach upon its already narrow limit. They might have been placed on the avenues at its side, and left its greensward and its woodlands in their natural state. But while the Central Park was thus advancing, the Battery Park, the finest seaside resort possessed by any city, was left to neglect and decay. It was to have been filled out to its present limit, and properly cared for and enlarged. Once it had been the fairest and favorite resort of all our citizens. It was now, in 1858, become a foul and noxious waste, where the filling in of its new area was composed of the least desirable materials. It had fallen into the hands of corrupt officials. Mayor Daniel M. Tiemann, in his message, said: "In consequence of the imperfect manner in which the work is done, the deposits thrown in are washed away by the tide, and the East River, between Diamond Reef and the Battery, is shoaling rapidly." The unfinished work he thinks "a disgrace to the city." It was long before the Battery was tolerably cared for, and it is still a neglected spot that might easily be made the chief attraction of New-York. Its sea view and sea air are unrivaled. A skilful artist—an Olmsted or a Vaux—would convert it into a scene of unsurpassed beauty.

John Jay

Among the noted events of the year 1856 were the removal of the Brick Church from Beekman street, and the erection of the "Times" building on its site. The church had long been famous as the scene of the ministrations of the Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring, an eminent Presbyterian clergyman. The last services were held in it on May 25, 1856. In its place rose the scene of a still larger influence, and of the editorial toils of Henry J. Raymond, one of the leading editors of the day. Soon after the city was aroused to an unusual excitement by the assault upon Charles Sumner in the senate-chamber at Washington. An immense meeting was gathered in the Broadway Tabernacle—the largest, it is said, ever held in that once famous hall. George Griswold presided, and many noted citizens were chosen as vice-presidents. The speakers denounced the brutal act with proper severity, and expressed their sympathy with Mr. Sumner. At this time, too, the first statue was erected in New-York since the fall of that of George III. on the Bowling Green. It was that of Washington on Union Square. Since then the number has grown with unprecedented rapidity. Another statue and monument was authorized by the common council, to be raised to the memory of General William J. Worth, a hero of the Mexican war. It was placed farther up-town, on the western side of Madison Square. Brooklyn now began the construction of its Ridgewood waterworks. As the year passed on, the excitement of a presidential election filled the city with animation. The chief newspapers of the day were the "Tribune," "Times," "Herald," "Courier and Enquirer," "Sun," "World," "Express," "Commercial," and "Evening Post." As the editor of the "Tribune," and leader of the Republican party, Horace Greeley showed his rare versatility and mental strength. The editors formed a conspicuous class of our citizens. Bryant, poet and thinker, gave the "Evening Post" its wide renown. Webb of the "Courier," the Brooks brothers of the "Express," Raymond, Bennett, Hale, and their associates, each marked by his individual traits of intellect the journal he directed. They have all passed away, but they have left behind them influences that never pass away. The printing-press of New-York at this time was giving forth some of the fairest fruits of American genius. Bryant, Whittier, Longfellow, Willis were the poets of the day; Bancroft, Motley, Prescott, the historians.

An extraordinary prevalence of crime marked the opening of the year 1857, and the records of the courts show a startling succession of famous causes. One, the Cunningham or Burdell case, filled the papers with its shocking details. On the morning of Saturday, January 31, Dr. Harvey Burdell, a dentist, was found murdered in his room — stabbed in fifteen places — on the second floor of his residence at 31 Bond street. In the house with him lived a Mrs. Cunningham, her two daughters, and two young sons, a man named Eckel, a young man named Snodgrass, and Daniel Ullmann, a noted politician. Burdell seems to have been passionate, violent in anger, immoral; Mrs. Cunningham, who was of respectable connections, was of indifferent character, the widow of a distiller, and kept the house for boarders. No sooner had the news of the murder spread over the city, than hundreds of persons crowded into Bond street to look at the fatal house. A coroner's jury sat on the victim. No case ever in New-York attracted so wide an interest. The jury brought in a verdict that the murder had been committed by Mrs. Cunningham and Eckel, with the knowledge of Snodgrass and the daughters. To add to the interest of the case, Mrs. Cunningham produced a certificate showing that she had been married to Dr. Burdell on October 28, declared her innocence, and claimed her share in the estate. The case now came up in the Surrogate's court, before the Hon. Alexander W. Bradford. It was contested with rare vigor. Again the newspapers were filled with the details, and crowds surrounded the court-room. But the surrogate evidently did not believe the marriage was a real one, and the estate was placed in the hands of the public administrator. It was believed that some one had personated Burdell at the ceremony, and that it formed a part of the plot to obtain his estate. The grand jury indicted Mrs. Cunningham and Eckel for murder, and held Snodgrass, who was of weak intellect, as an accessory. The daughters were held innocent. One is reminded in this fearful tragedy of some of the worst crimes of imperial Rome, or of several of the most famous trials defended by Cicero. New-York watched with ceaseless interest the progress of the case as it passed through the courts. At the final trial neither of the accused was convicted, and the mystery that hung over the famous case has never been dissipated.

The difficulty of governing the various elements that now made up the people of New-York had long been felt by its wisest citizens. Yet in a great measure the city had been allowed to grow up under its ancient charters, and with little care from its uncultivated rulers. It began to assume all the vices and all the least creditable traits of a European capital. Many of its districts, chiefly on the east side, were the haunts of a crowded and degraded foreign population. Here the poor and the vicious, thieves, beggars, the dissolute, were herded together. The "Five Points" and its neighborhood was one of the most notorious of these districts; it was so lawless and dangerous that few honest citizens cared to pass through it even in midday. Our police was held in check by the thieves, or often was in collusion with them; our officials were sometimes unscrupulous politicians. On the west side of the city, Church street had almost as evil a reputation as the "Five Points"; and these haunts of vice, infamy, and lawlessness were rapidly overspreading New-York. It had long been apparent that some change in our police system was necessary; the example of the improved metropolitan police of London was urged on our legislators; and in 1857 the State legislature passed several bills amending the charter of New-York. Separate days were provided for the State and municipal elections. The controller and the corporation counsel, like the mayor, were to be chosen by the people. Seventeen aldermen were to be elected from as many districts, to hold office for two years. Twenty-four councilmen were chosen annually. The management of Central Park was placed in the hands of a commission appointed by the State. But the chief and most valuable of these reforms was the creation of the new metropolitan police. A district was formed composed of the counties of New-York, Kings, Westchester, and Richmond, and a board of five commissioners was appointed to insure the peace of the city, and provide for its sanitary reform. The first members were Simeon Draper, James W. Nye, and Jacob Caldwell of New-York, James S. T. Stranahan of Kings, and James Bowers of Westchester County, and the mayors of New-York and Brooklyn *ex officiis.*

The new police commissioners were at once met and defied by the mayor, Fernando Wood. He had opposed the new system in the legislature; he now pronounced it unconstitutional, and refused to obey the law. He gathered around him the old police force, refused to surrender the property of the department, and threatened with violence those who attempted to get the offices in their control. When Governor John Alsop King appointed Daniel D. Conover a street commissioner, Wood drove him from the City Hall. A strange scene now occurred: the commissioner obtained one warrant for the arrest of Mayor Wood on the charge of inciting a riot, and another for violence offered to his person. Armed with these, and followed by fifty of the new metropolitan police, he returned to the City Hall, but found it closed against him. It was filled with armed policemen, who attacked the new-comers; the mob without aided the former, and an affray followed in which many of the police were severely wounded. The worst class of the population, eager for plunder, gathered around Mayor Wood, and for a time the city seemed about to fall into their hands. Fortunately, at this moment, the Seventh Regiment was passing down Broadway, on a visit to Boston by the evening boat; it was stopped on its way and called upon to quiet the disturbance. General Sandford threatened to use force unless the mayor submitted to the service of the writs; the mayor, alarmed, obeyed. The Seventh Regiment then proceeded on its way to Boston, but so great was the excitement in the city that nine of the city regiments were ordered to remain under arms. Soon the Court of Appeals decided against Mayor Wood's plea, and the metropolitan police took the place of the old force. But the change was not completed before a succession of remarkable riots and disorders had proved the dangerous nature of the political excitement aroused by the example of the mayor. A rising of the worst class of the populace took place, that had nearly ended in scenes not unlike those of the Paris commune, or the draft riots of 1863. There was, in fact, a strong resemblance—an anticipation of these later crimes. The mob rose in revolt in the "Five Points" district on July 3, and two factions began a fierce fight. One band of ruffians attacked the other in Bayard street; men, women, and children were hurt in the fray; the few police were beaten off, wounded, or perhaps fled not unwillingly. The rioters next seized upon trucks, drays, and various articles to build barricades, and seemed about to hold complete control of the city. The police were

THE OLD PARK THEATER.

believed to be in league with them; the mayor was distrusted; a panic spread among the citizens such as had never been known before, and all the horrors of a Parisian rising seemed to threaten New-York. But once more the Seventh Regiment, summoned from Boston, appeared on the scene, and several other regiments joined it. No mercy was shown to the bands of thieves and ruffians who were gathered in their vile haunts to defy the law; they either fled or were shot down. Six were killed, a hundred wounded, and the riot seemed suppressed. It broke out the next day in a disturbance in Anthony and Centre streets, but the militia soon checked it. The rioters are said to have been chiefly Irish, but later, on July 13 and 14, another disturbance arose among the Germans of the Seventeenth Ward, which was suppressed by the new police. From this time the metropolitan police has ruled over its extensive domain, and has proved itself usually capable of maintaining good order.

Fernando Wood

Soon after, in the midst of apparent prosperity, a commercial panic fell upon the city and country, almost wholly unlooked for. In the summer of 1857, business was active, the harvests were excellent, and every one looked forward to a long period of active progress. Credit was extended, new projects of speculation were formed, every one seemed full of employment and hope, when suddenly there fell upon the country an almost unprecedented disaster. Some of us may remember the swiftness of the fall of our whole commercial system. It began with the failure in August of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, long supposed to be one of our wealthiest and most trustworthy institutions. It was found to have been badly managed, was wholly bankrupt, and failed, owing seven millions of dollars. Soon the Philadelphia banks suspended. A panic ran over the land. Merchants failed; persons of high reputation were found to be insolvent. A run upon the banks in Wall street was begun, and the eager crowds who pressed for their money in that once busy thoroughfare were in marked contrast to its usual occupants; men and women, young and old, filled the narrow street. At last the legislature authorized the banks to suspend specie payment for one year. The Massachusetts banks also suspended, and Europe and America were plunged in a common ruin. Many factories were closed, work ceased, destitution fell upon the laboring classes; unemployed workmen in crowds were everywhere clamoring for bread, and New-York, as the winter came on, was full of sorrow and distress. Families who had once been wealthy were reduced to want; homes of splendor and ease were abandoned for privation and poverty; many of the strongest business houses, long known for probity and good faith, yielded to the financial storm. The peculiarity of this commercial panic was its suddenness. In vain the newspapers of the city urged calmness and forbearance; all confidence was lost. In Philadelphia, where the banks first suspended, the wildest excitement prevailed; the streets were filled with eager crowds; people from the country flocked into the city to save, if possible, something of their lost fortunes. The New-York banks for some time longer maintained their solvency. "The city banks," said the "Tribune," October 5, "have no thought of suspending." But now on all sides the greatest mercantile firms fell before the panic. The Bowery Bank gave way. Then, on Tuesday, October 13, the fiercest excitement ever known in Wall street began. The crowds who filled the sidewalks and pressed into the banking-houses for their money; the varying passions that filled the multitude; the news of failure after failure of the largest houses, the gloom, the despair, made this the most sorrowful day in the annals of New-York. The banks paid out nearly all their coin, and were at last obliged to suspend. Boston was equally unfortunate. "The towering fabric of our mercantile credit," wrote the "Tribune," "lies in ruins."

Edgar A Poe

A fearful shipwreck this autumn added to the general gloom. The steamer Central America (once the George Law), with five hundred and seventy-five passengers and $1,500,000 in specie, sank in a hurricane on her way from Havana to New-York. The newspapers of the time are filled with the sad tales of the survivors. More than three hundred persons went down with the wreck; one hundred and seventy were saved by passing ships. It is said that the vessel was unseaworthy. Meantime, when the winter came on, the sufferings of the poor deepened as the cold advanced. Never were the charitable feelings of the people of New-York more deeply stirred, or their liberality more conspicuous; each one gave as he was able. Soup-kitchens were established; work was given by the corporation to the unemployed workmen on the Central Park and other public improvements; but still many perished slowly of cold and starvation; others rose in riotous assemblies, threatening to break open the flour and provision stores, and were only repressed by the vigor of the law. The harvests had been abundant; the corn was stored in the granaries of the West; but the want of money and of confidence prevented it from being brought to New-York. The poor starved in the midst of abundance because the public credit was gone.

Thus, in various fortunes, through "sunlight and shade," our city passed on with unequal step; but it still advanced. One of the disappointments of the year had been the failure of the Atlantic cable. For a brief period the connection seemed ready to be formed between the Old World and the New, but now we were told that the current had ceased to flow; the cable was broken. "What caused the break of the cable?" asks the "Tribune" on August 29; and it suggests the weakness of the coil of wire. It is not discouraged, and the promoters of the undertaking at once set themselves to renew the effort that was so nearly successful. But eight years laden with strange events were to pass before Cyrus W. Field and his associates attained their end. As the sufferings of the community deepened, religious impulses became powerful: the Fulton street prayer-meeting in the North Dutch Church began its useful career; crowds filled the lecture-room, and a general religious interest spread over the city. Various changes had meanwhile taken place in different parts of the town. Columbia College was removed to Forty-ninth street and Madison Avenue, and its pleasant grounds in College Place were sold for business purposes. The public cemetery, or Potter's Field, was taken to Ward's Island; its site was given by the city to the State Woman's Hospital. The Broadway Tabernacle, long known as the scene of religious anniversaries and various public meetings, the most convenient hall in the city, was now sold, and its congregation removed soon after to their new building on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Thirty-fourth street. In 1857 was laid the corner-stone of the Roman Catholic cathedral on Fifth Avenue, with appropriate ceremonies, by Archbishop Hughes. All these changes show the gradual advance of the business wants of the city, and the activity of its trade. Fine stores were built on the site of Columbia College; the price of land along Broadway and in its neighborhood became excessive; luxury and extravagance marked the new mercantile buildings, and the plainer habits of our ancestors, who often lived over their stores, were laid aside forever. Slowly the

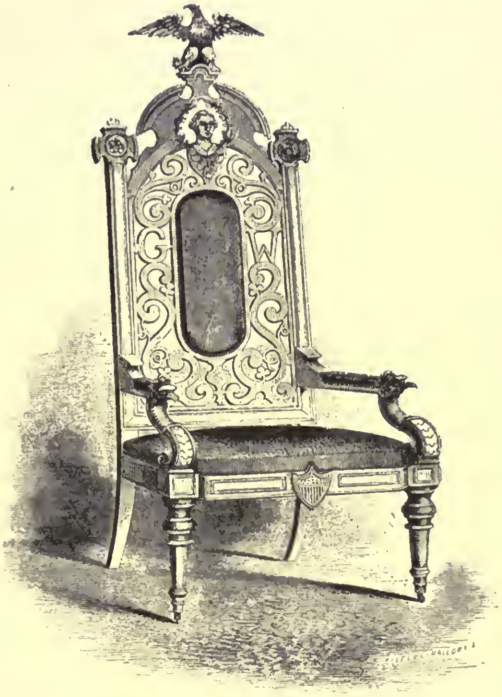
Ogden Hoffman

city and the country began to recover from their alarm and depression, and soon again prosperity returned to New-York. It is quite remarkable how swiftly the change was effected; yet the country still labored under many disadvantages. An intolerable currency composed of bank-notes of every variety in value; a system of banks whose solvency was always in doubt; a wide use of credit, and an excessive speculation, gave to the mercantile transactions of the period a general uncertainty. The money used in 1857–58 was of a kind that might well astonish a modern broker. It came often from the wildest regions of the West; it bore a large discount; it was never safe; even the bank-bills of the neighboring States were often discredited, and no one but an experienced hand could form a tolerable opinion as to their value. New-York was filled with uncurrent money; and the working-classes chiefly suffered because they were not able to complain. We who have a currency that is never doubtful can scarcely conceive of the perils of the unlucky holders of uncurrent bills. Besides this, the credit system prevailed in all branches of trade. Prices were made to anticipate losses, and scarcely any one paid in ready money. Few mercantile houses knew what were their real profits and losses. It was a game of chance for every merchant; he relied on the solvency of his customers. But such were the vigor and enterprise of the trading-classes that the panic soon passed over.

The New-York banks suddenly, to the surprise of the community, resumed specie payment on December 14. The Boston and New Haven banks followed their example; and so complete was the return of public confidence that no one seemed to care for gold. The wild scene of excitement that had only two months before filled the city with a strange alarm was now perfectly subdued. The only trace of the recent calamity was the sale of great quantities of dry-goods at retail, at low prices, by the largest wholesale houses; and the clamorous meetings of the unemployed workmen in Tompkins Square. They were evidently not in want of food, for when a German baker passed by with a tray filled with loaves of bread, they threw him down and pelted one another with the loaves. It was a period of crime and disorder. In one day, five or six murders and deeds of violence occurred; a suicide, a mutiny on shipboard, and robberies in the public streets. On one occasion, the "Dead Rabbits," as they were called, took possession of the City Hall for an hour, nearly beat to death one of their opponents in front of the mayor's office, and filled the courts of justice with their shouts and execrations. Mayor Wood was obliged to call upon the police to protect him from his friends and drive them off. It was plain to all good citizens that some change must be made in the government of the city, if its good name was to be preserved. A citizens' party was formed; great meetings were held of the opponents of Mayor Wood and his followers; the growth of crime and disorder brought out even the indifferent and the impartial. At the immense gathering at the Merchants' Exchange, November 20, we read the names of Havemeyer, Sturges, Barker, Field, Hunt, Lee, and a long list of persons of all parties. The city election came on December 1, and at its close Daniel F. Tiemann, "a worthy man," was found to have a majority of the votes. It was thought an enormous number when above ninety thousand votes in all were polled; now, New-York city has more than three hundred thousand voters. Mayor Wood, it was asserted, had enlarged his constituency by unfair practices. He passed from office, soon to return to it again in the year of civil convulsion. At this time, England and France were swept by a commercial panic; the Bank of England's charter was suspended; great firms and banks failed in both countries; the working-classes suffered, and the sad cry of the unemployed was heard in many lands.

Dan'l F Tiemann

The year 1858 began with a rapid revival of the various interests of the city. One of its most pleasing events was the enlargement of the Astor Library, an institution founded by John Jacob Astor, at the suggestion of Washington Irving and other literary men, and which had already proved its usefulness. Scholars, scientific men, and mechanics had begun to profit by its extensive collections. It was now nearly doubled in size, and made more accessible to the student. The liberality of William B. Astor enabled the trustees to complete the earlier plan of the building. It has since been still further enlarged. But New-York still needs a library equal in size and excellence to those of the European capitals, and its students are too often driven into exile to London or Berlin to complete their researches. We want the best means of acquiring knowledge. Another excellent institution for the encouragement of art New-York owed at this time to Peter Cooper. His liberal gift and prudent management founded the Cooper Institute, a school of art and science. Here free lectures were given, classes formed for young men and women to study, with good models and careful instruction. Cooper Institute has enabled many to earn a living by their talents, who, but for its free tuition, must have lingered in poverty. Its plain brownstone building, at the corner of Eighth street and Fourth Avenue, has long been a noted seat of intelligence; its free library and reading-room have benefited thousands. New-York, in the winter of 1858, was full of intellectual entertainments. At the New-York Historical Society great crowds filled the lecture-room when Dr. Francis L. Hawks, Rembrandt Peale, and George W. Curtis read their addresses; even the aisles were thronged, and Dr. Hawks was induced to recite his paper on Washington's period a second time to an equally large and delighted audience. Edward Everett, the most refined of orators, gave his address on "Charity," at the request of many of the noted men and women of the city, the names of Mrs. Bancroft and Mrs. King, Washington Irving, and Charles King leading the list of those who invited him; and it marks the good taste of our citizens that his audiences were always large, and never weary of listening. Mrs. Fanny Kemble read "Romeo and Juliet" and other plays to large assemblies at Dodworth's Rooms on Broadway, where she was received with intense interest and applause. At Wallack's Theater the "Vicar of Wakefield" was performed, and generally the plays of the time were not without literary merit. At the Central Park large numbers of workmen were employed; the winter was mild, and they did good work. Mr. Olmsted instituted among them a sick-fund society that was generally popular, nearly every workman giving ten cents weekly to the cause. The religious interest continued to spread from the city to the country. The papers were filled with the accounts of meetings, revivals, and crowded churches,—all denominations joining in the general progress. A very unfortunate incident was the withdrawal of the Collins Line of steamers from the Liverpool trade, and the complete success of their rival, the Cunard Line. Two of the Collins steamers had been lost; the others proved unprofitable. One of the traits of the mild winter was the great number of charitable entertainments, which were attended by many prominent people, Mayor Tiemann always conspicuous among them. He was also employed in many less pleasing duties. It was found that peculation and public robbery had invaded nearly all the civic departments; and we fear the "good old times" were not quite as honest as our own. Crime and public robbery still flourished vigorously in the city.



WASHINGTON CHAIR.[1]

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[1] Oak chair made from the timbers of "the first presidential mansion" in Franklin Square, a house erected in 1770 by the rich Quaker merchant Walter Franklin. Washington, who was sworn into office April 30, 1789, selected this house for his residence, and was much complained of for "going so far out of town." The chair was made for Benjamin R. Winthrop, and by him presented to the New-York Historical Society, November 3, 1857. EDITOR.

A cloud in the West still hung over the political future of New-York, but no one seemed to think it of any real importance. The dispute of the rival factions in Kansas had already produced a destruction of the old political parties, and a more dangerous, because more radical, difference in the new. The question was whether the vast territory extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific should be occupied by slaves and their masters, or whether it should be thrown open freely to the farmers of Europe and America. But slavery had already reduced the eastern side of the continent to poverty and decay. Virginia was sunk into ruin; her sister States were fast following her; when, therefore, the effort was made to carry slavery into Kansas, every reasonable man saw that the success of the movement would be fatal to the welfare of the country and of mankind. The Republican party arose and swallowed up all the other parties in opposition: its aim was to secure the whole West to free labor. In the Democratic party, both in the South and North, there were many who were equally opposed to the spread of slavery. It would be impossible here to review the various accounts of the history of the settlement of Kansas. We may merely notice that the violent political agitation that had arisen in the West was now fully reflected in the politics of New-York. Many of the leading citizens were engaged to support the Free-soil party; large meetings were held, at which earnest and vigorous speeches were made, and resolutions adopted; slavery, always odious and repulsive to the principles of democracy, was painted in severe colors; the threats of the violent politicians in the South were looked upon as idle and unmeaning, and no one in New-York in 1858 looked forward to civil war. Its people, as a new prosperity dawned upon them, were engaged in other thoughts. To them the wild deeds of the border ruffians seemed only the natural results of an uncultivated and lawless society; they fancied that the cloud would soon pass away. Business was active; the city filled with new hope. The mercantile class cared little for the strife of politics and the rage of factions; yet it is worthy of notice that many of the most prominent merchants of New-York were the strongest opponents of slavery, and made great sacrifices, and gave largely in support of freedom and an entirely free West.

A contemporary gives an interesting picture of the Broadway of 1858. Once the seat of pleasant residences, shaded with trees and famous for its drives and walks, it was now become a street of shops, offices, hotels, and theaters. The business houses in the retail trade reached far up-town; the finer dwelling-houses were above Fourteenth street and around Union and Madison squares. "Broadway in 1858," says the "Crayon" of that year, "has become not unlike the Strand in London and a Paris boulevard. Early in the morning the street begins to fill with carts and vehicles bringing supplies from the country to the market. From all the by-streets which connect Broadway with the river crowds of men, women, and wagons and horses emerge from the Brooklyn, Hoboken, Williamsburgh, Staten Island, and New Jersey ferries. It is still very early in the morning; the shops are still closed; only here and there an omnibus makes its reluctant appearance, its driver and horses not having yet shaken off the sloth of the night. There are also some carriages stopping before the Astor House, St. Nicholas, Metropolitan and other hotels, with a load of travelers just coming in from the east, west, north, or from European and California steamers. At this early hour Broadway looks thoroughly respectable, like a big ball-room." The writer then goes on to paint its various changes: "Soon after a crowd of clerks and business men rush down the famous thoroughfare. Then comes later the stream of fair women shoppers from the upper part of the town, filling the sidewalks; next, in the afternoon, the tide of business men rushes back along the same thoroughfare; and in the evening the street is again crowded with persons going to theaters and the various amusements of the night." In the later hours the street was no longer "respectable": it was filled with disreputable and noisy revelers; now the police and watchmen were on the alert, and the noise of wild songs and gross revelry disturbed the peace of Broadway. Later it sank into dull silence as the chimes of Trinity told the early hours of the morning. Such was our favorite Broadway thirty-five years ago. How different now! The theaters are gone; the retail shops are moved up-town; a stately range of office buildings and wholesale stores lines the street, and but a few of the old hotels still linger on their early sites. In the day no market-carts, no omnibuses, no crowds of fair women, no gallant pedestrians fill Broadway; at night no cries of revelry. It is silent and abandoned after eight o'clock. One is almost startled by its solitude. Broadway has become the business center of the continent—perhaps of the world.

PIERREPONT ARMS.

As the summer came on a new excitement passed over the city and the country, but seemed chiefly to extend over the North. The labors of Cyrus W. Field and his associates had apparently ended in perfect success. The Atlantic cable fixed the attention of the world. In June it had broken, and disappointment and doubt seemed to follow it. Eminent engineers declared the plan impracticable; no current of electricity, they said, could be carried to so long a distance; the iron and the copper were certain to produce corrosion at the bed of the sea. But again in July the Niagara and the Agamemnon met in mid-ocean, joined their wires, and set sail over the uncertain waves; and again news came to New-York that the cable was broken. Even the most ardent in favor of the project were now filled with doubt. "Suppose," said the "Tribune," July 14, "the attempted laying of the Atlantic cable should prove a failure, is there not a land route?" and the London "Times" advocated one. In the midst of these fears and disappointments, on August 6 came a despatch from Mr. Field that filled the country with wonder and strange joy. The ships had again met, had sailed over the ocean, and the cable was already in use. "The electric signals," said the ardent projector, August 5, 1858, "sent and received through the whole cable are perfect." To President Buchanan he said, "Queen Victoria will send you a message." It is quite impossible for us to conceive of the enthusiastic joy of the moment — we who have been so long familiar with the cables and telegraphs that encircle the globe. It was an electric shock that seemed to promise peace and good will to man. From cities and towns, from the wild West and the far East, from Europe and the Islands, came congratulations and expressions of sincere joy that the New World and the Old could now speak to each other, though far away; a new era had come; it was the finest thing done for America since its discovery. Salutes of a hundred guns were fired; towns and cities were illuminated; Rochester, Syracuse, Newport, and Boston replied to New-York; Newark also was illuminated. But the people of our city resolved to wait until the queen's message arrived before giving its grand celebration of the wonderful event. In the mean time, Mr. Field was the hero of the hour, and the telegraph drove out all other thoughts. Kansas and its trials, and the political dangers of the moment, were forgotten. The City Hall was illuminated, and fireworks set off in the park. A banquet was given to Mr. Field; a Te Deum was sung in Trinity Church; a salute of a hundred guns was fired; and Mr. Field spoke with rare eloquence. Still the message from the queen was mysteriously delayed, and it was not until August 17 that a part of it arrived. "Her Majesty," it said, "desires to congratulate the President on the successful completion of this great international work, in which the Queen has taken the deepest interest." The president replied in suitable terms; and the success of the great undertaking seemed assured. Then New-York prepared to give one of those great celebrations for which it has always shown a hereditary fondness — borrowed, perhaps, from its Flemish and Dutch ancestors of Ghent, Bruges, and Amsterdam. It could not hang its streets with cloth of gold, or rival

Cyrus W. Field

the splendors of a Flemish cortège, but it had often shone with banners, crowds, processions, and rare illuminations. In 1788, at the adoption of the constitution; in 1789, at the reception of Washington; in 1815, at the news of peace; in 1825, when the Erie Canal had joined the ocean and the lakes—New-York had given up its streets to rejoicing crowds of spectators and countless visitors. But, according to a contemporary, this last was "the grandest celebration ever seen in the city of New-York." The bells rang, cannon were fired, the Crystal Palace was crowded; splendid fireworks and an illumination followed in the evening; the vessels in the harbor were covered with flags; speeches, addresses of congratulation, a torch-light procession, and fifty or a hundred thousand strangers from across the rivers made up the unprecedented display. One may compare the number of visitors in 1858 with the millions who came in recently to assist at the Columbus celebration. All over the country the rejoicings continued. Nashville answered to Syracuse, Chicago to Boston. The Richmond papers alone, probably occupied with deeper thoughts, scoffed at the excitement of the North and West. It is painful to remember how soon the revulsion came. For many days the people waited to hear the news from abroad; within three weeks, they were assured, the cable would be open to the public. But days and weeks passed on, and the promise was not fulfilled. The queen's message was completed, the president's given in full; but a strange rumor spread that they had not been carried by the cable. The telegraph was silent. On September 25 some weak movements were felt; then the current failed. De Sauty telegraphed to Peter Cooper, September 28, from Trinity Bay: "There were no signals from Valentia to-day"; and soon it was known that the cable was broken, and lay, a costly and apparently useless wire, on the bed of the sea. It had cost £365,000 sterling,—about $1,800,000,—and was a complete loss to its projectors. All the opponents of the plan, all who favored other routes, now joined in declaring it hopeless; the failure of the cable laid in the Red Sea, about the same time, was a new proof, they thought, of the impossibility of using a wire two thousand miles long. A writer in Blackwood's magazine denied the existence of the telegraphic plateau, and asserted that the bed of the ocean was no more level than the surface of England and Wales. It was proposed to carry a cable from the Orkneys to Iceland, to Greenland, and thence to Labrador. Sir Leopold McClintock lent his approval to the plan. But, in the mean time, Messrs. Field, Cooper, and their English and American associates never faltered in resolution, and only awaited a favorable time for once more testing the telegraphic plateau.

On the night of the great celebration, while New-York was lost in festivity and rejoicing, a strange scene was witnessed across the bay, on Staten Island. The quarantine station had long been an object of dislike and dread to its murmuring people. They fancied that it brought disease and death among them; they knew that it injured their property, and kept away many who would have been glad to settle upon their lands. A quarantine is always an unpleasant neighbor, and the people were, no doubt, right. After many vain efforts to remove it by legal means, they resolved to use force. A party estimated at one thousand men gathered around the buildings and set them on fire; they persisted in their aim, in defiance of the legal officials, and the military who were sent to subdue them, and at last succeeded. The quarantine was taken to the lower bay, and the islanders became once more orderly and obedient citizens. It was the error of the State government, in not yielding to the reasonable demands of the people, that drove them to desperate measures. At once Staten Island became a favorite summer retreat for our citizens, and was soon covered with cottages and villas. One noted event of the late autumn was the burning of the Crystal Palace while occupied by the fair of the American Institute. The various articles on exhibition represented a loss of $2,000,000, but fortunately the two thousand persons who were in the building at the time escaped injury. The palace had been the theater of many notable occurrences; it was here the banquet to Mr. Field was given, on the completion of the Atlantic cable; it was the scene of Julien's concerts, of balls and dinners, of children's Sunday-school gatherings, and of public meetings, until at last its unfortunate career closed with a disastrous fire.

SECOND METHODIST CHURCH.[1]

A strange feature of these not very distant times was the revival of the slave-trade. Near the extremity of Long Island, off Montauk, a small vessel was found scuttled and sunk, and her crew, well supplied with Spanish gold, was observed wandering from town to town, in separate parties, spending their doubloons freely. It was at once suspected that these men had belonged to a slaver, and they were arrested. It was soon discovered that the sunken vessel was the "Haidee," that had sailed to the coast of Africa from the port of New-York, apparently with the connivance of the custom-house officials. She had brought back nine hundred slaves, landed them at Cardenas,

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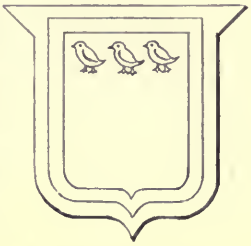
[1] The Second John Street Methodist Church, erected on the site of the First or Old John Street building, was dedicated January 4, 1818. The church shown in the engraving was taken down in 1841, and rebuilt as the First Methodist Episcopal Church, and in this edifice the last anniversary of the establishment of American Methodism was celebrated, October 30, 1892, several bishops taking part in the services. Numerous memorial tablets and relics of early Methodism are preserved in the present church. EDITOR.

Cuba, and was then sunk off Montauk. A small, sharp, swift schooner, built at Providence, Rhode Island, the nature of her cargo when she set sail from New-York, and the provision made for the confinement of her unhappy passengers, might easily have shown to the United States officials of the port the object of her voyage. Two slavers, the Wanderer and the Echo, were also known to have landed their cargoes on the coast of Georgia or South Carolina; but the Southern jurymen refused to convict the officers and crews. "The revival of the slave-trade," said the "New-York Times," December 28, 1858, "is the practical issue for 1860, if these men have their way." It knew little of the real meaning of these leaders in secession. All through the summer of 1858 the building of the Great Eastern, "Brunel's Folly," the largest vessel ever built by man, had constantly engaged the attention of New-York. The great ship was now approaching its completion. The illustrated papers of the time are filled with the accounts of its vast dimensions, its powerful engines, its indestructible covering of iron. Every intelligent intellect was interested in this unusual experiment, and the pictures of its progress at Millwall, in the "Illustrated London News," were eagerly sought for, and studied in every American town and city. At last the monster steamship was nearly ready and was about to sail for New-York.


RUTHERFORD ARMS.

The year 1859 opened with new prospects of prosperity, of ease and peace, to close with the deep shadows of political strife. Trade was active, population increased, and the city was full of energy and hope. Yet the New-York of 1859 was still provincial and submissive to foreign fashions and opinions. Its government was still imperfect, and the "Times," January 27, complains that its health was little cared for, and its death-rate far above that of London. Its quarantine was still unsettled. New Jersey refused to permit its shores to become a lazaretto. Coney Island and Long Island were equally rebellious; and the State authorities proposed to use ships anchored in the lower bay. "Truly," said the editors, "we are in a poor way about our quarantine." The unpleasant odors of factories, sewers, gas, and slaughter-houses, the uncleanly streets and careless officials, are often complained of. There were peculation and bribery abroad. The manners of our working-classes of foreign origin were still rude, and riots and strife were frequent. Among the wealthier classes there were a pleasant grace of manner, hospitality, and often an excess of conviviality. At weddings and large parties wine and liquors were used more freely than to-day. High prices in land had not yet been reached. A house and lot on the Fifth Avenue, No. 102, thirty-six feet wide and eighty deep, brought $31,200; another lot, vacant, on Fifty-fourth street, near Sixth avenue, $1100. The chief topics of conversation at the time were the poems of Tennyson, the histories of Prescott and Macaulay; in politics, the struggle in Kansas, or the threatening cloud of war in Europe. Napoleon was about to invade Italy, and his armies drive out the Austrians.

The Great Eastern, still unfinished, was watched with constant interest. The mail from California came slowly over the plains through a wilderness: the Pacific Railway was only talked of as yet. Of course the Suez Canal was unknown. Our people were fond of oratory and good public speaking. Henry Ward Beecher, George W. Curtis, and Dr. Francis L. Hawks were always sure of an intelligent audience. A natural orator, Dr. Hawks was the popular preacher of the time. Lectures on various subjects were always well attended; and Emerson and Beecher were heard with delight. The Sickles trial filled the newspapers; Morphy came back from Europe, and was received with as much attention as a martial conqueror. A banquet was given him in Boston, a supper and a costly testimonial in New-York. At last the fearful war in Europe began to overshadow all other subjects of interest. The news came of dreadful battles and heaps of slain. At Magenta twenty-seven thousand Austrians were killed and wounded; Solferino added to the frightful news, and few could fancy that within two years Magenta and Solferino would be surpassed in horrors on our own soil. "Harper's Weekly," always a picture of the times, gave striking illustrations of the battle-scenes in Italy. Napoleon, the conqueror, seemed the master of the destinies of Europeans; he fancied, of America. Peace came soon, and the next subject of conversation was the Great Eastern. Would it come to New-York? Was the channel deep enough to admit so large a ship? The "New-York Times" argued that the steamer might easily enter our harbor; it had a trial trip, with great success, on the Thames, and was to sail for New-York on September 17. "The coming, whenever it may take place," it was said, "will be one of the most interesting and important events of the age." But soon news came that a frightful explosion had occurred on the great steamer, twelve persons were killed and wounded, the splendid saloon was torn to pieces, and the day of sailing was postponed. So calmly and prosperously the year passed on that it affords few events to history. The movement of trade had continued to drive the homes of the citizens before it. Fifth Avenue had become a street of fine brownstone houses, and was already invaded by several shops. The private dwellings of the people had grown in convenience, if not in grace; but the public buildings were still as they are now—mean and poor. The United States government had never sought to decorate New-York with fine architectural ornaments. Its buildings were inferior to those of Washington and other cities. Its post-office was a decayed church; its assay-office a low structure on Wall street; its custom-house was removed at last to the former Merchants' Exchange, a building dark, damp, unhealthy; its subtreasury is a finer but even less convenient one. No one seemed to care for the architectural improvement of New-York. The city government had left its only fine building, the City Hall, in a condition of ruinous neglect since the cable celebration, when it had suffered from fire. Its front was blackened with smoke, its windows closed up with boards, its whole appearance saddening and repulsive. The Battery was unchanged; the Central Park, slowly advancing, was already the joy of the city, and when Dodworth's band played on the mall in the summer days, crowds filled the walks, and rejoiced in their new possession.

THE GREAT EASTERN.

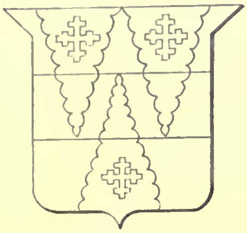
But in the midst of its ease and progress came suddenly one of the premonitions of civil war, that for a moment roused the city from its delusion. On October 18 came the news of a rising of the negroes in Virginia. They had seized upon Harper's Ferry, with all its munitions of war; they had visited the estate of a Mr. Washington, in its neighborhood, set free his slaves, and ill-treated his family. Then it was said that a Captain Brown was at the head of the insurrection; and next came intelligence of his defeat and capture, and of the vengeance that was to fall upon all concerned in the invasion. The story of John Brown is too well known to need repetition. Fanatic and martyr, his trial and his death filled the columns of the newspapers for months, and touched the hearts of many who scarcely shared his peculiar principles. To New-York came for the first time a sense of the political dangers of the hour, and of the intensity of the feeling that separated the political parties. Yet soon again, as the year 1860 opened upon it, the city sank back into a sense of perfect security. Disunion seemed a kind of madness that could never last long. No Southern State, it was asserted, would be so unwise as to secede; and the city, prosperous and advancing in strength and greatness, gave itself up to its delusions. At the election in December, 1859, Fernando Wood had been chosen mayor through the division of his opponents, and the reforms they hoped for were laid aside. It was a summer of festivity and careless prosperity that now opened upon New-York—the last for many years, the close of the period of its provincialism, the beginning of a new existence. Its first excitement was the arrival in June of the Japanese Embassy, the first of that peculiar and yet unknown people to visit New-York. They were made the guests of the city, and entertained, at great expense, with a ball, illuminations, and a serenade, and shown all the wonders of Western civilization. Our aldermen were the hosts, and were liberal in their outlay. But the occasion was one of real importance, since it tended to open commercial relations between Japan and New-York. Next came the Great Eastern in July, after long delay, and was received with generous hospitality. Crowds visited the great ship as it lay off the dock in the North River, and were amazed at its vastness. The high price charged for admission kept many from visiting it, but thousands sailed around the steamer, and looked at it from a distance. Some mismanagement always followed the wonderful vessel, and when, on August 2, it made an excursion to Cape May and back, the passengers complained that they could find no place to sleep in, and were starved for want of food. A remarkable meteor, that passed over New-York and seemed to fall into Long Island Sound on July 20, was studied with attention by the scientific, and startled the people. Its light was like that of the moon. Among the guests of the city were Lady Franklin, who came to thank its people for their liberal aid in the search for her husband, Sir John, and for the sympathy they showed for her in her desire to know his fate. She was received with respect and many attentions. The Prince de Joinville was another visitor to our city, and Garibaldi was greeted by his many admirers. But to none did our people give so generous and enthusiastic a reception as to the Prince of Wales, Albert Edward, young, fair, good-humored, who had come over to visit America. He was known as Baron Renfrew, and with his party passed through Canada and some of the Western and Southern States before he reached New-York. Little could he have foreseen that the city he looked upon, arrayed

CASTLE POINT, THE RESIDENCE OF MRS. STEVENS.

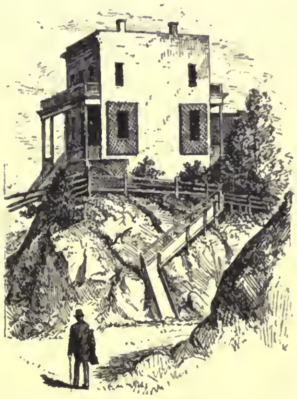
in all its fairest colors, eager with childish expectation, was soon to be covered with mourning and almost lost in despair. Its harbor was filled with ships, steamers, boats, all gay with flags and banners, to welcome a young prince, the first of his line who had entered New-York since the Revolution. At Castle Garden, amidst an immense crowd, he was introduced to the city magistrates. He passed up Broadway through such throngs of people, such an array of flags, banners, and emblems of welcome as might have almost persuaded him that he was about to assume his ancestral sway over his faithful subjects. A ball was given him, where diamonds glittered on every side, and fair women sought his attentions. He was taken to see the few objects of interest in the city — its university, Cooper Institute, the City Hall, and Trinity Church — and then passed away. It was the last of our peaceful spectacles. Meantime the fierce excitement of a presidential election, the most important in its results ever held, was moving over the land. New-York felt the impulse, and night after night its people listened to the speeches on either side in great assemblies. As the autumnal months came on the contest deepened, and something stern and earnest in the style of its oratory might have warned men of the great events that were near. We have nothing like it now. Our political discussions are tame and spiritless compared to those rare and almost matchless speeches, when every orator seemed to bear in his soul and on his tongue the welfare of all futurity. Seward, Sumner, Greeley, Chase, Doolittle, and Beecher spoke to immense audiences on the noblest of human themes — the story of humane progress. On the other side, Wood, Tilden, Seymour, and others defended the administration. Few who heard those great debates can fail to remember the deep awe that fell upon the assemblies as they listened to the story of Kansas, or heard in Cooper Institute the low refrain of a campaign song, "For Lincoln and Hamlin we 'll conquer or die"; and many from the assembly, still all unconscious, went out to the battle-field to fulfil their pledge. Yet the perfect confidence of the leaders of opinion at the North in the security of the Union seems now almost inexplicable. In July the "Times" had said: "If the South had the slightest desire for dissension, that [John Brown's

ENTRANCE TO CASTLE POINT.

raid] was their opportunity—one of their States was invaded; . . . nothing shows more clearly that the Southern people are utterly and unconquerably averse to disunion"; and the "Tribune," as late as October 11, after the Republican success in many elections, said: "Gladness beams from a million eyes, and joy glows in the popular heart, for it is felt that our peaceful convulsion bodes simply the replacement of the bad by the better." Meantime drought and famine had brought intense suffering to the people of Kansas. No rain had fallen for months; no crops were raised in many districts; the people once more appealed to the generosity of the East, and New-York gave with its usual liberality. It is computed that several hundred thousand dollars were sent to the famished settlers. The city was well able to lend aid from growing resources. Its population had risen from 630,000 in 1856, to 814,000 in 1860. This may seem a small number to us, accustomed to reckon by millions. It is even less than the population of Brooklyn to-day; but it still showed a great increase. The wealth of New-York was proved in the constant growth of its mercantile palaces, and in the extravagance of the time. It was a period of singular deference to the fashions and manners of the European courts. Our fair women walked abroad in the enormous skirts of steel or whalebone that were enforced at the imperial receptions of Paris, and our young men too often borrowed the vices and the crimes of their foreign models. Despotism and reaction ruled in Europe, and republican austerity was a conception that seemed forever to have passed away. It is quite impossible for us who live in a republican era to conceive of the extreme peril that in 1860 hung over all free institutions. With us slavery ruled over half the nation, and was about to seize upon the Territories. In Europe, France, triumphant from its war with Austria, with its apparently invincible armies and its astute ruler, was again the master spirit among nations, the center of European politics. The influence of Paris upon New-York in 1860 cannot be measured by any modern scale; it was excessive; the corrupt ambition of the imperial court threatened everywhere the destruction of freedom. It was at this moment that the power of American literature was felt in its new strength, and the songs of the poets, and the labors of the scholar, awoke again republican virtue. Whittier sang his Tyrtæan odes, and called men back to truth and honor; Longfellow told the sorrows of the hunted slave in musical lines; the fine speakers of the time painted to New-York audiences the horrors of despotism and slavery. Never had the intellect of our city been so intensely active. In November the election


SCHIEFFELIN ARMS.

of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency was not at first supposed to threaten the peace of the nation. It was received with general joy by a large majority at the North, as the opening of a new period of human progress. Bells were rung, cannon were fired, and congratulations exchanged. The city was still full of business prosperity, its hotels crowded with strangers, and the factories of the North everywhere employed. Yet many indications of the approaching danger might have been noticed by more experienced eyes. On October 26 the "Times" had printed an account of a plot that had been prepared at Washington to promote disunion. The discontented States, it was said, would refuse to submit to the rule of Lincoln, would seek protection from France and England, and submit even to a vassalage to the foreign powers, rather than yield. The disunionists wore already a black cockade. South Carolina would lead in the revolt. The rumor of a plot made little impression on our people. It was thought too extravagant for belief. But, when the election was decided, the report of warlike preparations at the South, and the activity of the disunionists, the timidity of the government, and the treason of its officials, spread doubt and alarm. It was found that large quantities of arms had been purchased by the governors of Southern States in the Northern cities, and that the shops of New-York were almost bare of guns and pistols. A report was brought of a large body of cavalry in camp near Richmond, that was soon to seize upon Washington. South Carolina began its preparations for civil war, was arming, and had called together its convention to declare its independence. Other States, imitating its leadership, were soon to follow it. A new nation was thus about to be brought to life, founded upon slavery. At once the certainty of some great civil convulsion fell upon New-York, and a commercial panic spread over its business circles with unequaled rapidity. Gold disappeared, credit was no longer given, the banks came forward bravely to assist the merchants and each other; but the effort could not long be successful. South Carolina on December 20 declared itself out of the Union. Its editors spoke of the Northern States as foreign countries. At New Orleans, when the news of the action of South Carolina arrived, a hundred guns were fired, and the city was given up to rejoicing. Mobile followed its example. The cotton


NEAR FORTY-SECOND STREET.[1]

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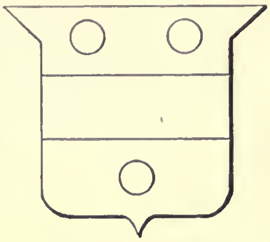
[1] The engraving indicates the inconvenient situation in which many householders were left in various parts of the city, after new streets, conforming to the established grade, had been opened through the solid rock. The above is a view of a house on Second Avenue, near Forty-second street; other houses similarly situated are still to be seen. EDITOR.

States soon showed that they were prepared for disunion, and every one felt, as the "New-York Times" had said already, "If we have disunion, we shall have war." Yet the people of the North and President Buchanan seemed equally unprepared to meet the pressing danger, and all was hesitation and doubt. Compromises were talked of, hopeless projects of conciliation offered. The president, undecided, seemed in league with the disunionists; the members of his cabinet were open traitors. The first trait of energy shown by the people of the North was when the citizens of Pittsburg assembled to prevent the transfer of seventy-eight cannon to the South, where they must have fallen into the hands of the disunionists. They were ordered by Secretary Floyd to be sent to Ship Island, at the mouth of the Mississippi. Heavily the month of December, 1860, passed on, laden with the fate of centuries. It was believed that a proper decision on the part of the administration would have checked disunion, and given courage to its opponents in the South; but the government did nothing. Its enemies were active, and the people of our city looked on in helpless alarm, while the country was amused with vain attempts at compromise, and the gunshops of New-York and Hartford were freely supplying the arsenals and military companies of disunion. The days and weeks passed over New-York full of eager interest and expectation. An intense sorrow was the first emotion of our people when they saw that the real meaning of the conspiracy was the destruction of the nation. They watched every movement at the South with hope or fear; not that they ever thought that the disunionists could be successful. They felt that the people were against separation. The news, the telegrams, and the Washington letters of the close of 1860 are full of intense interest, and even to-day no one can read them without sharing it. At last came the startling news that Fort Moultrie had been evacuated by the government troops, the guns spiked, the stores removed, and the small garrison of less than sixty men transferred to Fort Sumter. New-York felt the sudden shock; the business of the city paused, and all was expectation. "This," cried the "Charleston Mercury" insolently, "is war." The mad infatuation of the conspira-

William H. Seward

tors increased. They assailed the government with reproaches because it had feared to trust to the Charleston mob. Floyd resigned. Yet the sanguine in the North still hoped for peace, while all the Southern States were drilling their young men, and gathering munitions of war. New-York, meantime, remained still incredulous, still hopeful, still amazed at the madness of the hour. Its trade had received what seemed a fatal blow. The disorder in the government finances had affected the credit of the country; its men of action and of thought felt the indecision of the administration, and condemned it; but New-York, confident in its strength, did not fear the result of a contest. It only waited for events, when it should have led them.



GALLATIN ARMS.

How nobly New-York bore itself in the war that followed; how it lavished its wealth and its youth in the defense of the nation; how its ships and its seamen guarded the seas; how its soldiers were famous on every battle-field; with what patriotic liberality its bankers and its financiers managed the immense money transactions of the country, will be told by other writers in the succeeding chapters. But it must be remarked that the close of the contest made a perfect change in its condition and destiny. It was no longer a provincial city; it rose at once to be the metropolis of a mighty nation. It has advanced, in population, wealth, and general ease, beyond any other city; with the growth of knowledge it may be made the happiest and most peaceful of all.

Wm. P. Brady

CHAPTER XIII

NEW-YORK IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION

1861–1865

IF the city of New-York was conspicuous as the center of operations during the war to establish the unity and independence of the colonies, it was no less prominent as the principal base of supplies in the struggle to preserve the Union. An ancient writer has said, "It sufficeth not to the strength of the armes to have flesh, blood and bones, unless they have also sinewes, to stretch out and pull in for the defence of the body; so it sufficeth not in an army to have Victuals, for the maintenance of it; Armour and Weapons for the defence of it; unless it have *Money* also, the *Sinewes of Warre.*"[1] The financial records of the time bear convincing testimony to the effective manner in which the merchants and bankers of the Empire City supplied the federal government with the "sinewes" needed "to stretch out and pull in for the defence of the body" of the nation in its great peril. Before a shot had been fired, two important expeditions, designed to succor beleaguered garrisons, were fitted out at this port; after the capture of Sumter a movement to the front of men and means furnished by New-York began, and did not end until the surrender at Appomattox.[2]

It is a notable fact that whenever the country has been threatened with danger to its form of government, the city of New-York has declared its position only after due reflection and careful consideration of the question involved. It was this tendency that delayed its final decision to take up arms against the mother-country at the opening of the Revolution; it was this feeling that induced some of its leading citizens to join in an effort to dissuade the South from secession. Some of the most conservative men of the community even contemplated the possibility that New-York might become a free city entirely independent, and Mayor Wood, in his annual message to the common council, January 7, 1861, advocated such a course in the event of a disruption of the Union. One of the last efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the grave problem was called "the Pine street meeting." It was held under the auspices of leading citizens, among whom were John A. Dix, William B. Astor, Samuel J. Tilden, Wilson G. Hunt, and James W. Beekman. Charles O'Conor presided, and resolutions, fraternal yet firm and dignified in tone, were unanimously passed. A committee, with ex-President Fillmore as chairman, was appointed to present a copy of the resolutions to Jefferson Davis and the governors of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. The movement was futile, the South had gone too far to recede, and ere many days thereafter the signers of this pacific appeal were among the foremost to defend the flag of the Union from insult.[1] Of this a conspicuous instance will occur to the reader.

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[1] Ward's "Animadversions of Warre," London, 1639.

[2] "Upon New-York will devolve the chief burden of providing ways and means for the war; our financial community accept the duty, and will perform it. This view we find to be universal among moneyed men, including many whose sympathies have heretofore been with the South. If the Government prove true to the country, it need not feel any uneasiness about money." "New-York Herald," April 16, 1861.

Ch. O'Conor

Early in January, 1861, President Buchanan appointed John A. Dix secretary of the treasury, who signalized the closing days of that administration by a memorable and patriotic act. Within three days after the new cabinet minister had entered upon his duties, he sent a special agent to New Orleans, Mobile, and Galveston to save, if possible, the revenue cutters stationed at these ports. On January 29 Secretary Dix was advised by wire that the commanding officer of the McClelland at New Orleans refused to obey his orders. Immediately on receipt of this information, and without consultation with any one, he penned the order which has become historic, and which (through the courtesy of his son, the Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D.) is here published in fac-simile. Although the secretary's action was decided upon without a moment's hesitation as to its spirit, the language received due consideration, as we are told[1] in a letter from General Dix to a friend long after the occurrence:

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[1] The following is an extract from the letter transmitting the resolutions: "Fellow-Citizens and Brethren of the South,—It has become our painful duty to address ourselves to you under the most alarming circumstances in which we have been placed since the formation of the government. In the fullness of our prosperity, our strength, and our credit, the Union to which we owe it all is in imminent danger of becoming a prey to internal dissension, sacrificing the great interests of the country, and forfeiting the high position it holds among the nations of the earth. To avert a calamity so disgraceful to us as a free people, so disastrous to the common welfare, and so disheartening to the friends of representative government in both hemispheres, we appeal to you by the sacred memory of that fraternal friendship which bound our forefathers together through the perils of the Revolution, which has united us all through succeeding years of alternate good and ill, and which has conducted us, under the protection of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, to wealth and power — by a progress unexampled in the history of the past — by all the endearing recollections with which this association is hallowed, we conjure you to pause before the current of disunion shall acquire a force which may prove irresistible, that we may consult together, with the calmness due to the magnitude of the crisis, for the removal of the causes which have produced it. We make this appeal to you in entire confidence that it will not be repulsed. We have stood by you in the political contest through which we have just passed. We have asserted your rights as earnestly as though they had been our own. You cannot refuse, therefore, to listen to us, and to weigh with becoming deliberation the reasons we have for believing that the wrongs which have led to the existing alienation between the two great sections of the country may, with your coöperation, be speedily redressed. We do not intend to go back to the origin of these wrongs. We will not review the dark history of the aggression and insult visited upon you by abolitionists and their abettors during the last thirty-five years. Our detestation of these acts of hostility is not inferior to your own. We take things as they exist, to deal with them as an evil not to be eradicated by violence, but to be remedied by a treatment which shall at the same time be considerate and firm. We call on you as friends to delay action until we can induce those through whose agency the evil has been brought upon us to listen to the voices of reason and duty, and to place your relations and ours to the common privileges and benefits of the Union on a footing of perfect equality;

> Not a word was altered; but the original was handed to the clerk charged with the custody of my telegraphic despatches, copied by him, and the copy signed by me and sent to its destination. Before I sent it, however, a question of military etiquette arose in my mind in regard to the arrest of Captain Breshwood, and I took a carriage and drove to the lodgings of Lieutenant-General Scott, to consult him in regard to it. Mr. Stanton was then Attorney-General. My relations with him were of the most intimate character; and as he resided near General Scott's lodgings I drove to his house first, and showed the despatch to him. He approved of it, and made some remark expressing his gratification at the tone of the order. General Scott said I was right on the question of etiquette, and I think expressed his gratification that I had taken a decided stand against Southern invasions of the authority of the government. I immediately returned to the department and sent the despatch. General Scott, Mr. Stanton, and the clerk who copied it were the only persons who saw it. . . .
>
> I decided when I wrote the order to say nothing to the President about it. I was satisfied that, if he was consulted, he would not permit it to be sent. Though indignant at the course of the Southern States, and the men about him who had betrayed his confidence,—Cobb, Floyd, and others,—one leading idea had taken possession of his mind,—that in the civil contest which threatened to break out, the North must not shed the first drop of blood. This idea is the key to his submission to much which should have been met with prompt and vigorous resistance. During the seven weeks I was with him he rarely failed to come to my room about ten o'clock, and converse with me for about an hour on the great questions of the day before going to his own room. I was strongly impressed with his conscientiousness. But he was timid and credulous. His confidence was easily gained, and it was not difficult for an artful man to deceive him. But I remember no instance in my unreserved intercourse with him in which I had reason to doubt his uprightness.
>
> Tuesdays and Fridays were Cabinet days. The members met, without notice, at

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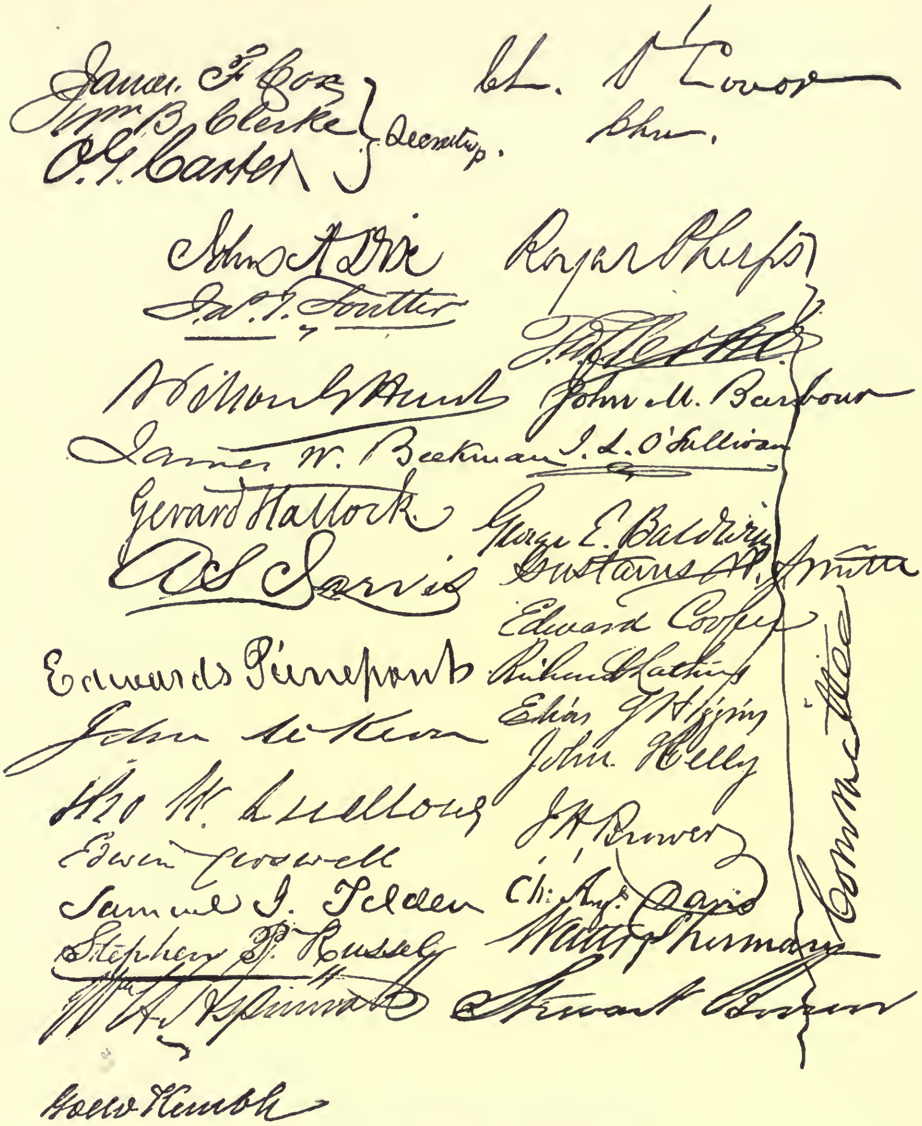
or, failing in this, until we can bring the majority of our fellow-citizens in the North to coöperate with us, as we do not doubt they will, in the proper measures of redress. We do not despair of securing from those to whose hands the reins of government are about to be intrusted a recognition of your rights in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves and equality in the Territories. We know that great changes of opinion have already taken place among their most intelligent and influential men — that a reaction has commenced, which is not likely to be stayed — that errors and prejudices which in the heat of the canvass were inaccessible to reason and persuasion have been on cool reflection renounced; nay more, that many whose opinions have undergone no change are willing, in a praiseworthy spirit of patriotism, to make on questions which are not fundamental in our system of government, but merely accessory to our social condition, the concessions necessary to preserve the Union in its integrity, and to save us from the fatal alternative of dismemberment into two or more empires, jealous of each other, and embittered by the remembrance of differences which we had not the justice or the magnanimity to compose."

[1] "Memoirs of John A. Dix," by Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D., New-York, 1884.



James F. Cox
Wm. B. Clerke } Secretaries.
O. G. Carter

Ch. O'Conor
Chm.

John A. Dix
Jas. T. Soutter
Wilson G. Hunt
James W. Beekman
Gerard Hallock
A. S. Jarvis
Edwards Pierrepont
John McKeon
Thos. W. Ludlow
Edwin Croswell
Samuel J. Tilden
Stephen P. Russell
Wm. H. Aspinwall
Gouv Kemble

Royal Phelps
John M. Barbour
J. L. O'Sullivan
George E. Baldwin
Gustavus W. Smith
Edward Cooper
Richard Lathers
Elias J. Higgins
John Kelly
J. H. Brower
Ch. Augs. Davis
Watts Sherman
Stewart Brown

Committee

PINE STREET MEETING SIGNATURES.[1]

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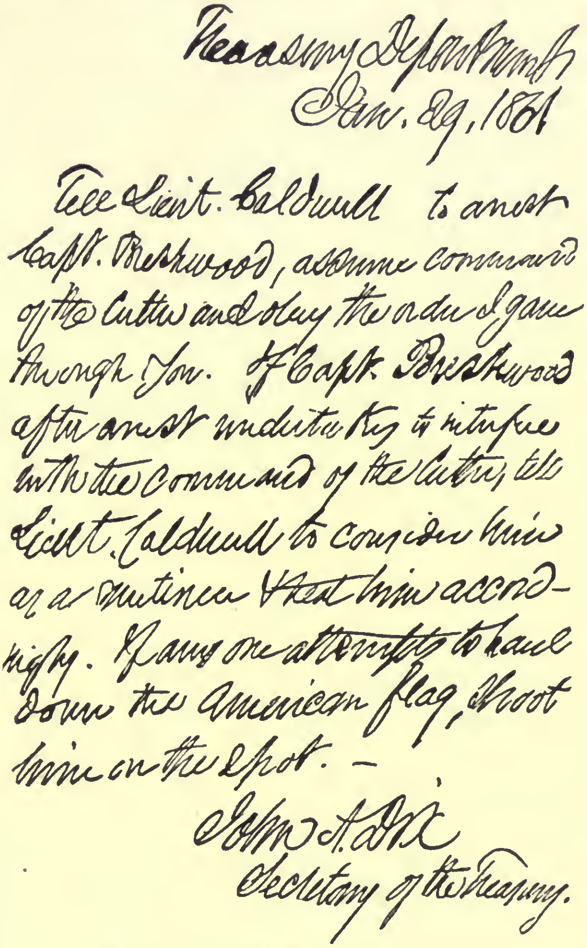
[1] The historic Pine street meeting was called by a private letter addressed to prominent men, irrespective of party, throughout the State of New-York; and the replies received were so numerous and favorable, that it was found necessary to engage two buildings in Pine street to accommodate the large representation anticipated. The facsimile shown above gives the signatures of the chairman and secretaries of the meeting, and also those of the signers of the address or letter accompanying the resolutions passed. The committee appointed to visit the South as bearers of the address (part of which is given on the opposite page) comprised ex-President Fillmore, Greene C. Bronson, and Richard Lathers. Mr. Fillmore warmly indorsed the objects of the meeting, although unable to attend it, and was, as stated, made chairman of the committee to represent to the Southern leaders and people the sentiments of the city and State of New-York at this great crisis in the life of the nation. The meeting was held December 15, 1860. EDITOR.

the President's house in the morning. My order was given, as has been stated, on Tuesday evening. I said nothing to the President in regard to it, though he was with me every evening, until Friday, when the members of the Cabinet were all assembled, and the President was about to call our attention to the business of the day. I said to him, "Mr. President, I fear we have lost some more of our revenue cutters." "Ah!" said he, "how is that?" I then told him what had occurred down to the receipt of the despatch from Mr. Jones informing me that Captain Breshwood refused to obey my order. "Well," said he, "what did you do?" I then repeated to him, slowly and distinctly, the order I had sent. When I came to the words, "shoot him on the spot," he started up suddenly, and said, with a good deal of emotion, "Did you write that?" "No, sir," I said; "I did not write it, but I telegraphed it." He made no answer; nor do I remember that he ever referred to it afterward. It was manifest, as I have presupposed, that the order would never have been given if I had consulted him.



Treasury Department
Jan. 29, 1861

Tell Lieut. Caldwell to arrest Capt. Breshwood, assume command of the Cutter and obey the order I gave through You. If Capt. Breshwood after arrest undertakes to interfere with the Command of the Cutter, tell Lieut. Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer & treat him accordingly. If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the Spot. —

John A. Dix
Secretary of the Treasury.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE DESPATCH.

It only remains for me to say that the order was not the result of any premeditation—scarcely of any thought. A conviction of the right course to be taken was as instantaneous as a flash of light; and I did not think, when I seized the nearest pen (a very bad one, as the fac-simile shows) and wrote the order in as little time as it would take to read it, that I was doing anything specially worthy of remembrance. It touched the public mind and heart strongly, no doubt, because the blood of all patriotic men was boiling with indignation at the humiliation which we were enduring; and I claim no other merit than that of having thought rightly, and of having expressed strongly what I felt in common with the great body of my countrymen.

"Such is the history of the famous despatch. In concluding it I quote my father's words by way of explanation and justification of his language. He says, in his report to Congress: 'It may be proper to add, in reference to the closing period of the foregoing despatch, that as the flag of the Union since 1777, when it was devised and adopted by the founders of the Republic, had never until a recent day been hauled down, except by honorable hands in manly conflict, no hesitation was felt in attempting to uphold it at any cost against an act of treachery, as the ensign of the public authority and the emblem of unnumbered victories by land and sea.'"[1]

Col° Grant Wilson
A.D.C. &c &c
With the kind regards of
Winfield Scott

For many years the general-in-chief of the army had his personal residence and official headquarters in the city of New-York. Although increasing infirmities warned General Scott that his days of active service were well nigh spent, yet he failed not, before relinquishing his office, to call the attention of President Buchanan, as early as October, 1860, to the unprotected state of certain fortifications on the southern coast, expressing his "solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession," and urging their prompt occupation by suitable garrisons.[2] But the bewildered politician hesitated, and the opportunity was lost. As we recur in memory to that dark period of national history, we find it illumined by one ray of light, increasing in brilliancy as the years roll on. In striking contrast to the vacillation and timidity of the executive, and the divided opinions of the cabinet, appear the firmness, simplicity, and patriotism of Robert Anderson. Believing that the South had been unjustly treated, having reason to think that his government had abandoned him, beset with temptations of kinship and friendship, surrounded with enemies ready to destroy him, the tempered steel of his nature was equal to the test. His duty, according to his simple code of morals, was plain: like the Roman sentinel, he might be forgotten, but he would never voluntarily abandon his post. How unselfishly and gallantly Major Anderson and his little band of regulars acquitted themselves is a matter of undying fame. One member of the Buchanan cabinet — Secretary Black — wrote of Anderson's military movement from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, that "he has saved the country, I solemnly believe, when its day was darkest and its peril most extreme. He has done everything that mortal man could do to repair the fatal error which the administration has committed in not sending down troops enough to hold *all* the forts."[1]

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[1] Memoirs of John A. Dix, I: 373.

[2] "From a knowledge of our Southern population it is my solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following posts: . . . Forts Pickens and McRea, Pensacola Harbor; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston Harbor. All these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make any attempt to take any one of them, by surprise or *coup de main*, ridiculous." Scott's "Memoirs." New-York, 1864.

With the change of administration the reins of government slipped from the nerveless hands of one president into the firmer if somewhat unskilful grasp of another. It cannot be said that order *promptly* emerged from chaos. The task before Mr. Lincoln was too colossal, and the means at his disposal too crude, to cause the machinery of government to work effectively at once. So, in the early attempt to provision Sumter and reinforce Pickens, the functions of cabinet officers and captains of the staff were curiously intermingled. The spectacle of a military engineer and a military secretary to the commanding general working in haste and secrecy, under the personal supervision of a secretary of state, to arrange the details of an important movement of the land and naval forces, without the knowledge of the ministers of war or navy; the perfunctory reference of their work to the general-in-chief for his official signature, and its final transfer by the president to the juniors aforesaid with *carte blanche* as to its execution, were hardly calculated to produce that "good order and military discipline" which were to prove essential factors in the restoration of the Union. The president, however, finding that his effort to execute the laws by ignoring regulations and "cutting knots" resulted in confusion, returned to the system of making each department of the government responsible for details pertaining to it; and, thereafter, he generally observed this rule.

When Anderson's famous telegram announcing the fall of Sumter was published, the effect upon the people of New-York was instantaneous. Politicians were silent in the face of the unanimity with which men of all parties were roused to action. As was well said: "The incidents of the last two days will live in history. Not for fifty years has such a spectacle been seen as that glorious uprising of American loyalty which greeted the news that open war had been commenced upon the Constitution and Government of the United States. The great heart of the American people beat with one high pulsation of courage, and of fervid love and devotion to the great Republic. Party dissensions were instantly hushed; political differences disappeared and were as thoroughly forgotten as if they had never existed; men ceased to think of themselves or their parties — they thought only of their country and of the dangers which menace its existence. Nothing for years has brought the hearts of all the people so close together, or so inspired them all with common hopes, and common fears, and a common aim, as the bombardment and surrender of an American fortress."[1]

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[1] A New Song of Sixpence.

Sing a song of Sumter,
  A fort in Charleston Bay;
Eight-and-sixty brave men
  Watch there night and day.

Those brave men to succor
  Still no aid is sent;
Is n't James Buchanan
  A pretty President!

James is in his Cabinet
  Doubting and debating;
Anderson 's in Sumter,
  Very tired of waiting.

Pickens is in Charleston,
  Blustering of blows;
Thank goodness, March the Fourth is near
  To nip Secession's nose.

"Vanity Fair."

President Lincoln's first call for aid was instantly responded to by the legislature of New-York with an appropriation of $3,000,000; the militia regiments of the city and vicinity hastened to offer their services; recruiting rendezvous were opened for new organizations; the Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions pledging substantial aid to the government, and urging the prompt blockade of Southern ports;[2] and a great wave of popular enthusiasm swept over the city.

The municipality of New-York, in close sympathy with Tammany Hall, promptly passed the following resolutions, drafted by one who afterward distinguished himself on many bloody fields — Daniel E. Sickles.

> *Resolved,* That we invoke in this crisis the unselfish patriotism and the unfaltering loyalty which have been uniformly manifested in all periods of national peril by the population of the City of New-York; and while we reiterate our undiminished affection for the friends of the Union who have gallantly and faithfully labored in the Southern States for the preservation of peace and the restoration of fraternal relations among the people, and our readiness to coöperate with them in all honorable measures of reconciliation, yet we only give expression to the convictions of our constituents when we declare it to be their unalterable purpose, as it is their solemn duty, to do all in their power to uphold and defend the integrity of the Union, and to vindicate the honor of our flag, and to crush the power of those who are enemies in war, as in peace they were friends.
>
> *Resolved,* That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of the State of New-York.

In a recent address, General Sickles said: "I well remember the words of President Lincoln when he referred to this action of our city government, a few days afterward, when I called upon him for instructions touching the command I had undertaken to raise on the invitation of Governor Morgan. He said: 'Sickles, I have here on my table the resolutions passed by your common council appropriating a million of dollars toward raising men for this war, and promising to do all in the power of your authorities to support the government. When these resolutions were brought to me by Alderman Frank Boole and his associates of the committee, I felt my burden lighter. I felt that when men broke through party lines and took this patriotic stand for the government and the Union, all must come out well in the end. When you see them, tell them for me, they made my heart glad, and I can only say, God bless them.'"[2]

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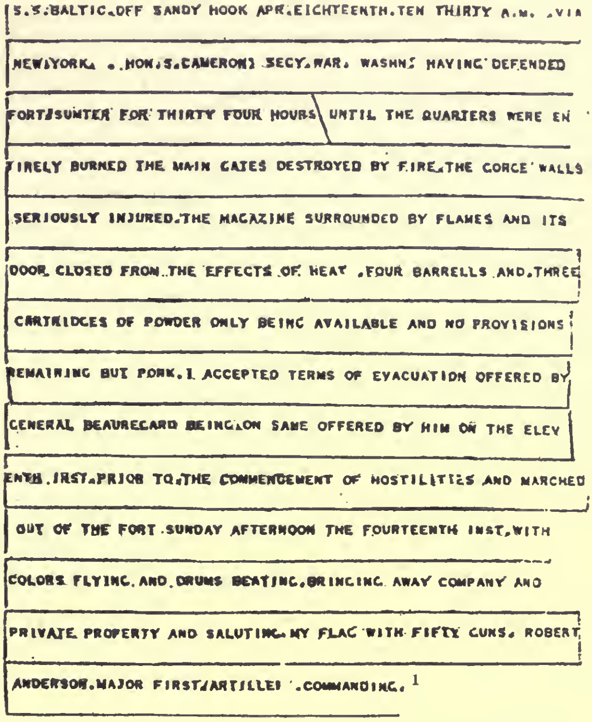
[1] "New-York Times," April 16, 1861.

[2] *Resolved:* That this Chamber, alive to the perils which have been gathering around our cherished form of government and menacing its overthrow, has witnessed with lively satisfaction the determination of the President to maintain the Constitution and vindicate the supremacy of government and law at every hazard. . . .

That the United States Government be recommended and urged to blockade the ports of such States, or any other State that shall join them, and that this measure is demanded for defence in war, as also for the protection to the commerce of the United States against these so-called "privateers" invited to enroll under the authority of such States. Resolutions, New-York Chamber of Commerce, April 19, 1861.



S.S. BALTIC. OFF SANDY HOOK APR. EICHTEENTH. TEN THIRTY A.M. VIA
NEW YORK. . HON. S. CAMERON, SECY. WAR. WASHN. HAVING DEFENDED
FORT SUMTER FOR THIRTY FOUR HOURS UNTIL THE QUARTERS WERE EN
TIRELY BURNED THE MAIN CATES DESTROYED BY FIRE. THE CORCE WALLS
SERIOUSLY INJURED. THE MACAZINE SURROUNDED BY FLAMES AND ITS
DOOR CLOSED FROM THE EFFECTS OF HEAT. FOUR BARRELLS AND THREE
CARTRIDCES OF POWDER ONLY BEINC AVAILABLE AND NO PROVISIONS
REMAINING BUT PORK. I ACCEPTED TERMS OF EVACUATION OFFERED BY
CENERAL BEAUREGARD BEINC ON SAME OFFERED BY HIM ON THE ELEV
ENTH. INST. PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES AND MARCHED
OUT OF THE FORT SUNDAY AFTERNOON THE FOURTEENTH INST. WITH
COLORS FLYINC. AND DRUMS BEATINC. BRINCINC AWAY COMPANY AND
PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SALUTINC MY FLAC WITH FIFTY CUNS. ROBERT
ANDERSON. MAJOR FIRST ARTILLERY. COMMANDINC.[1]

The march of the first New England troops through the city, to the defense of the capital, is graphically described by the Rev. Dr. Dix.[3]

They came in at night; and it was understood that, after breakfasting at the Astor House, the march would be resumed. By nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd had assembled about the hotel: Broadway, from Barclay to Fulton street, and the lower end of Park Row, were occupied by a dense mass of human beings, all watching the front entrance, at which the regiment was to file out. From side to side, from wall to wall, extended that innumerable host, silent as the grave, expectant, something unspeakable in the faces. It was the dead, deep hush before the thunderstorm. At last a low murmur was heard; it sounded somewhat like a gasp of men in suspense; and the cause was, that the soldiers had appeared, their leading files descending the steps. By the twinkle of their bayonets above the heads of the crowd their course could be traced out into the open street in front. Formed, at last, in column, they stood, the band at the head; and the word was given, "March!" Still dead silence prevailed. Then the drums rolled out the time—the regiment was in motion. And then the band, bursting into full volume, struck up—what other tune could the Massachusetts men have chosen?—"Yankee Doodle." I caught about two bars and a half of the old music, not more; for instantly there arose a sound such as many a man never heard in all his life, and never will hear; such as is never heard more than once in a lifetime. Not more awful is the thunder of heaven as, with sudden peal, it smites into silence all lesser sounds, and, rolling through the vault above us, fills earth and sky with the shock of its terrible voice. One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation. We saw the heads of armed men, the gleam of their weapons, the regimental colors, all moving on, pageant-like; but naught could we hear save that hoarse, heavy surge—one general acclaim, one wild shout of joy and hope, one endless cheer, rolling up and down, from side to side, above, below, to right, to left: the voice of approval, of consent, of unity in act and will. No one who saw and heard could doubt how New-York was going.

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[1] The original despatch was printed by Morse's telegraph, and the ribbon-like strips were pasted on a sheet of paper in order to be more convenient and for better preservation. The above illustration is made from a photograph of the original in the possession of General E. D. Townsend, U. S. A.
EDITOR.

[2] The common council of the city of New-York "do ordain that the sum of one million dollars is hereby appropriated for the purpose of procuring the necessary equipment and outfit of the military force of the City of New-York, now engaged, or which may hereafter be engaged, in the service of the State of New-York in pursuance of the requisition of the President of the United States, and to provide for the aid and support of the families of such of the officers and men so engaged as may require the same," to be disbursed by the Union Defense Committee.

[3] Memoirs of John A. Dix, II: 10.

ALEXANDER T. STEWART'S RESIDENCE.[1]

The resistance to the passage of the Sixth Massachusetts through Baltimore, on the 19th of April, fanned the public excitement to the verge of madness. The news that descendants of freemen who fell at Lexington had been slain, on the anniversary of that memorable fight, while marching to the defense of the capital, sent a thrill of indignation through the North. The following call had already received the signatures of leading men without regard to politics:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The darkest period in our nation's history has arrived; we are passing through the first fearful ordeal to which our experiment of popular institutions has ever been subjected. Our patriot sires struggled through a long and bloody conflict to secure for their children the blessings we have enjoyed, and labored to frame a government that would protect the rights and foster healthy progress; they provided for frequent elections and a legal method of amending the Constitution, thereby rendering resistance to the laws, or revolution against the Government, not only unnecessary, but morally and legally criminal. Notwithstanding this wise and equitable method of correcting mistakes in policy, improving the laws, or altering the compact by peaceful means, misguided men have fomented passion and prejudice to such a degree that it has ripened into treason and rebellion, so that our once prosperous nation trembles to its center. The delusion, dream, and empty hope that the war clouds that skirted the southern horizon might pass away has failed, and the dreaded catastrophe of an armed conflict is upon us. The time has come when political differences should give way to a patriotism which knows no party but our country, recognizes no revolution but through the ballot-box, and acknowledges no man as brother who refuses allegiance to the Government. All good citizens who prize liberty with order, over usurpation and anarchy, are invited to assemble in mass convention, to give expression to the views of the City of New-York in the present emergency.

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[1] This superb mansion, on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fourth street, at the foot of Murray Hill, was erected by Alexander T. Stewart, the millionaire New-York merchant. It is built of white marble, and is inclosed by a heavy coping and railing of the same material. The first story has marble floors, and an extension on the north side was used as a picture-gallery. The staircases are also of marble, and the ceilings are very lofty. At the time of its erection it was the finest private residence in the country. Mr. Stewart lived here until his death, April 10, 1876, and the property was finally sold in 1891 to the Manhattan Club, which now occupies it. EDITOR.

That the government was fully alive to the gravity of the situation may be seen from the language of Mr. Stanton in a letter to General Dix: "If there be any remedy,—any shadow of hope to preserve this government from utter and hopeless extinction,—it must come from New-York without delay."

On Saturday, April 20, at three o'clock P. M., with the peril of the nation fresh in their minds, more than one hundred thousand people assembled in "mass convention" at Union Square. The meeting was presided over by the Hon. John A. Dix, with eighty-seven vice-presidents selected from the solid men of the community.[1] Burning words by great orators sank deep into the hearts of the people. The heroes of Sumter appeared for a moment at each of the several stands, and were received with shouts of welcome. Among those who exhorted

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[1] *Vice-presidents of the mass meeting, April* 20, 1861:

Peter Cooper
W. M. Evarts
George Bancroft
Stewart Brown
Henry Grinnell
W. E. Dodge
L. G. B. Cannon
Frederick Bronson
D. H. Arnold
R. H. M'Curdy
Wyllis Blackstone
Chas. H. Russell
John C. Jones
Isaac N. Phelps
James A. Briggs
Henry S. Vail
W. Z. Maclay
George Folsom
Isaac Ferris
D. R. Martin
William Bryce
Peter Lorillard
S. Livingston
W. W. DeForest
Daniel Leroy
Charles Christmas
Charles A. Secor
Luther Bradish
Morris Ketchum
Greene C. Bronson
W. C. Bryant
John A. King
John J. Phelps
Moses Taylor
Watts Sherman
John D. Wolfe
F. A. Conkling
Edwin Dobbs
Joseph W. Alsop
Nathaniel Hayden
Robert Ray
David Headley
James Low
John D. Jones
A. B. Baylis
Frederick Kapp
Andrew Carrigan
J. Auchincloss
William Chauncey
A. S. Hewitt
Erastus Brooks
W. H. Osborn
Anson Herrick
S. L. Mitchill
J. B. Varnum
John T. Hoffman
Fernando Wood
Jonathan Sturgis
William B. Astor
Pelatiah Perit
James Boorman
R. B. Minturn
O. D. F. Grant
Edwin Croswell
Seth B. Hunt
A. T. Williamson
Joseph Stuart
E. D. Morgan
John Lloyd
Benjamin L. Swan
Robert J. Taylor
John Ewen
William C. Bryce
Elnathan Thorne
Alexander Duncan
A. C. Kingsland
M. Franklin
H. B. Claflin
S. B. Althause
Joseph Seligman
A. A. Vanderpool
Theodore Fowler
Augustus Schell
William Hall
Hamilton Fish
A. T. Stewart
John J. Astor

Secretaries:

J. Smith Homans
George A. Vogel
Sheppard Gandy
J. T. Johnson
John Bigelow
Charles B. Norton
C. H. Marshall, Jr.
Fletcher Westray
James G. DeForest
Daniel D. Lord

the people to gird up their loins for the coming struggle was a senator from the Pacific coast, whose eloquence was only equaled by his fame as a soldier. The gallant Baker—the Patrick Henry of his day—spoke as one who had the courage of his convictions. He had led a New-York regiment to the gates of the city of Mexico, and within a few weeks was destined to fall in action upon the bloody and disastrous field of Ball's Bluff. But in 1861 there was but little thought of the morrow. Every other man was about to become a soldier, with a soldier's light-heartedness, satisfaction with the present, and hopefulness for the future. And so the "darling Seventh," the "steady Twelfth," the "gay Seventy-first," "the Highlanders," and "the rollicking Sixty-ninth" marched down Broadway, amid volleys of applause and miles of waving flags, to save the country.

If the impending calamity of civil war found the government of the United States in a state of transition as regarded its personnel, it was met by New-York with all the firmness and ability of a substantial State administration and the strength of a patriotic majority in the city. At Albany that sterling citizen, Governor Edwin D. Morgan, stood ready to second the new president; he was aided in matters of detail by an efficient staff, of which Chester A. Arthur—the future chief magistrate—was an excellent type. In the metropolis municipal affairs were directed partly by officials who could not grasp great national issues, but contented themselves with the preservation of local order.[1] The men of power and influence in the community, with true public spirit and patriotic impulse, rose *en masse*, and, exercising a characteristic American talent for organization, put themselves directly in touch with the federal executive. Through the channels of trade, manufactures, and the learned professions, popular subscriptions were made to a fund for the equipment and temporary subsistence of troops hastening to the defense of the capital. In an inconceivably short time an immense sum of money was placed at the government's disposal, and the tramp of the Union legions was heard from Maine to California.[2] Among individuals who devoted themselves faithfully to the Union cause was the well-known Thurlow Weed. Famous as a political leader, he now came to the front as a philanthropist and counselor. He has left behind him interesting memoirs of the war time, which show how important were the services of men like Weed, Simeon Draper, and Henry W. Bellows, who, without glittering insignia or martial title, labored early and late for the cause, furnishing "Victuals," "Armour," and the "Sinewes of Warre." An example may here be related. Mr. Weed was summoned to the White House from New-York by a telegram dated February 18, 1863. On the following day he called on President Lincoln, who said: "Mr. Weed, we are in a tight place. Money for legitimate purposes is needed immediately; but there is no appropriation from which it can be lawfully taken. I did n't know how to raise it, and so I sent for you." "How much is required?" asked Mr. Weed. "Fifteen thousand dollars," said the President. "Can you get it?" "If you must have it at once, give me two lines to that effect." Mr. Lincoln turned to his desk and wrote a few lines on a slip of paper. Handing it to Mr. Weed, he said, "Will that do?" "It will," said Mr. Weed; "the money will be at your disposal to-morrow morning." On the next train Mr. Weed left Washington, and before five o'clock that

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[1] MAYOR'S OFFICE, NEW-YORK, April 15, 1861.

To the People of the City of New-York: As Chief Magistrate, representing the whole people, I feel compelled at this crisis to call upon them to avoid excitement and turbulence. Whatever may be or may have been individual positions or opinion on questions of public policy, let us remember that our country now trembles upon the brink of a precipice, and that it requires a patriotic and honest effort to prevent its final destruction. Let us ignore the past, rising superior to partizan considerations, and rally to the restoration of the Constitution and the Union as they existed in the days and in the spirit of our fathers. Whether this is to be accomplished by fratricidal warfare or by concession, conciliation, and sacrifice, men may differ, but all will admit that here at least harmony and peace should prevail. Thus may we, under the guidance of Divine Providence, set an example of peace and good will throughout our extended country. In this spirit and with this view, I call upon the people of New-York, irrespective of all other considerations or prejudices, to unite in obedience to the laws, in support of the public peace, in the preservation of order, and in the protection of property.

(Signed) FERNANDO WOOD, *Mayor.*

[2] The "New-York Herald," April 29, 1861, makes up a table of voluntary contributions by cities, counties, and individuals in the North, "all $1000 or over, which sum up to $11,230,000, of which New-York city gives $2,155,000, and the New-York

Julia G Tyler

State legislature $3,000,000 more. And all this has been subscribed since the fifteenth of April.

"Of sums below a thousand dollars subscribed by private individuals, and of which no mention is made in this statement, it is no exaggeration to set down the aggregate at $5,000,000. If we take the average expenditure of each volunteer of the 250,000 men who are now drilling and under arms in the free States at $10, it will give us a further amount of $2,500,000. Besides these sums we may put down $5,000,000 more for the contributions made by families toward the more comfortable outfit and equipment of such of their members as have taken up arms in defense of the national flag, and of casual sums given on the spur of the moment to applicants needing aid, in rifles, money, or clothing, and of which no notice has been taken, the total is probably not far short of another $5,000,000. These different sums foot up: Contributions of $1000 and upward, $11,230,000; contributions below $1000, $5,000,000; expenditure of volunteers ($10 each), $2,500,000; contributions of families to outfit, $5,000,000; casual contributions in money and clothing, $5,000,000; total, $28,730,000, making an aggregate of nearly $29,000,000 spontaneously donated to the government in less than a fortnight.

"Thirteen banks of the city of New-York contributed nearly half a million of dollars for the defense of the government. Added to the previous subscription of $250,000 by the Broadway Bank, these contributions amount, thus far, to $715,000, divided as follows: Bank of Commerce, T. A. Stevens, president, $100,000; New-York Exchange Bank, S. Van Duzer, president, $10,000; Mechanics' Bank, S. Knapp, president, $25,000; National Bank, J. Gallatin, president, $25,000; Merchants' Bank, A. E. Silliman, president, $25,000; Manhattan Bank, J. M. Morrison, president, $25,000; Bank of the Republic, E. H. Lowry, cashier, $60,000; Phœnix Bank, M. P. Bryson, cashier, $25,000; Bank of New-York, A. P. Halsey, president, $50,000; Bank of North America, J. Seymour, president, $20,000; Bank of America, J. Punnell, president, $50,000; Bank of the State of New-York, R. Withers, president, $25,000; Shoe and Leather Bank, A. V. Stone, president, $25,000; Broadway Bank, $250,000; total, $715,000."

afternoon the slip of paper which he carried in his pocket presented this appearance:

WASHINGTON, February 19, 1863.

Mr. Weed — The matters I spoke to you about are important. I hope you will not neglect them. Truly yours,
A. LINCOLN.

Charles Knapp	$1000.	Novelty Iron Works, Horace Allen, Pres't	1000.
Marshall O. Roberts	1000.	James I. Sanford	1000.
Alexander T. Stewart	1000.	Spofford & Tileston	1000.
Isaac Bell	1000.	John F. Winslow	1000.
William H. Aspinwall	1000.	Secor & Co.	1000.
Cornelius Vanderbilt	1000.	P. S. Forbes	1000.
James Mitchell	1000.	Russell Sturgis and H. W. Hubbell	1000.
H. B. Cromwell	1000.		

One of the most important and immediate results of the popular agitation following the fall of Sumter was the organization of the "Union Defense Committee of the City of New-York." It comprised some of the most prominent men in trade and the learned professions.[1] It became the almoner of the municipality for the emergency, and a veritable Aladdin's lamp through which, at a touch, regiments were armed, equipped, and transported to the nearest rendezvous; steamers of the largest size were chartered as transports, or, in some cases, as additions to the naval forces of the United States. The local facilities, the business training, and the unlimited credit of the committee, combined with a loyal enthusiasm, accomplished wonders. Nor was this patriotic zeal without its embarrassments. The committee, having turned on the stream of aid and comfort, undertook, in some cases, to direct the war department in its use, to urge the president to greater haste in crushing the rebellion, and inadvertently to usurp the executive functions of the governor. The federal authorities declined to move with undue haste, but their determination was conveyed to the committee in a way to strengthen rather than to impair the good feeling which it was important to maintain between the Union people and the government. Thenceforward their relations were mutually satisfactory.[2] The Union Defense Committee was organized April 22, 1861, and adjourned *sine die* April 30, 1862. During that period it disbursed more than a million dollars for the benefit of New-York volunteers and the support of soldiers' widows and orphans.

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[1] The original members of the Union Defense Committee were: John A. Dix, chairman; Simeon Draper, vice-chairman; William M. Evarts, secretary; Theodore Dehon, treasurer; Moses Taylor, Richard M. Blatchford, Edwards Pierrepont, Alexander T. Stewart, Samuel Sloan, John Jacob Astor, John J. Cisco, James S. Wadsworth, Isaac Bell, James Boorman, Charles H. Marshall, Robert H. M'Curdy, Moses H. Grinnell, Royal Phelps, William E. Dodge, Greene C. Bronson, Hamilton Fish, William F. Havemeyer, Charles H. Russell, James T. Brady, Rudolph A. Witthaus, Abiel A. Low, Prosper M. Wetmore, A. C. Richards; the Mayor, the Comptroller, the Presidents of the Boards of Aldermen and Councilmen.

[2] "With a generous frankness, which confers honor upon the stations which they fill, the chief executive officers of the national government and the distinguished commanding general of the army have been pleased to say that the safety of the national capital and the preservation of the archives of the government at a moment when both were seriously menaced, may fairly be attributed to the prompt and efficient action of the State and City of New-York, united with the vigorous efforts of the noble Commonwealth of Massachusetts, devoted to the same patriotic objects." Report of Simeon Draper to Union Defense Committee.

Soon after General Scott's retirement from active service, a delegation from the Union Defense Committee, headed by the Hon. Hamilton Fish, called upon the old hero at the Brevoort House to present an address embodying the sentiments of love and respect which all Americans, and especially the citizens of New-York, entertained for him. Judge Edwards Pierrepont also made appropriate remarks, comprising this extract: "The advents of true patriots and great men are always separated by long intervals of years; but few have ever appeared; and in the whole circuit of the sun, scarce one who had the courage to resign his power until death called for his crown, his scepter, or his sword. It will be the crowning glory of your honored life, that after remaining at the soldier's post until all imminent danger was over, . . . you had the wisdom from on high to retire at the fitting hour, and thus to make the glories of your setting sun ineffably more bright for the radiant luster which they shed upon the young and dawning hope of your beloved land. . . ."

On the seventeenth of April, Major-General Sandford, commanding the First Division N. G. S. N. Y., received orders from Albany "to detail one regiment of eight hundred men, or two regiments amounting to the same number, for immediate service." The detail fell to the Seventh Regiment, and on Friday, the nineteenth, at 3 P. M., it marched down Broadway with nine hundred and ninety-one men, bound for the capital of the nation. More than three months previously the regimental board of officers had "resolved that, should the exigency arise, we feel confident in having the Commandant express to the Governor of the State the desire of this regiment to perform such duty as he may prescribe."[1]

The march to Cortlandt street was in the nature of a triumphal pageant. The entire city was present to wish the first regiment of the first city in the land God-speed. One who marched with the Seventh that day[2] afterward wrote, "Was there ever such an ovation? When Trajan returned conqueror, dragging barbaric kings at his chariot wheels, Rome vomited its people into the streets, and that glorious column that will ever be immortal was raised. But what greeted the Emperor at his outset? The marble walls of Broadway were never before rent with such cheers as greeted us when we passed. The façades of the buildings were so thick with people that it seemed as if an army of black ants were marching, after their resistless fashion, through the city, and had scaled the houses. Handkerchiefs fluttered in the air like myriads of white butterflies. An avenue of brave, honest faces smiled upon us as we passed, and sent a sunshine into our hearts that lives there still."

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[1] General Scott wrote from Washington, January 19, 1861, to Major-General Sandford, with regard to this resolution: "Perhaps no regiment or company can be brought here from a distance without producing hurtful jealousies in this vicinity. If there be an exception, it is the Seventh Infantry of the City of New-York, which has become somewhat national, and is held, deservedly, in the highest respect."

[2] Fitz-James O'Brien.

John L. Worden

If in these days of militia reform the Seventh maintains its supremacy, in those times of local train-bands, when military efficiency of State troops was the exception, the regiment was, indeed, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of its countrymen. Its successful movement to the defense of Washington, by way of Annapolis, under the wise leadership of Colonel Lefferts, is a matter of history. It will, perhaps, never be known how much those "one thousand of the flower of the city of New-York" contributed by their presence to save the capital from hostile occupation. It was sufficient that President Lincoln could announce that "the Seventh Regiment and the Massachusetts Regiment are now in Washington. There was great need of re-enforcements, but Washington may be considered safe for the country and the Constitution."[1]

While the Seventh was setting out on its mission of succor, other regiments were busily engaged in preparation for the march. The next day the Sixth, Twelfth, and Seventy-first regiments of the militia embarked for Fortress Monroe, and on April 23, the Eighth, Thirteenth, Twenty-eighth, and Sixty-ninth[2] took up the route for Washington.

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[1] WAR DEPARTMENT, A. G. O.,
S. O. 36: WASHINGTON, May 30, 1861.

The commanding officer of the Seventh Regiment of New-York Militia will proceed with his regiment to the city of New-York, where it will be mustered out of the service of the United States by Lieutenant Milton Cogswell, Eighth Infantry. It is the desire of the War Department, in relinquishing the services of this gallant regiment, to make known the satisfaction that is felt at the prompt and patriotic manner in which it responded to the call for men to defend the Capital when it was believed to have been in peril, and to acknowledge the important service it rendered by appearing here in an hour of dark and trying necessity. The time for which it had engaged to serve has now expired. The service which it was expected to perform has been handsomely accomplished, and its members may return to their native city with the assurance that its services are gratefully appreciated by all good and loyal citizens, while the Government is equally confident that when the country again calls upon them, its appeal will not be made in vain to the young men of New-York. By order, L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

TO COLONEL LEFFERTS,
Commanding 7th Regt., Camp Cameron.

[2] "The N. Y. Sixty-ninth (Irish) regiment, for refusing to turn out on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, was deprived of its colors. Though never actually disbanded, it had not since been doing duty. While occupied in getting other regiments off, Colonel Michael Corcoran brought me a letter of introduction from Archbishop

All were escorted to the transports by throngs of excited citizens, many of whom were sending their sons to battle for the right as they saw it. Everywhere in the North there was a grim determination to uphold "the old flag" and support the president to that end. Nevertheless, the course of the federal authorities in not at once opening the usual route, by way of Baltimore, brought out an indignant remonstrance from certain impatient patriots. Their views were set forth in an "open letter" addressed to the president and signed by George Law, a wealthy contractor and ship-owner. It read as follows:

> The public mind is already excited to the highest point that this state of affairs has been so long tolerated; and the people are determined that free and uninterrupted communication with the seat of government shall be immediately established, not by circuitous routes, but by the direct lines of communication that they have heretofore traveled over, and it is demanded of the government that they at once take measures to open and establish those lines of communication, and that they protect and preserve them from any further interruption. Unless this is done, the people will be compelled to take it into their own hands, let the consequences be what they may, and let them fall where they will. It is certainly most desirable that this be done through the regularly constituted authorities at Washington; and the government is earnestly requested to act without delay.

The Union Defense Committee also advised the president (April 21) that—"On behalf of the Committee of the Citizens charged with the due attention to public interests, and invested with this power by the mass meeting of Saturday, we take leave respectfully to represent to the Government at Washington that intense solicitude prevails here for the safety of the city of Washington, and that there is an earnest demand that a safe and speedy communication should be kept open between the seat of government and the loyal States. Whatever force of men or supply of means is needed to occupy and control the necessary points in the State of Maryland can be furnished from or through New-York. The energy, the enthusiasm, the power in every form of our people it is impossible to overrate. But their demands upon the action of all the public authorities are proportionate. The absolute obliteration of all party lines among our whole population, and their perfect union in enthusiastic patriotism, make it in our judgment highly expedient that there should be present in this city persons who can, in case of emergency, represent the

Hughes. The Colonel said that the murder of Massachusetts men in the streets of Baltimore had greatly excited his men, and if the colors of the Sixty-ninth were restored and the services of the regiment accepted, he would be ready to march, with one thousand rank and file, in twenty-four hours. I informed Governor Morgan, at Albany, by telegraph, that the Sixty-ninth regiment, if restored to its former status, would immediately take the field. A few hours brought me a despatch accepting the services of the Sixty-ninth, and warmly thanking Colonel Corcoran, his officers and men, for their promptitude and patriotism. The Governor's despatch was read in the evening to the regiment, and received with great enthusiasm. True to his promise, Colonel Corcoran marched through Broadway, amid enthusiastic acclamations, on the following day to embark for Annapolis." Thurlow Weed, in "The Galaxy," IX. 834.

War, Navy, and Treasury departments in giving the authority of the Government to movements of troops and vessels, the stoppage of steamers, the provision of arms, and the many steps which may need to be taken without an opportunity of communicating with Washington. We feel to-day that our Government and the city of Washington are in a hostile country, with communication embarrassed and in danger of being wholly cut off. If disaster happens from this cause, the excitement of our people may lead them into strong expressions of discontent, and the present happy state of public sentiment in universal support of the administration may be succeeded by a reaction of feeling greatly to be deplored."

The great capitalist and steamship proprietor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, placed some of his finest vessels at the disposal of the government. When the terrible Merrimac threatened to destroy the Union fleet in the James River, the commodore fitted out his largest and strongest steamer, the Vanderbilt, to operate against the Confederate ram, and presented her to the government. In remembrance of this princely gift, Congress subsequently voted a gold medal to the donor.

Closely following the Union Square meeting of the men of New-York came the action of her noble women. A circular addressed "to the Women of New-York, and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of Wounds and Sickness in the Army," was published. It set forth the importance of system and concentration to effect the best results in that field.[1] It was the germ of the most important auxiliary to the medical department of the Union armies which the war created — the Sanitary Commission.

Out of this conference grew the "Woman's Central Association of

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[1] *To the Women of New-York, and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of Wounds and Sickness in the Army:*

The importance of systematizing and concentrating the spontaneous and earnest efforts now making by the women of New-York for the supply of richer medical aid to our army through its present campaign, must be obvious to all reflecting persons. Numerous societies, working without concert, organization, or head — without any direct understanding with the official authorities — without any positive instructions as to the immediate or future wants of the army — are liable to waste their enthusiasm in disproportionate efforts, to overlook some claims and overdo others, while they give unnecessary trouble in official quarters, by the variety and irregularity of their proffers of help or their inquiries for guidance. As no existing organization has a right to claim precedence over any other, or could properly assume to lead in this noble cause, where all desire to be first, it is proposed by the undersigned, members of the various circles now actively engaged in this work, that the women of New-York should meet in the Cooper Institute on Monday next, at 11 o'clock A. M., to confer together, and to appoint a General Committee, with power to organize the benevolent purposes of all into a common movement. (Signed) Mesdames J. A. Dix, H. Fish, L. C. Jones, E. Robinson, W. Kirkland, W. H. Aspinwall, R. Minturn, J. B. Johnson, J. J. Roosevelt, A. Bininger, W. C. Bryant, R. L. Stuart, D. D. Field, William Astor, Jr., M. Grinnell, H. B. Smith, R. Hitchcock, F. F. Marbury, S. F. B. Morse, C. P. Daly, C. Swords, G. Holbrooke, D. Adams, H. Baylis, H. W. Bellows, Stewart Brown, John D. Wolfe, A. Potter, E. Fish, C. A. Seward, S. Osgood, J. Sherwood, E. Bayard, J. Jones, J. Betts, W. Ward, H. E. Eaton, W. M. Evarts, G. L. Schuyler, P. Cooper, T. Tileston, F. S. Wiley, H. Webster, S. J. Baker, R. Gracie, M. Catlin, B. R. Winthrop, G. Stuyvesant, G. Curtis, A. R. Eno, W. F. Carey, A. Hewitt, R. Campbell, H. K. Bogart, C. Butler, C. E. Lane, M. D. Swett, R. M. Blatchford, L. W. Bridgham, A. W. Bradford, W. H. Lee, P. Godwin, H. J. Raymond, S. L. M. Barlow, J. Auchincloss, M. Trimble, S. B. Collins, R. H. Bowne, B. R. McIlvaine, N. Lawrence, J. Reid, C. Newbold, J. B. Collins, J. C. Smith, P. Spofford, Cyrus W. Field, P. Townsend, L. Baker, Lewis M. Rutherfurd, Charles King, Miss Marquand, Miss Minturn, and others.

Relief." Upon the advice of the Rev. Dr. Bellows, a committee proceeded to Washington to confer with the war department as to the needs of the service, and the best method of supplying them. This committee represented the Woman's Central Association of Relief for the Sick and Wounded of the Army, the advisory committee of the Boards of Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospitals of New-York, and the New-York Medical Association for furnishing Hospital Supplies in aid of the Army. Out of their suggestions arose that wonderful institution for alleviating the horrors of war, known as the "United States Sanitary Commission."

Anne C L Botta

"If pure benevolence was ever organized and utilized into beneficence, the name of the institution is the Sanitary Commission. It is a standing answer to Samson's riddle: 'Out of the strong came forth sweetness.' Out of the very depths of the agony of this cruel and bloody war springs this beautiful system, built of the noblest and divinest attributes of the human soul. Amidst all the daring and enduring which this war has developed, amidst all the magnanimity of which it has shown the race capable, the daring, the endurance, the greatness of soul, which have been discovered among the men and women who have given their lives to this work, shine as brightly as any on the battle-field—in some respects even more brightly. . . . Glimpses of this agency are familiar to our people: but not till the history of its inception, progress, and results is calmly and adequately written out and spread before the public, will any idea be formed of the magnitude and importance of the work which it has done. Nor even then. Never until every soldier whose flickering life it has gently steadied into continuance, whose waning reason it has softly lulled into quiet, whose chilled blood it has warmed into healthful play, whose failing frame it has nourished into strength, whose fainting heart it has comforted with sympathy, — never, until every full soul has poured out its story of gratitude and thanksgiving, will the record be complete: but long before that time . . . comes the Blessed Voice, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' An approximate estimate has been made from which it can be stated that the gifts of the women of the country, made through the Sanitary Commission, exceed in value the sum of $7,000,000, and the total cash received by its treasurer to October 1, 1863, was $857,715.33."

The promptness and determination with which New-York took her stand in the great trouble surprised and disappointed the South, which had counted upon at least a negative course by reason of mutual commercial interests. No longer resting under that delusion, the Southern press poured forth vials of wrath after this fashion: "The insane fury of New-York arises from purely mercenary motives. She is concerned about the golden eggs which are laid for her by the Southern goose with the sword. Let us assure her we have more fear of her smiles than of her frowns. New-York will be remembered with especial hatred by the South to the end of time. Boston we have always known where to find; but this New-York, which has never turned against us till the hour of trial, and is now moving heaven and earth for our destruction, shall be a marked city to the end of time." Even before the great clash of arms, the newspapers of both sections had opened fire with the most bitter word-weapons and the most startling war rumors conceivable.[1] It was to be their harvest-time—to reap while others sowed.

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[1] "WAR AND RUMORS OF WAR.—A gentleman of Richmond, Va., was in New-York. The scenes which he witnessed in the streets reminded him of the descriptions of the Reign of Terror in Paris. Nothing was wanting but the bloody guillotine to make the two pictures identical. The violent and diabolical temper everywhere conspicuous showed but too clearly whither all things are tending in the commercial metropolis. A spirit is cooked which can only be laid in blood. The desperadoes of that great city are now in the ascendant. At present they are animated by very bloody designs against the South. They have been persuaded or urged by hunger to believe that by enlisting for the war they will win bread and honor and riches. By-and-by they may come to reflect there is an abundance of meat and bread and inexhaustible supplies of money all around them—in the banks, the palatial residences, in the fire-proof safes of the princely merchants. They may consider that all this meat and bread and money may be won with fewer risks of cracked pates and bloody noses than the meager, unsavory food of the poor South. That they have only to demand to have it. That they have as much right as men and Christians to call for it and help themselves as to be compelled to travel five or six hundred miles to plunder a poor people who never did them any harm. . . . We do not know that their quick wits have yet comprehended all the advantages of their position. But they will not be very slow in finding that they are masters of the situation. They have only, in swaggering along Broadway and looking into some of the magnificent stores that grace that vaunted street, or stepping into one of the banks, or looking over the list of the recipients of specie by the last steamer from California, or the names of the subscribers to the last Government loan, the Grinnells, King's Sons, &c., to be convinced that a military contribution on New-York would yield a hundred-fold more than they could hope to realize in ten bloody and desperate campaigns in the South." "Richmond Whig," April 22, 1861.

"WASHINGTON, April 27.—A gentleman from Richmond this morning gives some information of the feeling prevalent there. He represents it as a perfect reign of terror, and an excitement that he never saw paraleled. The troops in the city he thinks a fine, hardy body of men, but ignorant beyond belief. It is upon the ignorance of these men that the leaders play. Some of the statements he heard made would hardly be credited as the assertions of sane men. He listened to one man who publicly stated that the Seventh Regiment had been cut to pieces in the streets of Annapolis, and *that he himself saw* more than one hundred of their dead bodies lying in the streets of that city. Another man he heard assure the crowd that the Massachusetts vagabonds (her glorious volunteers) had been quartered in the Capitol at Washington, and had amused themselves by running their bayonets through the pictures which adorned it, and that the rich hangings of the different rooms have been pulled down and made into blankets and wrappers for the use of the troops. Another man, who was organizing a corps of infantry, told them they had nothing to do but to march to glory and wealth. 'What,' said he, 'could a Northern army do on our sterile hills? They would starve to death. But you,' he continued, 'have but to march to Washington, and lay that in ashes; then to Philadelphia, which is rich in all kinds of wealth; from that through all the North; there is a village every five miles, and every village has a bank, and every bank has a vault of specie, and you have but to help yourselves.'" "N. Y. Times," May 1, 1861.

The severe strain to which republican institutions were about to be exposed in America became the subject of great interest to our European neighbors, and the leading British newspapers did not fail to appreciate its value. Therefore a new order of Bohemian made its appearance, simultaneously, in New-York, Washington, and Richmond. As a rule, the foreign war correspondent wrote with comparative impartiality. Now and then a superior sort of person, like "Bull Run Russell," appeared upon the scene and essayed to make his portfolio carry weight with the credentials of an envoy extraordinary, but, lacking ordinary tact, contrived to have himself recalled early in the strife. A more discreet ambassador was, apparently, the representative of the "Illustrated London News." It is interesting, after many years, to see ourselves as an intelligent stranger saw us then. Writing in the last days of May, 1861, he says:

> I could easily believe myself to be in Paris, or some other city devoted to military display, instead of New-York, the commercial emporium of the North. From morning to night nothing is heard but the sound of the drum or the martial strains from trumpet and bugle, as regiment after regiment passes on its way to the seat of war through streets crowded with a maddened population. All trade is at a standstill. Store after store down Broadway has been turned into the headquarters of Anderson's Zouaves, Wilson's Boys, the Empire City Guard, and hosts of corps too numerous or too eccentric in their names for me to recollect. Verily, a cosmopolitan army is assembled here. As one walks he is jostled by soldiers dressed in the uniforms of the Zouaves de la Garde, the Chasseurs à Pied, Infanterie de la Ligne, and other French regiments — so great apparently is the admiration of our cousins for everything Gallic. I must confess I should like to see more nationality. In justice, however, to the men, I cannot do otherwise than express my unqualified approval of the material out of which the North is to make her patriot army. Many of those I have seen marching through the streets appear already to have served in the field, so admirably do they bear themselves in their new rôles. The very children have become tainted with the military epidemic, and little, toddling Zouaves, three and four years old, strut, armed to the teeth, at their nurses' apron strings. As I write I have a corps of chasseurs, composed of all the small boys in the hotel, exercising and skirmishing in the corridor outside my room. . . . There is not a house that does not display Union colours of some kind; there is not a steeple ever so lofty that is not surmounted by a star-spangled banner; there is not a man nor woman in the city that does not wear a patriotic badge of some kind. It is a mighty uprising of a united people determined to protect their flag to the last.[1]

"Early in the summer of 1861, when things were rapidly developing toward the rebellion, a new power, not hitherto exercised in this country, was exerted for the public safety. Persons were arbitrarily arrested and confined under military guard on evidence satisfactory to the general government that they were guilty of acts of a disloyal and dangerous character. It devolved upon the secretary of state in the first instance to indicate who should be thus put in confinement. He made the arrests through his marshals, and they were turned over to

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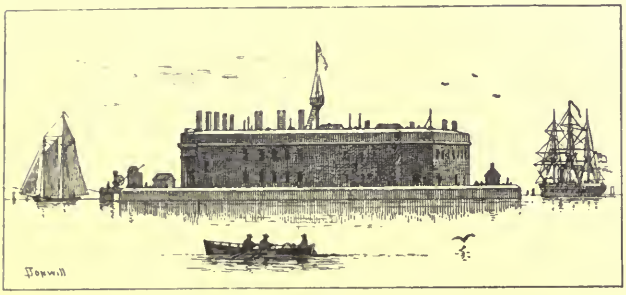
[1] "Illustrated London News," June, 1861.

General Scott, who held them at Fort Lafayette in New-York harbor."[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Burke, U. S. army, was assigned, July 19, 1861, to command Forts Hamilton and Lafayette. He was of the Roman centurion type of soldier, who obeyed orders implicitly, taking but little thought as to their legality, and serving his country in the clear conviction that the king could do no wrong.[2]

One of the earliest duties devolving upon the president was to counteract, as far as practicable, the strong influences brought to bear by the South upon the governments of Great Britain and France to recognize the Confederacy, or at least to break off the friendly relations with the United States which existed at the outbreak of secession. He determined to ask three eminent citizens—Archbishop John Hughes of New-York, Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio, and Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, then abroad—to represent the general government. Archbishop Hughes accepted the invitation of the president, with the condition that his friend Thurlow Weed should be included in the commission, in an advisory capacity. Thus the powerful combination of church and state, of war and diplomacy, made it an ideal embassy. These wise men established themselves alternately at London and Paris, mingled with the leaders of the people, and cultivated the society of the royal and imperial premiers. They happened to be in the right place when the irritating episode of the Trent occurred, and war between England, France, and America seemed imminent. It was averted by only a hair's-breadth, and in the light of later developments as to the inside history of the rebellion, it would seem that the American people owe President Lincoln's peace commission a heavy debt of gratitude.



FORT LAFAYETTE, 1861-65.

The third year of the civil war was marked in the city of New-

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[1] "Anecdotes of the Civil War," E. D. Townsend, New-York, 1884.

[2] "General Scott, when he sought to enforce discipline in sport or seriousness, seldom failed to cite the name of Martin Burke as a supreme exemplar of obedience. 'If,' said he, 'I were to order Captain Burke to bring me the head of the President of the United States, he would proceed to execute the order with as much unconcern as he would send a drunken soldier to the guard-house.' The order of his commanding officer had the effect to clear the mind of Captain Martin Burke of all fears and apprehensions, and if directed by his chief to lead a forlorn hope, or to kill a citizen, not a nerve of his body would have moved. On the other hand, his dread of civil tribunals and the mandates of courts overwhelmed him. Once, when he was summoned as a witness in a simple cause which affected him not, he would fain have fled the jurisdiction. When outside the chain of sentinels he always had a scared look, and he regarded a camp or fort as a refuge of sweet repose and security." "Fifty Years' Observations, etc.," Keyes, New-York, 1884.

York by the most protracted and bloody riot in her history. The Northern States had responded nobly to the president's various calls for volunteers, but as the great struggle continued, voluntary food for powder became scarce, and the government was forced to resort to compulsory enlistment. In most of the States there was little difficulty in enforcing the draft. In New-York there was hesitation on the part of Governor Seymour to aid in a measure extremely unpopular among a certain class in the community. His reluctance to cooperate with the general government encouraged the worst elements in the city to open rebellion. The merits of the question are clearly set forth in a work by the (then) provost-marshal-general of the United States.[1] From this and other reliable sources, it appears that on July 2, 1862, the president issued a call for 300,000 volunteers — his final effort to suppress the rebellion by voluntary military service. On the 4th of August following he called for 300,000 nine-months militia. In September the war department issued instructions under which some of the governors commenced a draft.

In a letter dated August 4, 1862, to Count de Gasparin, President Lincoln said: "Our great army has dwindled rapidly, bringing the necessity for a new call earlier than was anticipated. We shall easily obtain the new levy, however. Be not alarmed if you shall learn that we have resorted to a draft for part of this. It seems strange even to me, but it is true, that the Government is now pressed to this course by a popular demand.[2] Thousands who wish not to personally enter the service are nevertheless anxious to pay and send substitutes, provided that they can have assurance that unwilling persons similarly situated will be compelled to do likewise."

In his annual report dated December 31, 1862, Adjutant-General Hillhouse said: "There was nothing of that eagerness to enter the service which had been manifested at various periods, and it appeared as if the people had fallen into an apathy from which only an extraordinary effort could arouse them." He further said that the State was deficient 28,517 men in volunteers furnished since July 2, 1862, and of these 18,523 belonged to the city of New-York, adding that "the credit to the city and county of New-York is based on the actual returns filed in this office, but it is believed that it is less than the volunteers furnished." The necessity for a general conscription was set forth in the public utterances of War Democrats and Republicans alike. "Senator McDougal (Democrat) said: 'Now in regard to the conscription question, I will say for myself that I regretted much, when this war was first organized, that the conscription rule did not obtain. I went from the extreme east to the extreme west of the loyal States. I found some districts where some bold leaders brought out all the young men, and sent them or led them to the field. In other districts, and they were the most numerous, the people made no movement toward the maintenance of the war; there were whole towns and cities, I may say, where no one volunteered to shoulder a musket, and no one offered to lead them into the service. The whole business has been unequal and wrong from the first. The rule of conscription should have been the rule to bring out men of all classes, and make it equal throughout the country; and therein the North has failed.'"[1]

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[1] "New-York and the Conscription," James B. Fry, New-York, 1885.

[2] "There is only one way to remedy our fatal error: that is for the President at once to establish a system of conscription, by which, instead of 300,000, *at least* 500,000 men should be called under arms. . . . Instead of levying new regiments commanded by inexperienced officers of their own choosing, and who, for a year to come, would barely add anything to our efficiency in the field, the raw recruits ought to be collected at camps of instruction, in healthy localities east and west, where, under the direction of West Point graduates, they should be drilled and disciplined. From thence as they are fit for active service they should be furnished to the army, to be incorporated into the old regiments." August Belmont to Thurlow Weed, July 20, 1862.

General Fry, the provost-marshal-general, said: "It was of great importance to the people of the State as well as to the general Government that a correct enrolment should be made. The Adjutant-General of New-York, when speaking, in his report of December 31, 1862, of the principle of compulsory service, said to the Governor: 'Nor is it less a matter of interest to the States. Whatever may be the plan adopted, the force required must be drawn from their population liable to military duty, on which the 1,000,000 of volunteers hitherto sent to the field has already made serious inroads. They have, moreover, a common interest with the general Government in such an application of their military resources as will render them most effective for the purposes in view with the least possible waste, and with as little hardship as possible to the community.'

"The Enrolment Act was approved March 3, 1863. Section 9 required that the enrollers '*immediately* proceed to enrol' and report the result 'on or before the first day of April' to the Board of Enrolment, and the Board was required by the Act to consolidate the names into one list and transmit the same to the Provost-Marshal-General 'on or before the first day of May.' There was, it is true, a proviso that if these duties *could not* be done in the time specified, they should be performed as soon thereafter as practicable; but neither the intention of the law, nor the manifest necessity under which it was enacted, permitted delay, or, as President Lincoln expressed it in his letter to Governor Seymour, dated August 7, 1863, 'We could not waste time to reëxperiment with the volunteer system, already deemed by Congress, and palpably in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a correct decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go.' 'My purpose,' the president added, 'is to be in my actions just and constitutional, and yet practical in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.'"

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[1] "New-York and the Conscription."

The political campaign of 1862 in New-York was hardly less exciting than the military operations in Virginia. The Republican standard-bearer was that gallant soldier and unselfish patriot, James S. Wadsworth; his Democratic opponent, the eminent lawyer Horatio Seymour. The first stood on a radical platform—one of its planks being the prosecution of the war by "all the means that the God of Battles has placed in the power of the Government." The other candidate was put forth by a more conservative constituency, favoring "all legitimate means to suppress the Rebellion," and leaning to a milder policy. Seymour was elected by a majority of 10,752. "On the 1st of January, 1863, the outgoing administration of Governor Morgan turned over to the incoming administration of Governor Seymour the revised State Enrolment, the Government's order to draft the militia, and the deficiency of New-York heretofore mentioned."[1]

Preparations for the proposed draft were rapidly pushed forward by the war department. Those affecting the city comprised the appointment of a provost-marshal for each congressional district,[2] and an assistant provost-marshal-general to supervise their work, for the cities of New-York and Brooklyn; this officer was Colonel Robert Nugent, Sixty-ninth New-York Volunteers, a gallant soldier, a discreet officer, an Irishman, and a Democrat. As early as April 24, 1862, Governor Seymour and Mayor Opdyke were informed of this. The first order for making a draft in the State under the Enrolment Act was issued July 1. Notwithstanding the knowledge, which the municipal authorities possessed, that an unpopular public measure was about to be put into execution within the city limits, it does not appear that any unusual precaution was taken to preserve the peace. Indeed, the force available for that purpose, outside of the police, was limited to a handful of regulars in the harbor garrisons, and a few disabled men of the Invalid Corps. The local militia regiments had been summoned to repel the threatened invasion of a neighboring State in coöperation with the armies in the field, leaving their own homes open to an enemy in the rear more to be dreaded than the soldiers of Lee. Nevertheless, the police department comprised numerous resolute, experienced, and able officers, especially its president, Thomas Acton, and its superintendent, John A. Kennedy.

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[1] "New-York and the Conscription."

[2] Provost-Marshals: 4th Congressional District, Joel B. Erhardt; 5th Congressional District, John Duffy; 6th Congressional District, James B. Farr; 7th Congressional District, Frederick C. Wagner; 8th Congressional District, Benjamin F. Manierre; 9th Congressional District, Charles E. Jenkins.

The morning of Saturday, July 11, had been selected for the commencement of the draft in the city, and the day passed without much interference with the officers charged with its supervision; and the local authorities felt encouraged to think that the remainder of the work would be completed without serious opposition. The following day, being Sunday, was undoubtedly seized by those intent upon obstructing the provost-marshals in the discharge of their duty to foment trouble among the ignorant or reckless element that abounds in every large city. On Monday morning a few policemen were sent to the enrolling-offices at 677 Third Avenue and at 1190 Broadway. At the last-named place the mystic wheel was set in motion, and the drawing of names was continued without interruption until noon, when the provost-marshals suspended operations as a measure of precaution. Up to ten o'clock in the morning the city had been comparatively quiet. At that hour Superintendent Kennedy, while upon a tour of inspection, without escort, and in plain clothes, was attacked by a mob at the corner of Forty-sixth street and Lexington Avenue, and, after being severely beaten, barely escaped with his life through the intervention of an influential friend. He was disabled for some days, and the immediate command of the police devolved upon Mr. Acton. That officer established himself at police headquarters in Mulberry street, and, with the advantage of a complete telegraphic system centering there, practically directed the operations of the campaign which ensued. The entire police force of the city had now been assembled at its respective station-houses, and for the next three days was constantly employed in stamping out the sparks of insurrection which were flying about and at times breaking out into sheets of flame that threatened the existence of the city. From the Cooper Institute to Forty-sixth street, Third Avenue was black with human beings, who hung over the eaves of the buildings, filled the doors and windows, and packed the street from curb to curb. Small bodies of police were driven away or trampled under foot, houses were fired, stores looted, and a very carnival of crime inaugurated. Negroes became especially obnoxious, and neither age nor sex was regarded by the white brutes in slaking their thirst for blood: from every lamp-post were suspended the victims of their blind fury. With one accord several thousand rioters swooped down upon the Colored Orphan Asylum, then occupying the space from Forty-third to Forty-fourth street on Fifth Avenue. The two hundred helpless children were hurriedly removed by a rear door while the mob rushed in at the front; the torch was applied in twenty places at once, and despite the heroic efforts of Chief Engineer Decker and other firemen to save the structure, it was burned to the ground. Emboldened by the progress they had made in lawlessness, the principal body of the rioters, numbering some five thousand men, moved upon the citadel of the oppressor, as they considered the central office of the police in Mulberry street.

To meet this threatening demonstration President Acton detailed Sergeant (afterward Inspector) Daniel Carpenter, a man of great courage and ability, and placed under his command about two hundred policemen who had been held in reserve at that point. It was a duty of supreme importance, and well was it executed. Without unnecessary delay, Carpenter moved his column down Bleecker street to Broadway, at the same time sending a detachment up the nearest parallel streets to the east and west, to strike the flanks of the infuriated mass bearing down upon his front. At the proper moment a combined charge utterly demoralized the undisciplined horde, which, sinking under the well-planted blows of the police, fled in every direction. The street looked like a battle-field, broken heads were countless, and the spoils of war included the stars and stripes and a banner inscribed "No Draft."

George Opdyke[1]

As the night closed in, it became evident that the disturbance was too wide-spread and deep-seated to be controlled by clubs, and that reinforcements must be called for. To this end Mayor Opdyke called for troops upon General Wool, commanding the Department of the East, and General Sandford, commanding the National Guard. General Wool directed Brevet Brigadier-General Harvey Brown, Colonel Fifth U. S. Artillery, commanding the troops in the harbor, to report with his available force to Major-General Sandford of the State militia for duty. General Brown declined to obey what he considered an illegal order, but finally yielded to the solicitations of certain prominent citizens, and agreed to waive a part of the question in dispute, stipulating that he should personally direct the operations of the troops drawn from the military posts under his command, according to his previous assignment by the war department.[2]

General Brown established his headquarters at the central office, remaining there, in active coöperation with the police board, during the continuance of the riot. General Sandford did not attempt to control the operations of the regular troops, but, at the head of some seven hundred men of the militia, temporarily absent from their regiments, proceeded to occupy the State Arsenal at Seventh Avenue and Thirty-fifth street.

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[1] George Opdyke was born in Hunterdon County, N. J., in 1805. When a young man he went West, and afterward to New Orleans, returning to New-York in 1832, where he subsequently established the banking-house of George Opdyke & Co. He served in the legislature in 1858, faithfully protecting the franchises of New-York city from spoliation. In 1860 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention, and was instrumental in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. He was mayor of New-York in 1862–63, was a patriotic sustainer of the national government, an energetic worker in raising and equipping troops, and exercised a strong influence in preventing commercial panics. He was a member of the New-York Constitutional Convention in 1867–68, of the New-York Constitutional Commission in 1872–75, of the New-York Chamber of Commerce from 1858 to 1880, and its vice-president in 1867–75. Mr. Opdyke was the author of a "Treatise on Political Economy," a "Report on the Currency," and a volume of "Official Documents, Addresses, etc." He died in New-York city, June 12, 1880.

EDITOR.

[2] WAR DEPARTMENT,
(G. O. 36.) ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, April 7, 1863.

6. . . . The duties of military commanders above defined will devolve, in the City of New-York and the military posts in that vicinity, on Brevet Brigadier-General H. Brown, Colonel Fifth U. S. Artillery. By order of the Secretary of War.

(Signed)
L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

The second and third days were marked by fresh outbursts and much bloodshed: bayonets and bullets were substituted for policemen's billies. The territory of the disturbance had extended to Harlem, and westward beyond Sixth Avenue. Evidences of able leadership among the bands of marauders were visible. The roofs of houses became vantage-ground from which stones were hurled and shots fired at the police and troops in sight. Detachments composed of mixed civil and military forces were sent out from Mulberry street to disperse the more formidable bodies of law-breakers. In one of these encounters Colonel O'Brien of the 11th New-York Volunteers (then on recruiting service in the city), although not assigned to duty with the troops, was conspicuous in opposing the mob near the corner of Second Avenue and Thirty-second street. With a disregard of ordinary prudence, he ventured shortly after, alone and in uniform, to return to the same locality. With fiendish glee the roughs seized him, and, after beating him unmercifully, dragged him up and down the street, and finally, after subjecting him to every conceivable abuse, tossed him, covered with filth, into his own back yard, where he expired after lingering without relief for several hours. Among his most cruel persecutors were women who emulated the worst deeds of the most brutal Indian squaw. Although the insurgents received some salutary checks during the second day, the disorder was far from losing strength. Driven from one section, it quickly made its appearance in another. It gradually crept over to the North River. Public buildings were threatened. The "Tribune" building received a large share of sinister attention, and the residences of the mayor and other obnoxious citizens were often in peril. In the mean time the general government had taken precaution in the way of placing gunboats at various points in the waters surrounding the city, and at the Navy-yard, to coöperate with the weak land force available. Orders were issued to the Seventh and other city regiments to return home, and quite a large force was under orders in the Army of the Potomac and at Washington to move on New-York at a moment's notice. But the admirable arrangements of General Brown and President Acton, and the excellent discipline of the force under their direction, finally prevailed against the unorganized army of anarchy and misrule, and by midnight of the third day the wires reported "all quiet." The backbone of the beast was broken, but nevertheless all good citizens drew a breath of relief when, shortly after, it was known that the Seventh had returned to aid in defending home and fireside.

On the fourth day proclamations were issued by the governor and mayor — the one setting forth the prevalence of insurrection, the other announcing the practical close of hostilities. It became necessary during the day to break up two or three murderously inclined bands, who succumbed only to a free use of canister. In these affairs Captains Franklin and Putnam[1] and Lieutenant Wood of the army distinguished themselves.

It was announced by the mayor that the draft had been suspended, while the common council appropriated $2,500,000 toward paying $600 each for substitutes for the poor who might be drafted. In the afternoon, the 65th and 152d New-York Volunteers arrived and joined the force at police headquarters in Mulberry street.

THE OLD BRICK CHURCH.[2]

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[1] "Early on the morning after the battle of Bull Run I started with wine, fruit, and other articles suited to the condition of invalids, and visited the different hospitals about Washington, relieving as far as I could the wounded of our own State. As I was leaving the hospital at Georgetown, the surgeon invited me to see a patient who had shown extraordinary endurance. I found a young man upon a cot. The surgeon removed some lint from a musket-ball wound. He then asked the young man to raise himself, so that, while resting upon his elbow, I saw that the ball had passed through his body, avoiding any vital spot. The patient, the surgeon informed me, had, after being the last to leave the field, reformed the thinned ranks of his company and marched at their head from the battle-ground to their former encampment near Washington, and then reported himself as a wounded officer. Notwithstanding this fearful wound, he was calm and hopeful. He came, as he informed me, from Minnesota, and was in command of a company in a Minnesota regiment. He gave me his name, and I left, strongly impressed with the idea that, if his life was spared, he was destined for future usefulness. I went directly to the Secretary of War, who directed a commission to be issued for my protégé. I went from Secretary Cameron to President Lincoln, who not only cheerfully approved the commission, but was only prevented by pressing duties from taking it over to Georgetown himself. In less than three hours after I left him, Captain Putnam, of the Minnesota Volunteers, found himself designated as Captain Putnam of the United States army. . . . During the sanguinary riots of July, 1863, I was in New-York. . . . When sitting at Police Headquarters a U. S. officer came in who had been directed to disperse the rioters who had murdered Colonel O'Brien. Our recognition was mutual, as was the surprise and the gratification. . . . Captain Putnam, as I learned from the Commissioners, continued active and vigilant, making thorough work wherever he went, until the riots were over." Thurlow Weed, in "Galaxy," IX. 837.

[2] The old Brick Church was situated on the corner of Nassau and Beekman streets, where it was erected in 1767. The present Brick Church, erected in 1858 on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh street, is very similar in general style to its down-town predecessor, but is larger and more imposing. The history of this church is notable for the long pastorate of Dr. Gardiner Spring, who, called to the position in 1810, remained in office sixty-two years.

EDITOR.

One of the most satisfactory features of the terrible experience through which the city passed at this time was the mutual respect and confidence which existed between the regular troops and the police force combined to preserve law and order. In the final report of the police commissioners, a grateful tribute was paid the soldiers,[1] and General Brown, in relinquishing his command to General Canby, said that "having during the present insurrection been in immediate and constant coöperation with the Police Department of this city, he desires the privilege of expressing his unbounded admiration of it. Never in civil or military life has he seen such untiring devotion and such efficient service."

Order having been restored, the draft was resumed and completed without further interruption,— Governor Seymour having issued a proclamation warning the people against disorders, and saying: "I again repeat to you the warning which I gave to you during the riotous proceedings of last month, that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts." General Dix, commanding the Department of the East, in a letter to the governor at this time said: "The recent riots in this city, coupled as they were with the most atrocious and revolting crimes, have cast a shadow over it for the moment. But the promptitude with which the majesty of the law was vindicated, and the fearlessness with which a high judicial functionary is pronouncing judgment upon the guilty, have done and are doing much to efface what, under a different course of action, might have been an indelible stain upon the reputation of the city. It remains only for the people to vindicate themselves from reproach in the eyes of the country and the world by a cheerful acquiescence in the law. That it has defects is generally conceded. That it will evolve cases of personal hardship is not disputed. War, when waged for self-defence, for the maintenance of great principles, and for the national life, is not exempt from the sufferings inseparable from all conflicts which are decided by the shock of armies, and it is by our firmness and our patriotism in meeting all the calls of the country upon us, that we achieve the victory and prove ourselves worthy of it and the cause in which we toil and suffer." General Fry thus tersely sums up the situation: "The real cause of the riot was that in a community where a considerable political element was active in opposition to the way the war was conducted, if not to the war itself, and where there was a strong opinion adverse to the principles of compulsory service, certain lawless men preferred fighting the Government at home, when it made the issue of *forcing* them by lot to fight its enemies in the field."

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[1] "The military forces in command of Brevet Brigadier-General Harvey Brown reported at the Central Department, and there General Brown established his headquarters, and from there expeditions, combined of police and military force, were sent out that in all cases conquered, defeated, or dispersed the mob force, and subjected them to severe chastisement. In no instance did these detachments from the Central Department, whether of police alone or police and military combined, meet with defeat or serious check. During the whole of those anxious days and nights, Brigadier-General Brown remained at the Central Department, ordering the movements of the military in carefully considered combinations with the police force, and throughout the struggle, and until its close, commanded the admiration and gratitude of the Police Department and all who witnessed his firm intelligence and soldierly conduct. It is understood that he had at no time under his immediate command more than three hundred troops, but they were of the highest order, and were commanded by officers of courage and ability. They cordially acted with, supported, and were supported by the police, and victory in every contest against fearful odds was the result of brave fighting and intelligent command. In the judgment of this Board, the escape of the city from the power of an infuriated mob is due to the aid furnished the police by Brigadier-General Brown and the small military force under his command. No one can doubt, who saw him, as we did, that during those anxious and eventful days and nights Brigadier-General Harvey Brown was equal to the situation, and was the right man in the right place. We avail ourselves of this occasion to tender him, in the most earnest and public manner, the thanks of the department and our own."

Among the sensational incidents of the spring of 1864 may here be noted the despicable attempt to use the misfortunes of the country for stock-jobbing purposes. It was just after the bloody affair of Cold Harbor, when Grant and Lee, having locked horns in the Wilderness, were taking a breathing spell, and the public suspense was at its height. It was very early in the morning of May 18, 1864, and "steamer-day" in the city, when an unknown messenger appeared at the door of the press-room of the "Journal of Commerce" with what purported to be the telegraphic "copy" of a proclamation by the president.[1] A similar document was handed in to the men in charge of the offices of all the other principal papers. It was an hour calculated to favor the designs of the reckless promoter, but the fraud was discovered in time by all except the "Journal of Commerce" and the "World." Immediate and strenuous efforts were made to discover the author of the forgery. The war department ordered the arrest of the editors of the two newspapers mentioned—although upon due representation of the facts by General Dix, commanding the Department of the East, the order was promptly revoked. The final disposition of the matter is stated in a report made by General Dix.

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[1] A DAY OF FASTING RECOMMENDED.—CALL FOR FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND TROOPS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 17, 1864.

Fellow-citizens of the United States:

In all seasons of exigency it becomes a nation carefully to scrutinize its line of conduct, humbly to approach the Throne of Grace, and meekly to implore forgiveness, wisdom, and guidance.

For reasons known only to Him, it has been decreed that this country should be the scene of unparalleled outrage, and this nation the monumental sufferer of the nineteenth century. With a heavy heart, but an undiminished confidence in our cause, I approach the performance of a duty rendered imperative by my sense of weakness before the Almighty and of justice to the people. It is not necessary that I should tell you that the first Virginia campaign under Lieutenant-General Grant, in whom I have every confidence, and whose courage and fidelity the people do well to honor, is virtually closed. He has conducted his great enterprise with discreet ability. He has crippled their strength and defeated their plans. In view, however, of the situation in Virginia, the disasters at Red River, the delay at Charleston, and the general state of the country, I, Abraham Lincoln, do hereby recommend that Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of May, A. D. 1864, be solemnly set apart throughout these United States as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

Deeming, furthermore, that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, and in view of the pending expiration of the service of (100,000) one hundred thousand of our troops, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power vested in me by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the citizens of the United States between the ages of (18) eighteen and (45) forty-five years, to the aggregate number of (400,000) four hundred thousand, in order to suppress the existing rebellious combinations, and to cause the due execution of the laws.

And furthermore, in case any State or number of States shall fail to furnish by the fifteenth day of June next their assigned quota, it is hereby ordered that the same be raised by an immediate and peremptory draft.

The details for this object will be communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the power, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular Government.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this seventeenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TO THE DEFENDERS OF THE UNION 1861-1865

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MEMORIAL ARCH.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,
NEW-YORK CITY, May 20, 1864.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War:

I have arrested and am sending to Fort Lafayette Joseph Howard, the author of the forged Proclamation. He is a newspaper reporter, and is known as "Howard, of the Times." He has been very frank in his confessions—says it was a stock-jobbing operation, and that no person connected with the Press had any agency in the transaction except another reporter, who manifolded and distributed the Proclamation to the newspapers, and whose arrest I have ordered. He exonerates the Independent Telegraphic Line, and says that the publication on a steamer-day was accidental. His statement, in all essential particulars, is corroborated by other testimony.

JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

An event of great local importance opened the year 1864. It was the Metropolitan Fair in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission. Like the fairs in other large cities, it was a recognition of the labors of those disinterested men and women who had already sacrificed health and substance in the Union cause by the bedside of sick and wounded soldiers. Large buildings in Fourteenth street and on Union Square were filled to overflowing with the rich treasures of art, science, literature, and the varied industries represented in the metropolis, tastefully arranged and classified, and offered for sale to those who, prevented by circumstances from serving in the field, might in this way render aid and comfort to the great cause. The ceremonies of inauguration were impressive, and comprised a parade of all the troops in the city, regular, volunteer, and militia,—more than ten thousand men,—headed by Generals Dix and Sandford. The main building in Fourteenth street was thrown open to an immense throng on the evening of April 4, 1864, with an address by Joseph H. Choate, and an "Army Hymn" by Oliver Wendell Holmes. The hymn was sung by a chorus composed of the members of the principal church choirs of the city.

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[1] The beautiful memorial arch here shown was dedicated in Brooklyn, October 21, 1892, to the soldiers and sailors who fought between the years 1861 and 1865. The ceremonies were held immediately after the parade in honor of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the date of the Brooklyn celebration of that event having been set a few days later than that of New-York, in order that the imposing spectacle presented by each city might be seen. The arch was designed by John H. Duncan, the architect of the Grant monument now being erected on Riverside drive. EDITOR.

Ulysses Hiram Grant[1]

O Lord of Hosts, Almighty King,
Behold the sacrifice we bring:
To every arm Thy strength impart,
Thy spirit shed through every heart.

Wake in our breasts the living fires,
The holy faith that warmed our sires;
Thy power has made our nation free-
To die for her is serving Thee.

Be Thou a pillared flame to show
The midnight snare, the silent foe;
And when the battle thunders loud,
Still guide us in its moving cloud.

God of all nations, Sovereign Lord,
In Thy dread name we draw the sword,
We lift the starry flag on high
That fills with life our stormy sky.

No more its flaming emblems wave
To bar from hope the trembling slave;
No more its radiant glories shine
To blast with woe one child of Thine!

From treason's rent, from murder's stain,
Guard Thou its folds till peace shall reign;
Till fort and field, till shore and sea
Join our loud anthem, Praise to Thee.

For three weeks a stream of humanity poured through the entrances to the fair, leaving the rich man's gold and the widow's mite to swell the generous tribute of the Empire City toward the restoration of the Union. The receipts from the Sanitary Fair at Chicago were $60,000;

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[1] The above signature is taken from the official record at West Point, signed by all the cadets who enter the United States Military Academy. The representative who gave Grant the appointment called him Ulysses S. Grant; and, as he failed to obtain a correction of the mistake, Grant accepted the new designation. An abridged signature also appears in the hotel register. EDITOR.

from the fair at Boston, $140,000; from the fair at Cincinnati, $250,000; and the doors of the Fourteenth street and Union Square bazar closed upon a military chest of more than a million dollars.

In the month of April, 1865, bright with the promise of the season and the achievements of our arms, came that terrible shock, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, the assassination of President Lincoln. For the third time in the history of the country, a day in April had dawned on the citizens of New-York with news of dread import. Lexington — Baltimore — Washington! On the morning of the 15th the people swarmed into the streets, and by common consent sought the government business center in Wall street. An immense crowd gathered in front of the custom-house; the greatest agitation prevailed: grief at the national loss struggled with indignation at the assassin. The collector of the port, Simeon Draper, with much forethought, and in the interests of law and order, organized an impromptu mass meeting, and several speakers addressed the people. It is an interesting reminiscence that among those who thus gave expression to the emotions of the hour was one who in after years, and holding the same great office, was to fall a victim to the assassin's bullet — James A. Garfield. Well did he express the universal feeling of his auditors: "The spirit of rebellion, goaded to its last madness, has recklessly done itself a mortal injury, striking down with treacherous blow the kindest, gentlest, tenderest friend the people of the South could find among the rulers of the nation." All business was by common consent suspended. The newspaper and telegraph offices were surrounded by thousands eager for details of the tragedy which threatened to involve the lives of three officers of the government. The governor and the mayor issued proclamations; the bishop of the diocese directed special

Preston King[1]

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[1] Preston King was born October 14, 1806, and was graduated at Union in 1827, afterward studying law and practising in St. Lawrence County, N. Y. He entered politics early in life, and established the "St. Lawrence Republican" at Ogdensburgh in 1830 in support of Andrew Jackson. He was postmaster, and afterward a member of the legislature. He served for eight years as a representative in Congress, having been elected as a Democrat; but in 1854 he became a Republican and was sent to the United States Senate in 1857–63. His term ended, Mr. King resumed the practice of his profession in New-York city, and was appointed collector of the port by President Johnson, whose nomination to the vice-presidency he had done much to secure. Responsibilities of office and financial worries unsettled his mind, and he ended his life by jumping from a Hudson River ferry-boat, November 12, 1865. EDITOR.

services to be held in the Episcopal churches. The day (April 20) which had been set apart by the executive of the State for rejoicing over recent victories, was designated as a time "to acknowledge our dependence on Him who has brought sudden darkness on the land in the very hour of its restoration to Union, Peace, and Liberty."

On the morning of the 21st the funeral cortège started from the Capitol on its sorrowful journey of nearly two thousand miles to the tomb of our country's greatest martyr. After lying in state for a day in historic Independence Hall, the body of the late president was borne to New-York, where it was received with the deepest solemnity and the most sincere demonstration of love and grief. The arrangements for the lying in state at the City Hall were of the most complete character, and for twenty-four hours a continuous procession of men and women, gentle and humble, side by side, passed sadly by the bier. On the second day a pageant of enormous extent attended the transfer of the mortal remains of the "savior of his country" to the train waiting to convey them to their final resting-place. More than sixty thousand soldiers and citizens formed the escort, and more than a million people lined the route. Nothing before or since transpiring in the city can be compared to the universal and personal sorrow manifested by every soul of that mighty host.

C. Godfrey Gunther[1]

One of the brightest pages in the history of the city and State of New-York is that on which are inscribed the names and deeds of their sons and daughters during the war for the Union. A passing reference to a few of the quarter of a million of those who fought for their principles is all that is possible here. First of all, perhaps, stood the noble Wadsworth. His patriotism was unimpeachable; he had vast wealth, high social position, ripeness of years, and gallant sons to represent him in the field. Yet he spared not of his abundance, used his influence to raise and equip troops, led them to battle, and at the head of his division laid down his life in the service of his country. That his worth was appreciated the following extract from resolutions adopted by the Union Defense Committee fully testifies:

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[1] Charles Godfrey Gunther was born in New-York city, February 7, 1822. His father, Christian G. Gunther, was a furrier, a rival of John Jacob Astor, and took Charles G. into the firm upon his reaching manhood, under the name of C. G. Gunther & Co. As a Democrat he was active in politics, and in 1856 was elected a sachem of the Tammany Society. In 1861 he was a candidate for mayor, but was defeated by George Opdyke, Republican. In 1863 he was again a candidate for mayor, being brought forward by the Jefferson Democracy, an independent organization led by John McKeon. He was opposed by F. I. A. Boole, then city inspector and the local Democratic leader, who received the nomination from both of the rival Democratic organizations—Tammany and Mozart Hall. Boole, who was supposed to have an assured success, was beaten by over 7000 votes, became insane, and died shortly thereafter. When Mr. Gunther's term expired, he withdrew from politics, not being in sympathy with the Tweed Ring, which then controlled political preferment. He was a member of the old Volunteer Fire Department, and for several years president of the Veteran Firemen's Association. Foreseeing that Coney Island was destined to become a popular summer resort, owing to its natural advantages and proximity to the metropolis, he built the Brooklyn, Bath and Coney Island Railroad, known as "Gunther's Road," and a hotel at Locust Grove on Gravesend Bay. He died in New-York city, January 22, 1885. EDITOR.

> That when we consider that, from the very beginning of this war, General Wadsworth, a wealthy, cultured, and honored gentleman, impelled by a high sense of duty and of right, left his home of beauty, of luxury, of affection, and of love, to sacrifice every pleasure, to devote his every hour, to spend the weary winter in the frontier camp, to soothe and cheer the homesick dying soldier, to waste much of his private fortune, to imperil his own health, and finally to offer up his willing life in his country's cause, we can find on the roll of history no record of a braver, truer man, or of a more devoted patriot.

At the suggestion of General Dix, the secretary of war was asked to have one of the forts in the harbor named "Wadsworth" in honor of "one eminently endeared to the people of this State." The fort at the Narrows called Fort Tompkins was eventually designated by the war department as Fort Wadsworth.

C. M. Kirkland

Among other sacrifices on the altar of the Constitution and the Union, we recall the gentle and scholarly Winthrop, the dashing Corcoran, the Highlander Cameron, the youthful, fearless Ellsworth, and Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland. This charming woman and gifted writer, by her tireless and sincere devotion to the work of the Sanitary Fair, gave up her life to the cause of her country as completely as the soldier who fell at the cannon's mouth.

Another great New-Yorker, worthy of a place by the side of Wadsworth, has been frequently mentioned in this chapter. None during the serious time of the civil war performed his part with greater resolution, sterner justice, truer dignity, and more unblemished honor than John Adams Dix. The civic robe and the army uniform alike became him.

Those were the days of "diamonds in the rough," of unfledged heroes, of soldiers by instinct. Of this type was Thomas Devin,[1] a modest mechanic, who found his opportunity and his true sphere in "war's rude alarm." How he led a troop of volunteer horse to the field in 1861, and how he returned to his home in 1865 with two stars glittering upon his shoulder, has been duly attested. Long after Appomattox he lived to reap the substantial fruit of his achievements as the "Old War-horse." The names must be recalled of Sickles, the leader of the Third Corps at Gettysburg; of Meagher, of the Irish Brigade; of Barlow, scarred with wounds received in "the Wilderness"; of Butterfield, the veteran chief of staff; of Davies, the *beau-sabreur* who was with Sheridan at Winchester; of Upton and Webb, ably representing the regular army; of hundreds of others who served as faithfully, if less conspicuously, and since the close of the war have won distinction in the paths of peace. Nor must we omit mention of some of the gallant spirits of the sister service who reflected equal glory upon the navy, such as Cushing, who destroyed the Albemarle; the gallant Gorringe, who later brought over the obelisk; the courtly Le Roy, the brave Livingston, the heroic Nicholson, and modest Worden of the Monitor.

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[1] "I was accosted on the steps of the Astor House by a stranger, who informed me that he desired to raise a company of cavalry, which, if he could obtain the authority, should be organized and ready to march in three days. I was so favorably impressed with his bearing and manner that I immediately telegraphed Governor Morgan, earnestly asking his authority for Thomas C. Devin to organize a cavalry corps. Captain Devin remained at my room until a favorable response from the governor, two hours afterward, was received; and he also was faithful to his promise, for in three days, with a full company of men, he was on his way to the front. Captain Devin immediately attracted the attention of his superior officers, not less by the efficiency and discipline of his men than by his own gallantry in battle. He fought bravely through the whole war, rising by merit, first to the command of a regiment, and then of a brigade; and obtained the rank of brevet major-general at the conclusion of the rebellion. On the reduction of the army, my friend Devin was retained as lieutenant-colonel of a United States cavalry regiment." Thurlow Weed, in "Galaxy," IX. 834.

From the brief sketch given here it will be seen that the Empire City sent forth the last appeal for a peaceful solution of the sectional problem in 1861; that from her gates was sent the first relief for beleaguered federal forts; that at the first alarm, her best household regiment marched, with her neighbors of New England, to defend the national capital; and that to those troops, exclusively, was assigned the duty of protecting the White House — the Ark of the Covenant — from threatened danger. Her money was lavishly given, her best blood freely shed; her noblest women hourly strove to restore the Union to its original strength and power; and now, after many years of peace, prosperity, and unity throughout the land, it may truly be said that her labor was not in vain.

SHERIDAN AT WINCHESTER.

APPENDIX.

MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS RECRUITED, WHOLLY OR IN PART, IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW-YORK, 1861–65.[1]

Cavalry: regiments, 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 18th, 23d, 25th, 1st Mtd. Rifles, 2d Veteran.

Artillery: regiments (A, B, C, D, E, F, I), 2d; battery B (new), 3d; 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 16th, Marine; battalions, 1st and 2d; independent batteries, 2d,[2] 3d,[2] 4th,[2] 5th,[2] 6th,[2] 9th,[2] 10th[2] (new), 13th,[2] 20th, 28th.

Engineers: regiments, 1st and 15th.

Infantry: regiments, 1st,[2] 3d, 4th,[2] 5th,[2] 5th Veteran, 6th,[2] 7th, 7th Veteran, 8th,[2] 9th, 10th, 11th,[2] 12th, 15th, 17th, 17th Veteran,[2] 20th, 25th,[2] 29th,[2] 31st, 32d, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th,[2] 40th, 41st, 42d,[2] 43d, 45th,[2] 46th,[2] 47th, 48th, 51st,[2] 52d,[2] 53d, 54th, 55th,[2] 57th, 58th,[2] 59th, 61st, 63d, 65th, 66th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72d, 73d, 74th, 78th, 79th,[2] 82d,[2] 83d, 87th, 88th, 90th, 94th, 99th, 101st, 102d, 103d, 119th, 127th, 131st, 132d, 133d, 145th, 155th, 156th, 158th, 162d,[2] 163d, 164th, 165th, 168th, 170th, 173d, 174th,[2] 175th, 176th, 178th, 182d,[2] 186th, 190th,[2] 191st, 192d; independent corps light infantry.[2]

The following compilation has been made from "New-York in the War of the Rebellion" (Colonel Frederick Phisterer), 1890.

MILITIA.*

Synonym.	Co.	Reg.	First Commanding Officer.	Left State	Returned.	Add. Service.	Remarks.
Jackson Horse Guard...........	A	1.	Lt.-Col. T. C. Devin ...	July 3, 1861...	Oct. 3, 1861...		
Hussars	C	3.	Capt. G. W. Sauer.....	July 23, 1861...	Nov. 2, 1861...		
Washington Grays (Art.)......	....	3.	Capt. J. M. Varian	April 19, 1861...	July 20, 1861...	....	Also with 8th Regt. Inf. 30 days in 1863.
Heavy Artillery ..	....	4.	Col. W. D. Teller	June 18 1863...	July 24, 1863...		
Jefferson Guard (Inf.)	....	5.	Col. C. Schwarzwalder	April 20, 1861...	Aug. 7, 1861...	June 19, July 22, 1863	
Governor's Guard	....	6.	Col. J. C. Pinckney	April 21, 1861...	July 31, 1861...	June 22 to July 22, '63.	
National Guard...	....	7.	Col. M. Lefferts	April 19, 1861...	June 3, 1861...	May 25, Sept. 9, 1862	June 16, July 20, 1863.
Washington Greys	....	8.	Col. G. Lyons	April 20, 1861...	Aug. 2, 1861...	May 29, Sept. 9, 1862	June 17, July 23, 1863.
Washington Rifles	....	9.	....	....	....	....	See 83d Regt. Vols.
	....	11.	Col. J. Maldhoff	May 28, 1862...	Sept. 16, 1862...	June 18, July 20, 1863	
	....	12.	Col. D. Butterfield	April 21, 1861...	Aug. 5, 1861...	June 6, July 12, 1862	June 20, July 20, 1863.
	....	22.	Col. J. Munroe	May 28, 1862...	Sept. 5, 1862...	June 18, July 24, 1863	
	....	37.	Col. C. Roome	May 29, 1862...	Sept. 2, 1862...	June 18, July 22, 1863	May 6, June 6, 1864.
	....	55.	Col. E. LeGal	June 24, 1863...	July 27, 1863...	....	See 55th and 38th Vols.
	....	69.	Col. M. Corcoran	April 23, 1861...	Aug. 3, 1861...	May 29, Sept. 3, 1862	June 22, July 25, 1863; also July 6, Oct. 6,'64.
	....	71.	Col. A. S. Vosburgh ...	April 21, 1861...	July 30, 1861...	May 28, Sept. 2, 1862	July 17–22, 1863.
	....	77.	Col. T. Lynch	Aug. 2, 1864...	Nov. 19, 1864...		
	....	79.	....	....	....	....	See 79th Regt. Vols.
	....	84.	Col. F. A. Conkling ...	July 3, 1863...	Aug. 4, 1863...	July 12, Oct. 29, 1864	
	....	93.	Col. W. R. W. Chambers	July 20, 1864...	Nov. 1, 1864...		
	....	99.	Col. Jo. Mahoney......	Aug. 2, 1864...	Nov. 9, 1864...		
	....	102.	Col. J. N. Wilsey.......	Aug. 6, 1864...	Nov. 13, 1864...		

* By an act of the legislature, April 23, 1862, the term "Militia" was changed to "National Guard."

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[1] The first organization to leave the State was the 7th militia, which left April 19, 1861; the first two-years organization to leave the State was the 11th regiment, which left April 29, 1861; the first three-years organizations to leave the State were the 82d and 84th regiments, which left May 18, 1861. The approximate number of men who were enlisted in New-York city for varying lengths of service during the late civil war, is estimated by Colonel Phisterer, the best authority on the subject, to be about 110,000.

[2] Entirely recruited in New-York County.

VOLUNTEERS.

Synonym.	Co. or Battery.	Regt.	First Commanding Officer.	Date of Muster in.	Date of Muster out.	Term.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died.	Remarks.
(Cavalry.)										
Lincoln Cavalry		1 (Vet.)	Col. A. T. McReynolds	July–Aug., '61	June 27, '65	3 yrs.	48	111	120	
Harris Light Cavalry		2 “	Col. J. M. Davies	Aug.–Oct., '61	June 23, '65	“	123	246	...	reorg. '64
Dickel's M't'd Rifles, Lincoln Greens		4	Col. C. F. Dickel	Aug.–Nov., '61	——— '65	“	57	158	57	“ “
Ira Harris Cavairy		5 (Vet.)	Col. O. de Forrest	Aug.–Oct., '61	July 19, '65	“	93	265	226	“ “
Second Ira Harris Guard		6 “	Col. T. C. Devin	Sept.–Oct., '61	Oct., '65	“	81	182	133	“ '65
Scott's Nine Hundred		11	Col. J. B. Swain	Dec., '61, May, '62	Sept. 30, '65	“	25	76	321	“ “
Third Ira Harris Guard		12	Col. J. M. Savage	Nov., '62, Feb., '63	July 19, '65	“	39	67	183	“ '63
Seymour Light Cavalry		13	Col. H. E. Davies	Feb., '63, Mar., '64	——— '65	“	31	44	99	“ '65
Corning Light Cavalry		18	Col. J. J. Byrne	July–Dec., '64	May 31, '66	“	15	11	204	
Mounted Rifles		1	Col. C. C. Dodge	July, '61, Sept., '62	Nov. 29, '65	“	32	73	128	“ '65
(Artillery.)										
Heavy (Vet.)		4	Col. T. D. Doubleday	Nov., '61, Feb., '62	Sept. 26, '65	“	125	305	339	
Jackson Heavy		5	Col. S. Graham	April, '62	July 19, '65	“	98	150	294	
		15	Col. L. Schirmer	Oct.–Dec., '61	Aug. 22, '65	“	156	489	230	
Naval Brigade		1	Col. W. A. Howard	Nov., '61, Aug., '62	Mar. 31, '63	“	17	16	73	
Baden Artillery		1 batt	Lt.-Col. A. Brickel	Aug.–Sept., '61	...	“	...	...	...	afterw'd 29th, 30th 31st, 32d, Ind. Bat. L. A.
Irish Brigade		2 “	Maj. T. O'Neil	Dec. 9, '61	...	“	...	...	...	afterw'd 14th and 15th I. B. L. A.
German Heavy		3 “	Lt.-Col. A. Senges	Oct.–Dec., '61	Consolidated with 15th Regt. Sept. 30, 1863.					
Blenker's Batt.	2 B	I. L. A.	Capt. L. Schirmer	Aug. 16, '61	June 13, '63	2 yrs.	5	...	5	
	3 “	“	Capt. T. P. Mott	June 17, '61	June 24, '65	3 yrs.	14	18	4	
Serrell's Artillery	4 “	“	Capt. J. E. Smith	Oct. 24, '61	Dec. 4, '63	“	5	13	12	
First Excelsior	5 “	“	Capt. E. D. Taft	Nov. 8, '61	July 6, '65	“	6	9	13	
	6 “	“	Capt. T. W. Bunting	June 15, '61	July 8, '65	“	8	27	9	
	9 “	“	Capt. A. Von Morrozovitz	June 6, '61	June 13, '64	“	...	...	5	
	10 “	“	Capt. J. T. Bruen	April 9, '62	June 21, '64	“	3	17	9	
Baker's Brig. Batt'y	13 “	“	Capt. E. Stumpfels	Oct. 15, '61	July 28, '65	“	13	44	16	
	14 “	“	Capt. W. H. Hogan	Dec. 9, '61	Sept. 7, '63	“	5	2	4	
(Veteran)	15 “	“	Capt. H. J. McMahou	Dec. 9, '61	Feb. 4, '65	“	9	32	3	
Anthon's Battalion	20 “	“	Capt. B. F. Ryer	Nov. 26, '62	July 31, '65	“	...	...	6	
Anthony L. A. Battalion	28 “	“	Capt. C. H. Willard	Dec. 27, '62	July 31, '65	“	...	...	8	
	29 “	“	Capt. O. Diedrich	Aug. 26, '61	Aug. 15, '64	“	2	...	4	
(Veteran)	30 “	“	Capt. A. Voegelo	Aug. 12, '61	June 23, '65	“	8	12	12	
	31 “	“	C'pt. Knicrim	Sept. 16, '61	Oct. 25, '64	“	...	7	5	
(Veteran)	32 “	“	Capt. Grimm	Sept. 20, '61	July 14, '65	“	2	1	4	
(Infantry.)										
Serrell's Engineers		1	Col. E. W. Serrell	Oct., '61, Feb., '62	June 30, '65	“	26	57	119	
N. Y. Sappers and Miners	(Vet.)	15	Col. C. G. Colgate	June 17, '61	June 25, '63	2 yrs.	5	9	124	reorg. '64
National Guard		1	Col. W. H. Allen	April–May, '61	May 25, '63	“	79	220	34	
First Scott's Life Guard		4	Col. A. W. Taylor	May, '61	May 25, '63	“	69	185	24	

VOLUNTEERS *(Continued)*.

Synonym.	Co. or Battery.	Regt.	First Commanding Officer.	Date of Muster in.	Date of Muster out.	Term.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died.	Remarks.
(Infantry.)										
National Zouaves		5	Col. A. Duryee	May 9, '61	May 14, '63	2 yrs.	179	254	37	
	(Vet.)	5	Col. C. Winslow	Oct., '63	Aug. 21, '65	3 yrs.	84	152	86	
Billy Wilson's Zouaves		6	Col. W. Wilson	April–May, '61	June 25, '63	2 yrs.	15	9	34	
Steuben Guard		7	Col. J. E. Bendix	April 23, '61	May 8, '63	"	124	302	61	
	(Vet.)	7	Col. G. W. Van Schaack	March–Aug., '61	Aug. 4, '65	3 yrs.	50	129	53	
Blenker's Rifles		8	Col. L. Blenker	April 23, '61	April 23, '63	2 yrs.	93	109	40	
Hawkins's Zouaves		9	Col. R. C. Hawkins	May 4, '61	May 20, '63	"	71	248	29	
McChesney Zouaves	(Vet)	10	Col. W. W. McChesney	April–May, '61	May 7, '63	"	130	304	89	reorg. '63
Ellsworth Zouaves		11	Col. E. E. Ellsworth	May 7, '61	June 2, '62	"	37	73	13	
Westchester Chasseurs		17	Col. H. S. Lansing	May 28, '61	June 2, '63	"	42	118	48	
	(Vet.)	17	Col. J. Lake	Oct. 14, '63	July 13, '65	3 yrs.	56	117	65	
United Turner Rifles		20	Col. M. Weber	May 6, '61	June 1, '63	2 yrs.	62	191	59	
Union Rangers		25	Col. J. E. Kerrigan	June 26, '61	June 26, '63	"	61	149	28	
Astor Rifles		29	Col. A. von Steinwehr	June 4, '61	June 20, '63	"	43	160	23	
Montezuma Regiment		31	Col. C. E. Pratt	May–June, '61	June 4, '63	"	71	168	28	
First California Vols		32	Col. R. Matheson	May 31, '61	June 9, '63	"	45	127	54	
Washington Volunteers		36	Col. C. H. Innis	June–July, '61	July 15, '63	"	37	137	31	
Irish Rifles		37	Col. J. A. McCunn	June 6, '61	June 22, '63	"	81	301	38	
Second Scott's Life Guard		38	Col. J. A. H. Ward	June 3, '61	June 22, '63	"	75	255	46	
Garibaldi Guard	(Vet.)	39	Col. G. D'Utassy	June 6, '61	June 25, '64	3 yrs.	119	402	159	Union Defense Committee
Mozart Regiment	"	40	Col. E. J. Riley	June–July, '61	June 27, '63	"	236	751	172	reorg. '64
De Kalb Regiment	"	41	Col. L. von Gilsa	June 6, '61	Dec. 9, '65	"	72	150	73	"
Tammany Regiment		42	Col. W. D. Kennedy	June 22, '61	July 13, '64	"	152	295	106	"
Howe's Rifles	(Vet.)	45	Col. G. Van Amsberg	Sept. 9, '61	Oct. 8, '64	"	52	85	108	"
Frémont Rifle Regiment	"	46	Col. R. Rosa	July–Sept., '61	July 28, '65	"	109	172	89	"
Washington Grays	"	47	Col. H. Moore	Sept. 14, '61	Aug. 30, '65	"	93	331	157	reorg. '65
Shepard Rifles	"	51	Col. E. Ferrero	July–Oct., '61	July 25, '65	"	202	368	183	reorg. '64
Sigel Rifles	"	52	Col. P. Frank	Aug.–Nov., '61	July 1, '65	"	152	416	199	"
D'Epineuil Zouaves		53	Col. L. J. d'Epineuil	Aug.–Nov., '61	March 21, '62	"	3	...	7	
Garde de La Fayette		55	Col. R. de Trobriand	Aug. 28, '61	Dec. 21, '62	"	46	133	29	
National Guard Rifles		57	Col. S. K. Zook	Aug.–Nov., '61	July–Oct., '64	"	102	327	91	reorg. '64
Polish Legion, etc.	(Vet.)	58	Col. W. Kryzanowski	Nov., '61	Oct. 1, '65	"	30	68	63	"
Union Guards	"	59	Col. W. L. Tidball	Aug.–Oct., '61	June 30, '65	"	141	336	130	"
Clinton Guards	"	61	Col. S. W. Cone	Sept.–Nov., '61	July 14, '65	"	195	448	136	"
Anderson's Zouaves	"	62	Col. J. L. Riker	June–July, '61	Aug. 30, '65	"	98	237	84	"
Third Reg't Irish Brigade	"	63	Col. R. C. Enright	Sept.–Nov., '61	June 30, '65	"	157	372	95	"
Governor's Guard	"	66	Col. J. C. Pinckney	Nov. 4, '61	Aug. 30, '65	"	107	297	124	"
Cameron Rifles	"	68	Col. R. J. Betge	Aug., '61	Nov. 30, '65	"	47	133	75	"
First Reg't Irish Brigade	"	69	Col. R. Nugent	Sept.–Nov., '61	June 30, '65	"	261	613	151	"
First Excelsior		70	Col. D. E. Sickles	June 20, '61	July 7, '64	"	182	351	70	
Second "		71	Col. H. L. Potter	June–July, '61	July 30, '64	"	94	235	74	

VOLUNTEERS *(Continued)*.

Synonym.	Co. or Battery.	Regt.	First Commanding Officer.	Date of Muster in.	Date of Muster out.	Term.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died.	Remarks.
(Infantry.)										
Third Excelsior		72	Col. J. Fairman	July-Oct., '61	June 29, '65	3 yrs.	153	403	76	reorg. '64
Fifth Excelsior		74	Col. C. K. Graham	June-Oct., '61	June-Aug.'64	"	125	301	70	
Cameron Highlanders		78	Col. D. Ullman	Oct., '61, April, '62	July 12, '64	"	58	121	75	trans. '64
Cameron Rifle Highlanders	(Vet.)	79	Lieut.-Col. S. McK. Elliott	May 29, '61	July 14, '65	"	116	277	83	Seventy-ninth Militia
Second Militia		82	Col. G. W. B. Tompkins	May-June, '61	June 25, '64	"	178	399	93	
Ninth Militia		83	Col. J. W. Stiles	June 8, '61	June 23, '64	"	164	390	91	
Fifth Reg't Irish Brigade		88	Col. Meagher	Sept., '61, Jan., '62	June 30, '65	"	150	395	71	reorg. '64
Hancock Guard	(Vet.)	90	Col. J. S. Morgan	Sept.-Dec., '61	Feb. 9, '66	"	65	87	190	" "
Warren Rifles	"	95	Col. G. H. Biddle	Nov., '61, Mar., '62	July 16, '65	"	119	381	136	" '65
Union Coast Guard	"	99	Col. D. W. Wardrop	June-Oct., '61	July 15, '65	"	39	80	164	" '64
Van Buren Light Infantry	"	102	Col. T. B. Van Buren	Nov.,'61, April, '62	July 21, '65	"	74	249	82	" '65
Seward Infantry	"	103	Col. F. W. Von Egloffstein	Nov., '61, Mar., '62	Dec. 7, '65	"	65	113	103	" "
		119	Col. E. Peissner	Sept. 4, '62	June 7, '65	"	77	184	94	
National Volunteers		127	Col. W. Gurney	Sept. 8, '62	June 30, '65	"	35	105	95	
First Metropolitan Guard		131	Col. C. S. Turnbull	Sept. 6, '62	July 26, '65	"	84	161	110	
Sec'd Reg't Empire Brigade		132	Col. P. J. Claassen	Oct. 4, '62	June 25, '65	"	14	26	160	
Second Metropolitan Guard		133	Col. L. D. H. Currie	Sept. 24, '62	June 6, '65	"	45	93	79	
Stanton Legion		145	Col. W. A. Allen	Sept. 11, '62	Dec. 9, '63	"	15	38	35	"discontinued" '63
Fifth Irish Legion		155	Col. W. W. McEvily	Nov. 17, '62	June 15, '65	"	115	245	74	
Third Metropolitan Guard		162	Col. L. Benedict	Aug.-Oct., '62	Oct. 12, '65	"	70	129	154	
Third Empire Brigade		163	Col. F. H. Braulieh	Oct. 10, '62	Jan. 20, '63	"	18	38	8	trans. '63
Sec'd Batt. Duryea Zouaves		165	Col. H. D. Hull	Aug.-Dec., '62	Sept. 1, '65	"	46	105	81	
Fourth Irish Legion		170	Col. P. McDermott	Oct. 7, '62	July 15, '65	"	130	241	99	
Fourth Metropolitan Guard		173	Col. C. B. Morton	Nov. 10, '62	Oct. 18, '65	"	51	128	128	
Fifth Metropolitan Guard		175	Col. T. Parmelee	Nov. 13, '62	Feb. 9, '64	"	23	36	60	consolidated '64
Ironsides		176	Col. M. Hoyt	Dec. 22, '62	April 27, '66	"	33	59	148	
		178	Col. E. Wehler	June 20, '63	April 20, '66	"	18	45	192	
Sixty-ninth N. G. Art		182	Col. M. Murphy	Nov. 17, '62	July 15, '65	"	87	203	53	
	A	190	Capt. C. S. Peterson	April 7, '65	May 4, '65	"	...	...	1	
	A & B	191	Col. L. von Gilsa	March 30, '65	May 3, '65	"	...	...	..	
Indepen. Corps Light Inf.			Lt.-Col. F. Confort	April 18, '62	Jan. 30, '64	"	9	18	52	
U. S. Colored Troops		20	Col. N. B. Bartram	Feb. 9, '64	Oct. 7, '65	"	1	...	284	
U. S. Colored Troops		26	Col. W. Silliman	Feb. 27, '64	Aug. 28, '65	"	30	...	115	
U. S. Colored Troops		31	Col. H. C. Ward	Nov. 14, '64	Nov. 7, '65	"	57	...	126	

CHAPTER XIV

RECOVERY FROM WAR—TWEED RING—SPECULATION AND REACTION

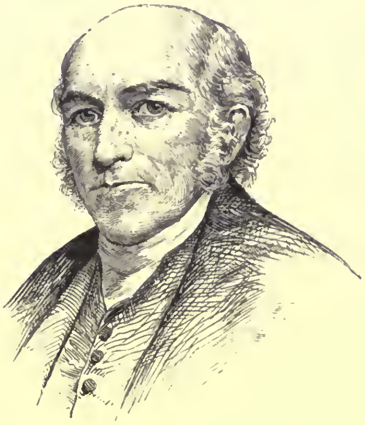
1865–1878

THE civil war ended, the city of New-York, in common with the rest of the country, turned to the arts of peace. The immense national army, no inconsiderable part of which it had itself furnished, was quietly disbanded, notwithstanding the forebodings of prophets from abroad, who feared lest the men who had swept through the Shenandoah with Sheridan, or foraged across Georgia with Sherman, and the legions led by Grant and Meade through the Wilderness, would never take kindly again to peaceful trades. New-York, which should have been the chief sufferer, had any one suffered at all in this regard, had continued evidence that the men who sacked her houses in 1863, and not those who defended them, were the only dangerous element in the city's population. The town, which Southern authorities were fond of representing as in the throes of dissolution, with idle ships rotting at her docks, and grass growing knee-deep in her streets, had never really felt the burden of the war, or at any rate had never realized that she was feeling it.

But though New-York had not gone backward during the war, she had failed to advance. There was no grass in her streets, but the grass and trees of the immediate suburbs had not given place to pavements and brick walls to any great extent. Before the war the better class of dwellings — those adapted for the occupancy of well-to-do families — had been increasing at the rate of 500 to 800 a year; during 1861–1865 not more than one tenth of this number had been built annually, on an average. The population of the city had actually decreased, or at least had appeared to do so. The demand for vacant lots subsided to almost nothing, and the prices charged for houses increased proportionately — a natural result of the high price of labor. The consequence was that at the close of the war there was a direct inducement to building enterprises; and as soon as the country had finished the gigantic task which it had for four years been struggling to accomplish, capital was not slow to find its way into such channels.

John A. Dix

The city stretched her limbs anew, and began that progress which, in a quarter of a century more, transformed her from a straggling provincial town into a metropolis. Three potent factors in that transformation were the introduction of the electric light, the use of elevators, and the achievement of rapid transit, or rather the continued struggles toward rapid transit, the desired end receding as the means for attaining it proved successively inadequate. In order fully to appreciate the power of these factors, all of which made their full influence felt within the period covered by this chapter, we have first to remember what the New-York of 1865 was. Above Forty-second street it could scarcely be said to exist, being only a dreary waste of unpaved and ungraded streets, diversified by rocky eminences crowned with squatters' shanties. Railway passengers from the north still left their trains at Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth streets. Street railways were comparatively few, and there was no speedy and comfortable way of getting from one end of the city to the other. Below Eighty-sixth street there were, in 1865, 25,261 vacant lots. The grading of Madison Avenue was still in progress, and the state of the city as regards transit facilities is set forth in a striking way by the hopeful language in which a pamphlet of that day speaks of the new street as likely to "prepare the way for an extension of the Fourth Avenue railroad," and thus give new access to the park. Unable to get anywhere on Manhattan Island, people sought the suburbs, and rapidly built up southern Connecticut and eastern New Jersey, with Long Island and Staten Island. In 1866 Dr. Samuel Osgood, in an address before the New-York Historical Society, said: "The city is distressed by prosperity, and is like an overgrown boy whose clothes are too small for his limbs, and who waits in half-nakedness for his fitting garments. . . . The scarcity of houses, and the costs of rent, living, and taxation, are grievous, and driving a large portion of our middling class into the country."



P. Wilson[1]

The rapid spread of the city, which now began, was in some instances attended with lack of judgment. Early in 1867 St. John's Park, in the lower part of the city, was sold to the Hudson River Railroad, which built thereon a huge freight-station; and, by the same short-sighted policy, part of the City Hall Park was given up three years later for the new post-office. After that time, however, popular feeling against blocking up the city's breathing-spaces—even now lamentably few—grew so strong that the demolition of houses to make a new park became much more probable than the occupation of a park by a building. St. John's Park, with its noble trees, had formed a part of the celebrated Anneke Jans estate, and but a few years before its disappearance was a fashionable residence quarter. Some of the old inhabitants, notably the great engineer John Ericsson, retained their homes there long after the rumble and bustle of countless freight-trains had replaced green grass and gravel walks. Another spot of greenery, the yard of the old New-York Hospital, at Broadway and Pearl Street, whose elms had stood since the place was far out in the country, not long afterward met the same fate. But these numerous changes were only instances of the wonderful mania for building which was now under full headway, and which has continued, with now and then a short pause, ever since, making fortunes over and over again, and changing the character of whole districts more than once in a few decades. This mania was doubtless aided by the reckless speculations of the Tweed Ring, which was just then coming into power, and the story of whose deeds will soon follow in this chapter. But it had its roots deeper than this. Its cause must be sought in the natural growth of a great commercial metropolis, which, though it may seem almost uncanny in its rapidity, yet has nothing of the mushroom about it, but is most solid and substantial.

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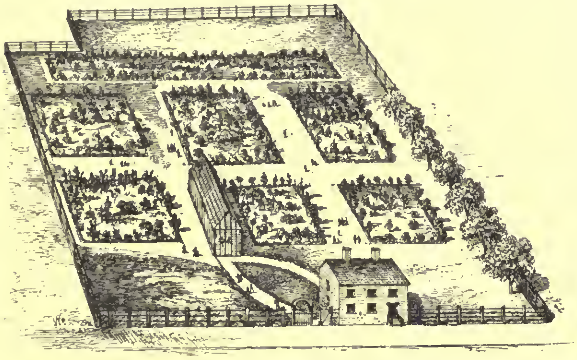
[1] Dr. Peter Wilson was born in Scotland, November 23, 1746, and was educated at the University of Aberdeen. Removing to New-York city in 1763, he became principal of an academy at Hackensack, N. J., where his house is still to be seen. In 1775, he entered into politics with great interest, serving six years in the legislature of New Jersey, and being selected to revise the laws of that State. In 1789 he became professor of Greek and Latin at Columbia College, remaining until 1820, when he was retired with a pension. He was the author of several text-books on Greek and Latin prosody, and edited Sallust, Longinus, and the Greek Testament. His death occurred Aug. 1, 1825. EDITOR.


VAUXHALL GARDEN.[1]

Accompanying this activity in real estate, there was a like activity in all kinds of speculation. Swindling became rife, and the exchanges rang with the contests of rival speculators for the control of whole railroad systems, to obtain possession of which they did not scruple to use as their tools the venal politicians and corrupt judges who were just then coming into prominence. The politicians, on the other hand, were not slow to turn the speculative fever to account for their own purposes. The corrupt ring which then controlled the city government planned improvements on a vast scale, that increased municipal expenditures might give them greater opportunity for plunder. In many cases these were of great benefit to the city, though attained at a huge cost not only in money, but in the loss of municipal honor. Among other public works, the Boulevard was laid out from the southwest corner of Central Park to Tubby Hook, St. Nicholas Avenue was created, Seventh Avenue broadened, and Broadway widened from Thirty-fourth street to the park. After the height of the speculative fever, which was reached about 1869, it declined till the panic of 1873, which must be treated of subsequently.

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[1] Vauxhall Garden was founded in 1799 by a Frenchman named Delacroix, and was situated just east of Broadway, between Fourth street and Astor Place. It was an extensive garden, laid out with much taste; handsome gravel walks abounded, adorned with trees and shrubs, busts and statues. An orchestra furnished agreeable music in the summer evenings, refreshment-tables were supplied, and buildings in which dramatic entertainments were given. Fireworks and balloon ascensions were added to the attractions of the garden, and it remained a popular summer resort until 1826, when Lafayette Place, named after the French marquis, was opened through it. EDITOR.

The new streets thus added monthly to the city were in general improperly paved,— a fault which has been rectified slowly where it has been rectified at all,— and they were also inadequately policed and lighted. Mention has been made of the electric light as a potent factor in changing the character of the city. It was not introduced till a decade later than the period of which we write. How great its influence has been, however, can scarcely be realized. Some faint idea of how much the city owes to it can perhaps be obtained by reference to the following extract from a magazine writer of this period, describing "The Bowery at Night."[1] "One night, for instance, in the merry month of May of this year, a gang of about a dozen armed ruffians boarded a Third Avenue horse-car somewhere in these latitudes, knocked down the conductor with a slung-shot, robbed and otherwise maltreated several of the passengers, and got clear away before the first policeman had made his appearance. Such incidents are by no means uncommon in the Bowery and its purlieus at night." When one realizes that such a crime would be impossible in a street with an electric light at every shop-front, he cannot help thinking of Macaulay's picture of the changes wrought in London since the days of the link-boy, and wondering what will be the next advance toward turning night into day, and pursuing crime and criminals still further into outer darkness.

Striking as the spread of the city toward all sides was at this time, its growth upward was still more surprising. The New-York of 1865 was a low city. Houses of three and four stories were spread over square miles of its territory. The Astor House was pointed out as a mammoth structure, and a six-story building was a towering wonder. Trinity steeple, as viewed from the water-front, seemed to soar above the city, where now it is almost unnoticeable amid vast structures of ten, twelve, and even eighteen stories. The overcrowding in the lower end of Manhattan Island soon made land so expensive that it became cheaper to build up into the air than to spread over the ground. The opposite conditions are well shown in Philadelphia, where the existence of unlimited room for growth on all sides has made growth into the air unnecessary. On the other hand, the influence of even a slight barrier in this direction is exemplified in Chicago, where a narrow river on two sides of the business portion of the town, and Lake Michigan on the third, have caused the erection of buildings that seem almost absurdly as well as dangerously high.

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[1] Charles Dawson Shanly, "The Atlantic Monthly," November, 1887.

TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE.[1]

This growth skyward, however, inevitable as it seems to have been, could never have taken place had it not been for the invention and development of the elevator,—the vertical railway, as it has been called,—which has made the tenth story as accessible as the second. One of the first elevators in the city, that in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was in effect a nut on a huge screw, whose revolution sent it slowly up or down. From this to the modern swift service was a long step, but it was quickly made, and no doubt the need for tall buildings in the overcrowded city acted in its turn as a stimulus to invention in this line. To the same causes must be attributed the wide adoption in New-York of the continental custom of living in apartments or flats, which began about the same time. In 1865, the author of an anonymous pamphlet on the advantages of New-York as a place of residence wrote that "the Parisian plan of dividing a large building into many suites of apartments is now receiving attention." The first of these, which were known as French flats, were opened on the west side at this time; but the first large apartment-houses were the two Stuyvesant buildings, one of which, on Eighteenth street, was opened in the autumn of 1870, and the other, on Thirteenth street, in the spring of 1871. The plan grew rapidly in favor, and as soon after this as 1873 the building bureau issued on an average fifteen permits a month for the building of apartment-houses or the remodeling of old houses to serve their purpose. Great piles of buildings sprang up on every side. The mania for living in suites of rooms was regarded by many as a fashion likely to be short-lived, and financial ruin was predicted for those who had invested their money in apartment-houses; but the event showed that the demand was founded on a real need springing from the situation and surroundings of the city, as is shown again by the almost entire absence of apartment-houses in neighboring towns, or by the failure of those that have been erected.

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[1] In 1790 the Tontine Association was organized by the merchants of New-York, with the object of providing suitable quarters for a commercial center or exchange. As an outcome of this action, the Tontine Coffee House, situated on the corner of Wall and Water streets, was begun in 1792, opened in 1794, and incorporated the same year. The shares were $200 each; and the privilege was given to each subscriber to name a person for each share held by him, during whose lifetime he or she was to be entitled to receive a pro-rata proportion of the net profits from the investment of the fund. It was also stipulated that when the number of nominees should be reduced to seven by death, the property was to be conveyed to the survivors in fee simple. In accordance with this agreement, the property was divided in 1876, the surviving nominees being William Bayard, Gouverneur Kemble, Robert Benson, Jr., Daniel Hoffman, Horatio G. Stevens, Mrs. John A. King, and Mrs. William P. Campbell. EDITOR.

D Embury

But this growth upward could not take the place of a growth outward, though it could modify it in a measure, and the city had soon outstripped its primitive means of transportation. That the citizens of New-York were not ignorant of her needs was shown by the great number of schemes for better communication which early began to take form. The winter of 1866-7 will long be remembered as one of the coldest in the history of New-York. Ice of such thickness formed on the East River that hundreds of persons crossed between Brooklyn and New-York, and the obstruction to ferry traffic was so marked that a great impetus was given to projects for bridging this important waterway. The legislature of 1866-7, with a view of having enough, passed no less than three East River bridge bills; the public attention, owing in part no doubt to the fact just mentioned, being fixed at first rather on the necessity for better connection with Long Island than on its own upper districts. Of these bills, the one incorporating the New-York Bridge Company was passed on April 16, 1867, and in the autumn of the same year a chief engineer was chosen in the person of John A. Roebling, who had just demonstrated anew the practicability of the suspension-bridge on a large scale by building the great Cincinnati and Cohington bridge, and who had previously built the Niagara bridge — the first of its type capable of bearing the weight of railway trains. He at once drew plans for the largest suspension-bridge in the world, which, on March 3, 1869, was declared by Congress to be a lawful structure, and on June 21 was approved by the secretary of war. The first caisson to be used in building was contracted for in November following, launched on March 19, 1870, and towed to Brooklyn in May. The engineer did not live to see the beginning of his work; his death—the result of an accidental injury sustained while he was making observations—occurring on July 22, 1869. The work was continued by his son, Washington A. Roebling, who carried it forward to completion. The first stone was laid on June 15, but the first tower was not completed till five years later. The history of the structure belongs to a later period, but it should not be forgotten that its inception was the first practical step toward better communication between New-York and its suburbs. In 1875, by an act of the legislature authorizing the cities of New-York and Brooklyn to raise $8,000,000 for its completion, the bridge became a public structure.

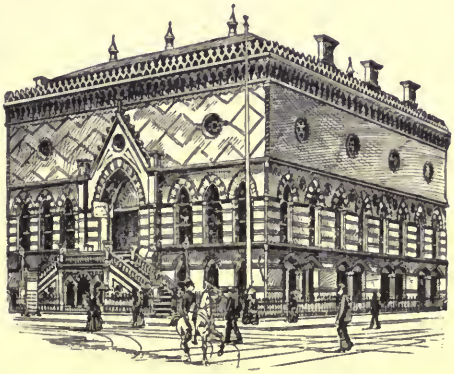
It should be noted that the elder Roebling had suggested a plan for an East River bridge as early as 1857, on the general lines of the one finally built, and that nearly half a century before, in 1811, one Thomas Pope, an architect, proposed to build between the two cities what he called a "flying pendant lever bridge," with a single span of 1800 feet, which was pronounced perfectly feasible by seventeen leading ship-builders of that period.

In 1867 a curious adjunct to rapid transit made its appearance, in the shape of the once celebrated but short-lived Loew bridge across Broadway at Fulton street,—so named from its sponsor, Alderman Charles E. Loew. It was hailed, on its completion in May of that year, as the first step toward relief for the crowded lower streets of the island; but pedestrians preferred to struggle on the ground rather than mount to the air, and in the following year it was taken down.

Meanwhile tentative efforts toward rapid transit had begun. Between 1868 and 1870 two underground roads were chartered, but neither was built, though one of them, the so-called Beach pneumatic road, constructed a sample section which was opened for public exhibition on April 26, 1870. The tunnel, which extended beneath Broadway from Warren street nearly to Murray street, had been excavated by a shield forced forward by hydraulic rams, on a principle similar to that adopted years afterward by the underground electric lines in London. It was eight feet in diameter, and the car, which fitted in it as a piston in its cylinder, was literally blown along by the action of powerful fans. The trial car seated eighteen persons, but the company promised, on the completion of its line, which was to run from the Battery to Harlem, to build cars one hundred feet long. Crowds of people visited the tunnel, but the road advanced no farther, and was finally abandoned.

Another more ambitious scheme was the arcade railway, to run in a long arcade, forming virtually a street with shops and sidewalks, just beneath the surface of the ground, the length of Broadway. This seemed at one time very likely to be built, but it succumbed to the two enemies which every rapid-transit scheme has met—the expense of construction, and the determined opposition of property-holders along the proposed route. The same obstacles were fatal to the projected viaduct railway, which it was proposed to build through private property, crossing the streets on massive bridges.

However, the germ of the future elevated-railway system had been built, and was modestly demonstrating the feasibility of rapid transit, though the lesson it taught bore no fruit for a decade. The much-derided Greenwich street elevated road was begun in 1866, and put in operation on July 2, 1867. It had but one track, and ran from Battery Place, through Greenwich street and Ninth Avenue, to Thirtieth street. At first it was operated by a cable, which was soon abandoned in favor of steam locomotives. With all its disadvantages, it was no wonder that it did not become popular, and it remained chiefly a curiosity and the butt of good-natured ridicule till it was sold out by the sheriff in 1871. Its new management made a strong effort to push it northward, but legal obstacles beset them on all sides, thrown in their way by the strenuous opposition of the horse-railroads and of property-owners.


THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.[1]

In the legislative session of 1871–2, two new roads were chartered, one of which, the Gilbert road (named from its projector, Dr. Rufus H. Gilbert), proposed to erect a pneumatic tube suspended from lofty arches, to be operated on the principle of the Beach road, mentioned above, and thus to be practically noiseless and completely out of sight. This being found impracticable, the company decided to build their proposed tube without a top, and construct a steam road in the trough thus left, whose sides would cut off the trains from the view of residents and passers-by. Finally the trough was abandoned, and the plan became a project for a simple elevated steam road like that in Greenwich street. This change of plan was the cause of much opposition and renewed litigation.

Meanwhile, in 1875, the legislature passed the act known as the Husted Act, for the appointment of a commission to decide in the first place as to the necessity of a system of rapid transit for New-York, and, if they should find such necessity to exist, to fix upon proper routes. On July 1 of that year the commission was formed by appointment of the mayor, consisting of Joseph Seligman, Lewis B. Brown, Cornelius H. Delamater, Jordan L. Mott, and Charles J. Canda. Its first meeting was held on July 13, and after deliberating through the summer, it decided "that elevated steam railways are not only more likely than any other steam railways to be actually constructed in this city, but are the best for the purpose in view." On December 11 they reported that their work was at an end, and that the task of building the roads upon the assigned streets — namely, Ninth, Sixth, Third, and Second avenues—had been assigned to the Gilbert road and to the New-York road, the corporation then operating the little elevated road on Greenwich street. Construction and litigation were now renewed. In 1876 the New-York company had extended its road to Fifty-ninth street, and, in the words of its published announcements, was running "40 through trains each day." In the spring of the following year a controlling interest in it was purchased by Cyrus W. Field, who thenceforward showed the same tireless energy and zeal in pushing it to completion that had characterized his connection with the Atlantic telegraph-cable. In September, 1877, by unanimous decision of the Court of Appeals, the charters of both roads were declared constitutional, and all injunctions dissolved. Work was at once pushed on both lines, and on June 5, 1878, the one on Sixth Avenue was opened from Rector street to the park. It had by this time passed out of Dr. Gilbert's control, and its name had been changed to the Metropolitan Elevated Road. On August 26 the Third Avenue route was opened as far as Forty-second street, and in 1880 the Second Avenue road was opened to Sixty-seventh street. In the same year the lines on both sides of the city had reached Harlem. The two companies had been consolidated in 1879, under the title of the Manhattan Railway Company, and thus the close of the decade

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[1] The National Academy of the Arts of Design was organized January 18, 1826, with Samuel F. B. Morse as its president. Its first exhibition was in May, 1826, on the second floor of a building at the corner of Reade street and Broadway, when one hundred and seventy-six pictures by living artists were exhibited. It occupied various rooms until 1866, when its present edifice at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street was completed. The architecture is Venetian Gothic; the material gray and white marble and bluestone, and the cost of the site and building $237,000. It was built by popular subscription. Two exhibitions are held yearly, and instruction is free. EDITOR.

C Le Roy Webster[1]

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[1] Caroline Le Roy, daughter of Herman Le Roy, was born in New-York city, where her father resided at No. 7 Broadway. In 1829 she married Daniel Webster, who was then a widower with children. She accompanied him on his various tours in this country and abroad, assisted him in his correspondence, and her good judgment and discretion were of invaluable aid to him in many important affairs, notably when he was secretary of state under Tyler and Fillmore. The Le Roy family have been residents of New-York city for nearly two hundred years. EDITOR.

saw New-York in possession of as full a share of rapid transit as she was destined to enjoy for many years. It seemed ample at first, but the growth of the city soon overtook the capacity of the roads, and at the present writing it is conceded by all that the problem has not yet been permanently solved.

In this brief sketch of the progress toward its solution, which for the sake of the connected narrative has necessarily run far ahead of the general history of the city, no mention has yet been made of what was really the first practical gain in the way of rapid transit. Until 1871 the Hudson River, New-York and New Haven, and Harlem railroads had their termini in what was fast growing to be the central district of the city,—the first-named at Thirtieth street and Ninth Avenue, the two others at Madison and Fourth Avenues, and Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh streets. To reach these points trains were obliged to run slowly, and even then accidents were frequent. On October 9, 1871, the Grand Central Station at Forty-second street, forming a joint terminus for all three of these roads, was opened, and the summer of 1875 saw the completion of the great engineering work that separated the street and railroad grades from that point to the Harlem River. For four miles and a half the tracks run through tunnels or open cuts, or over a stone viaduct. The cost was $6,000,000, of which half was paid by the roads and half by the city. This improvement saved many human lives annually, and added to the available space of the city by opening upper Fourth Avenue for residence sites, but it also made rapid transit an assured fact between Forty-second street and Harlem by making possible the running of frequent trains, with stops at short intervals, at a reasonably high rate of speed.

Before the realization of any of these schemes, however, the city had already grown not only in population, but in area, so as to make their ultimate extension imperative. In 1873 part of Westchester County, including the villages of Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge, were incorporated with the city, pushing its northern boundary as far as the city of Yonkers, and making its greatest length sixteen miles. By this annexation the area of the city was nearly doubled, being increased from 14,000 acres to about 27,000 acres. Transit facilities in this district were provided for by extensions and connections of the existing roads on both sides of the city, and portions of its territory were reserved for public parks, which bid fair to rank in the future among the most attractive features of the city.

An event which, though it was not connected with the internal growth of the city, profoundly affected its relations with the great world across the sea, may fitly be noticed here. On July 13, 1866, the steamer Great Eastern set sail in a final effort to connect this country with England by telegraph-cable. She had renewed her efforts, abandoned since the brief triumph of 1858, on July 23 of the previous year, but the cable had snapped 1200 miles from shore. This time, however, the success was complete. Not only was the new cable laid, but the lost one was picked up and spliced, and telegraphic communication between the two continents has never been interrupted since that time. The event was celebrated by a banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce on November 15, and Cyrus W. Field was again the hero of the hour. He was presented by Congress with a gold medal, and the prime minister of England declared that had he been a citizen of Great Britain, he would have received the highest honors in the power of that nation to bestow. John Bright crystallized the feeling of the time in the saying that Field was "the Columbus of modern times, who by his cable had moored the new world alongside the old." In the following year he received the grand medal of the Paris Exposition. Though these events belong properly to the general history of the country, they were of peculiar interest to New-York, not only because of the unique benefits she received from the establishment of cable communication, on account of her commercial preëminence, but also because the success of the enterprise was due to the energy, and the refusal to succumb under defeat, shown by one of her own citizens. A grateful memory of his services to the two nations has ever been cherished on both sides of the ocean, as was amply proved by the comments of the press at his death, more than a quarter of a century afterward.

In July, 1866, Congress passed a law creating the grade of admiral, which had never hitherto existed in the navy, the office being at once conferred upon David Glasgow Farragut, the hero of so many naval battles; and in 1867 he was placed in command of the squadron which was to sail for European waters. The vessel selected for the admiral's flag-ship was the Franklin, 39 guns, a noble frigate of four thousand tons, carrying a complement of seven hundred and fifty men. The date set for the departure of the fleet from New-York was June 28; and a few days previously, on the 17th, the admiral gave a grand reception on board the flag-ship, which was attended by President Andrew Johnson and his cabinet, and many of the most distinguished people in the city, including several hundred ladies. The president was received with all the honors, the French and American men-of-war in the harbor saluting with twenty-one guns and manning their yards. After a most successful cruise in foreign waters, where Farragut was received with the greatest honor and attention by the crowned heads of Europe, the Franklin returned to New-York, November 10, 1868. An interesting journal of the cruise was published in 1869 by the admiral's secretary.[1]

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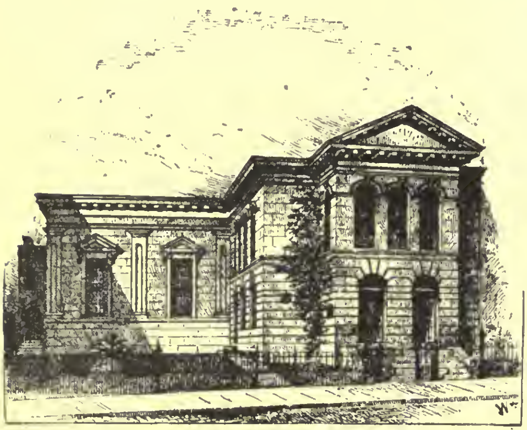
[1] "The Cruise of the Franklin," by James E. Montgomery. New-York.

Among events that betokened the entry of the city on a broader life were the reorganization of some of its departments, and the creation of new ones. First of all came the organization of a paid fire department. On May 2, 1865, in pursuance of an act passed by the legislature in March previous, the old volunteer department gave way to the present system, and at the same time the old hand-engines were replaced by modern steam appliances. The old volunteer force was corrupt and unreliable. Its engine-houses were frequented by many idle, vicious young men, and citizens were aroused at all hours of the night by the noisy clatter of some fire-company running to answer what was as likely to be a false alarm as a true one. The change was attended with friction similar, in a smaller way, to that which hindered the establishment of the new police system nearly a decade before. The new commissioners were loudly denounced as unconstitutional, and some of the volunteers refused to give up the property of the department; but an affirmative decision from the Court of Appeals soon effected the change. When the effort to prevent the change had proved vain, there was an attempt to punish the citizens by disbanding the volunteer department, leaving the city without protection against fire; but many of the volunteers would not join in such a movement, and as there were numerous old firemen among the metropolitan police force, vacancies were quickly filled, so that from July to November, 1865, 3810 volunteers were quietly re-

TERRACE AND LAKE, CENTRAL PARK.

lieved. The department thus established has always held high rank for efficiency among the world's fire-brigades, and has enjoyed the distinction among the city departments of being the only one never interfered with by politicians to its detriment. In the same year an act of the legislature authorized the organization of the Fire-insurance Patrol, which has rendered very efficient aid to the department, not in the extinguishing of fires, but in removing goods from burning buildings and in the protection of their contents from injury by water.


CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.

Having thus provided the means of fighting fire, the city authorities were, a few months later, obliged to cope with a more insidious adversary, and devise means for keeping it at bay. In November, 1865, the steamship Atlanta arrived in port with several emigrants ill with Asiatic cholera. The city was at that time without a quarantine station, the previous buildings on Staten Island having been destroyed. The sick were transferred to a hulk, and in a few weeks the disease was checked by the approach of winter. Fears lest an outbreak of cholera should take place in the following spring, however, led to the passage of an act by the legislature on February 26, 1866, creating a metropolitan sanitary district and establishing a Board of Health, consisting of four commissioners appointed by the governor, together with the health-officer, the police board, and other ex-officio members. The first commissioners appointed by the governor were Dr. James Crane, Dr. Willard Parker, Dr. John O. Stone, and Jackson S. Schultz, and the board organized, with the last-named gentleman as chairman. It immediately began to clean and purify the territory under its jurisdiction, which included the counties of New-York, Kings, Richmond, and a portion of Westchester. In view of the arrival of infected vessels at other ports, the governor granted the board extraordinary powers, but its efforts to provide proper quarantine facilities, even, if necessary, by force, failed through the violent opposition of the dwellers near all available points. Meanwhile, on April 18, the steamer Virginia from Liverpool arrived in the harbor with malignant cholera on board, and on May 1 the disease broke out in the city itself. In August it had reached its height, and it then declined till the autumn, when it had practically ceased. The efforts of the new health board, hampered as it was, in all probability saved the city from a scourge. Though the cholera was confined to the unsanitary parts of the town, and to the institutions on the islands in the East River, there were 1205 deaths, of which 460 were in the city proper, including the shipping in the harbor. Small as the number of deaths was in comparison with that in other parts of the country, especially in western cities, it has never been exceeded since, owing, in no small degree, to the efficiency of this board and its competent successors.

Horace Greeley

During this same summer there was a determined effort to resist the enforcement of a recently passed excise law whose provisions were regarded as unduly severe by liquor-dealers. So strong was the feeling that the authorities suspended its execution, and in July the governor issued a proclamation calling an extra session of the Supreme Court especially to test its constitutionality. The court, in an important decision, sustained the right of the legislature to regulate the traffic, and affirmed that in doing so it did not "interfere or restrain any one of his liberty or property." The claim of the dealers that a license granted previous to the passage of the law was a contract whose obligation could not be impaired, was also expressly denied in the just decision.

In 1870 a separate department was organized to take charge of the docks of the city. It consisted of three commissioners nominated by the mayor for a term of six years. They at once began to carry out a system which contemplates the surrounding of the city with a stone bulkhead wall, at a uniform depth of 20 to 25 feet of water. The acquisition of the water-line, however, proceeded very slowly, and involved tedious litigation; and the water-front of New-York is not yet in keeping with her unexampled facilities, and her position as a great commercial and maritime city.

The years 1870 and 1871 were marked by disturbances of the public peace, which, though in themselves insignificant, especially when contrasted with the days of mob rule in 1863, involved events of much importance. The right of a peaceable body of men to parade the streets quietly was then officially called in question, and practically established on so firm a basis that it is doubtful if a second attempt will ever be made to interfere with it. On July 12, 1870, a party of Orangemen held a picnic at Elm Park, on Eighth Avenue near Ninety-second street, in one of their annual celebrations of the battle of the Boyne. As they marched up the avenue the band that led them played some tunes which roused the anger of a gang of laborers —Roman Catholic Irishmen — on the new Boulevard near by. The laborers promptly attacked the procession with stones, and the Orangemen resisted. Shots were fired on both sides, killing three persons, and wounding others, some of whom died afterward. A strong police force restored order for the time, but the recollection of the affray remained, and as July of the following year approached, it became evident that nothing short of the severest measures could avert a serious riot.

The Orangemen were determined to parade, while their rivals were just as determined to break up the parade should one be attempted. In this crisis the city authorities took what seemed to them to be the simplest course, which in this case, as in so many others, was both weak and unjust. On the day before that appointed for the parade, the superintendent of police, James J. Kelso, issued an order, either by command or with the approval of the mayor, A. Oakey Hall, prohibiting it. But public opinion was well on the side of the Orangemen. Provoking as their public appearance might be in reminding their adversaries of an ancient defeat, it was clearly seen that this constituted no reason for arraying the civil authorities on the side of their assailants — an action which was much like meeting the well-known dislike of bulls for red by a strict prohibition of red dresses, instead of by shutting up the bulls.

THE FEMALE NORMAL COLLEGE.

The police order was the signal for a general outbreak of indignation. Among other indications of public sentiment, there was a mass meeting at the Produce Exchange, which denounced the course of the city authorities. The latter were quick to see that they had made a blunder in transforming the Orangemen from an inconspicuous faction into a body representative of the whole public. Governor Hoffman was telegraphed for, and on his arrival from Albany a consultation was held, resulting in the revocation of the objectionable order and the issuance of a proclamation calling on all citizens to keep the peace, and declaring that the full power of the State—civil and military—would be used to protect the paraders in their undoubted rights. This act of the governor was hailed by the public as a sign that he was determined to have his own way, though it seems doubtful whether it was anything more than a tardy acknowledgment of the sovereignty of public opinion. The "Nation," in an editorial article, gave the governor a somewhat doubtful compliment by calling the act "a totally unlooked-for display of energy and independence." But be that as it may, there is no doubt of its important results. Its wisdom is still called in question by some, but however unwise it may be to allow factions to inflame each other's passions publicly, it would certainly be far more unwise for the city to identify itself wholly with one faction. The fact that the mayor, wearing the insignia of the Ribbonmen, had headed the last St. Patrick's day procession, could not fail to be commented upon in this connection. Just before the time appointed for the parade to start, the appearance of police headquarters reminded the onlookers forcibly of the days of the draft riots. Information was constantly being received that armed bands of men were preparing to oppose the procession, and bodies of police were massed in different parts of the city to receive them. About noon the first demonstration was made in the form of a determined attack on the Fenian armory in Avenue A, but the assailants were beaten off by the police.

On hearing of the order forbidding the parade, most of the Orange lodges had arranged to spend the day outside the city, so that when the procession set out the escort of military and police almost hid from view those they were to accompany and protect. The parade consisted of the Eighty-fourth, Twenty-second, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth regiments, and the Gideon Lodge of Orangemen (numbering less than 100 men). The streets were lined with spectators, but there was sign of neither applause nor disapproval till the parade reached a spot on Eighth Avenue, between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth streets. Here a shot was fired from a tenement-house, and in a moment there was a general assault, stones and other missiles being thrown from the neighboring buildings, and more shots being fired from the crowd. These attacks brought several volleys from the Ninth and Eighty-fourth regiments, which created deadly havoc among the mob; and although the firing by these two organizations was unauthorized, it was felt by the public to be justifiable, and of inestimable service, as tending to crush the outbreak at its very beginning. It was a matter of regret that innocent persons, attracted by the excitement of the hour, lost their lives by being among the disturbers of the peace at the time of the shooting, but this was an unavoidable sequence to the occasion. The total number of killed and mortally wounded in this brief contest was fifty-four, including three members of the Ninth regiment, while many of the soldiers received slight injuries. The Orangemen were escorted as far as the Seventh Regiment armory, then situated over Tompkins market, and the several regiments were ordered to clear the adjacent streets. This being done, the Orangemen divested themselves of their regalia, and slipped away quietly, one by one, to their homes, and the trouble was ended. When the news of the assault and its repulse had spread through the city, business was at once suspended, and the citizens, with a shuddering remembrance of the atrocities of 1863, feared that the end was not yet; but the mob had received a severe lesson, and soon disappeared. Governor Hoffman, however, summoned additional regiments from Brooklyn to be ready, and prepared to direct their movements in person.

As is usual in such cases, public opinion on the contest was somewhat divided, and there was much condemnation of the military for precipitancy, heightened by the knowledge that they had fired without specific orders. In some quarters indignation against them ran high. On the whole, however, it was felt that the soldiers who were killed in the affair had lost their lives not only in defense of a principle dear to all, but in vindicating the right of the decent people of the city not to be dictated to by ruffians. The dead men were buried on the following Sunday, with elaborate ceremony. In strong contrast to the popular sentiment in regard to them was the feeling of mingled amusement and disgust with which the city heard of the desertion of the colonel of the Ninth Regiment, the notorious James Fisk, the partner of Gould,[1] at the beginning of the affray. Fearing, doubtless, lest he should be a target for the bullets of the mob, he prudently slipped away, and perhaps saved his life. Two years later he was shot dead by a rival in a quarrel about a worthless woman.

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[1] "To treat the late Jay Gould, as some of our contemporaries have done, as a man who achieved his notoriety, and acquired the enormous power which he wielded in the financial world, under ordinary conditions, is to do our civilization great injustice. He was in reality as much the product of anarchy as Napoleon — to whom he is often compared — or Rosas, or the Greek Hadgi-Stavros. He saw his opportunities, and made his beginnings, in a state of things in which all the institutions of a civilized society — the Legislature, the Judiciary, the Exchanges, the means of carrying on commerce and even currency — were made to take part in the semi-military contest of two speculators for the possession of a railroad, and in which a Boss, and not a Buccaneer, was preparing to take possession of a great city and loot the treasury, not on the Spanish Main, but in a Christian Protestant Anglo-Saxon State. One of Gould's own earliest exploits was storming with an armed force a tannery which was defended by his business rivals with another armed force, in regular twelfth-century fashion. In short, the community was, between 1865 and 1873, in that revolutionary condition in which Tweeds, Fisks, and Goulds surely appear, apparently in obedience to a law of social development. As you sow so shall you reap, say the Scriptures. Thorn-trees produce thorns and fig-trees figs, and to stand round Gould's grave now, and treat his career as something wonderful,

A word should be said here of John T. Hoffman, whose determined action was the cause of these exciting events. He had already been mayor of the city in 1866. Mr. Hoffman, who was then in his forty-second year, was a native of Sing Sing, a graduate of Union College, and active in politics from early manhood. At the time of his election as mayor, he was best known for the severe sentences he had delivered, while recorder of the city, against persons engaged in the draft riots; but he is perhaps chiefly remembered for his action in relation to the riot just described.

John T. Hoffman

In April, 1866, was founded the first of the societies which—all arising within a decade—have for their object the aiding of the city authorities in the enforcement of the law, and the assumption of responsibility for the prosecution of law-breakers in those thousands of cases where investigation is the business of everybody, and therefore of nobody. This first, however, differed from all the others in that it had first to secure the passage of the laws which it undertook to enforce, and then to create a public sentiment favorable to their enforcement—all in the face of indifference, opposition, and ridicule. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was the creation of a single man, Henry Bergh. Mr. Bergh was the son of Christian Bergh, a ship-builder of German descent, from whom he inherited a competence. In 1862 he was appointed secretary of legation and vice-consul at St. Petersburg, but in 1864 he resigned, and devoted himself to travel. While abroad, the cruelties that he saw inflicted upon dumb animals determined him to devote the rest of his life to bettering their condition. On his return, having interested citizens in his project, he procured by his personal exertions a charter for his proposed society, together with the passage of a law, drawn up by himself, for the proper protection of animals. From that time till his death he labored incessantly—on the lecture platform, in the court-room, and in the street—in his chosen pursuit, and succeeded

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is to misunderstand the moral government of the world. Every great modern city — as we have said in speaking of Tammany — swarms with men capable of making very good Goulds, Fisks, Tweeds, Kellys, and Crokers, under favoring social conditions. Create the needed environment, and you can have them anywhere by the dozen — keen, alert, courageous, resourceful, unscrupulous, ready to use, for either rule or ruin, every weapon which the law and the meanness or greed of their fellow-men put into their hands. It is a sorrowful thing to have to give up whole pages of a newspaper to a chronicle of the exploits of such men. They ought properly to be recorded only in popular medieval ballads. They are sad anachronisms in the days of "public opinion" and a free press. But the sorrow they cause has its crown when they pass their later years in tranquil prosperity, and go down to the grave with more or less of the admiration of the generation which comes after them, and which has only a vague, if any, memory of the way in which they began their struggle, and sees how far success has gone to palliate or condone their enormous offenses against civil society. Their type is to-day the worst enemy with which democracy has to contend — the enemy which, if the great experiment fails, will be the cause of the failure." "The Nation," December 8, 1892.

in making himself respected and even loved where he was at first derided and slandered. The fact that duly appointed special agents of the society are peace officers throughout the State gives them a power that no one can afford to despise, and the brute who would otherwise overwork or torture his horse has been taught that there is a practical power in humanity that he may not dare to oppose.

Henry Bergh

The efforts of Mr. Bergh to put a stop to scientific observation by vivisection brought down on him the wrath of the medical profession, and his attempted interference with the shooting of trapped pigeons made him unpopular with many sportsmen; but before he died he had won the approval of the entire respectable portion of the community, and the society that he founded is recognized as one of the most beneficent influences in the city. It has become the parent of kindred organizations throughout the country, and has also powerfully influenced legislation on the subject of cruelty to animals. At the beginning of its work no State or Territory of the Union had among its statutes any law for the protection of dumb animals; in 1893 almost all the States and Territories had passed such laws, based in most cases on the original statute framed by him.

The second of the societies above mentioned—the Society for the Suppression of Vice—had its origin in a movement of the Young Men's Christian Association against obscene literature. It was incorporated in 1873, under the leadership of Anthony Comstock, who occupied in relation to it much the same position as that held by Mr. Bergh toward the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He had already secured the passage of State and national laws against the dissemination of obscene literature, and the society proceeded diligently to enforce them, seizing tons of books, stereotype plates, and photographs. Soon it extended its province and attacked swindlers of all kinds, including bogus medical institutions, gambling-houses, lotteries, and the like. In one year the society seized twenty-four tons of obscene matter and six tons of gambling implements, and added $118,656 to the public funds through the imposition of fines and the forfeiture of bail bonds.

The third society, that for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, was organized in 1874, and incorporated in 1875 under a general State law providing for the formation of such societies. It owes its origin to the first-mentioned society, the attention of one of whose members was called to the need of such an organization by the rescue, by Mr.

Bergh, of a little girl from inhuman treatment. Mr. Gerry, a grandson of Vice-President Elbridge Gerry, was born in New-York in 1837, and has won reputation as a lawyer, placing his personal services at the disposal of the society of which he is the head. This society has done a good work in promoting the health of the tenement-house children, rescuing and caring for many little ones cruelly maltreated by drunken parents or guardians, and seeing to it that children are not employed, as on the stage, to make money for others at the expense of their own health and morals.

The list of these associations is closed by the Society for the Prevention of Crime, formed in 1876, with objects similar to those of Mr. Comstock's society, but especially with a view to the enforcement of the excise laws and the suppression of disorderly houses. Its head, from its foundation to his death, was the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby. Dr. Crosby, who was born in New-York in 1826, was, at the time of its foundation, chancellor of the University of New-York, and pastor of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church. Throughout his connection with the society he was prominent as an advocate of temperance as distinguished from total abstinence, and of high license as opposed to prohibition, and did much to influence legislation in this regard.

Thomas Coman[1]

All these four societies have had much in common, both in method and in the degree of popular esteem in which they are held. They have made mistakes occasionally, and have often carried their enthusiasm almost to the verge of absurdity, yet no one of them could be spared, and their inception marks out the decade just following the civil war as something more than an era of financial speculation and political corruption.

About this time New-York had occasion to show her hospitality to two foreign princes. In 1869 Prince Arthur, afterward Duke of Connaught, the youngest son of Queen Victoria, visited this country, and was received with cordial demonstrations of regard. Two years later the young Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was the recipient of even more distinguished attentions. He arrived in the city on November 19, and on the 21st was given a public reception. On his return to New-York, after visiting Washington and Annapolis, he was given a ball at the Brooklyn Navy-yard on the 28th, and another at the Academy of Music on the 29th. On December 2, he was presented at the Academy of Design with Page's picture of Admiral Farragut in the battle of Mobile Bay. These courtesies did much to strengthen the feelings of friendship which have always existed between this country and Russia, and they were rendered a pleasure to those who extended them by the personality of the young Grand Duke, who won many friends wherever he went.

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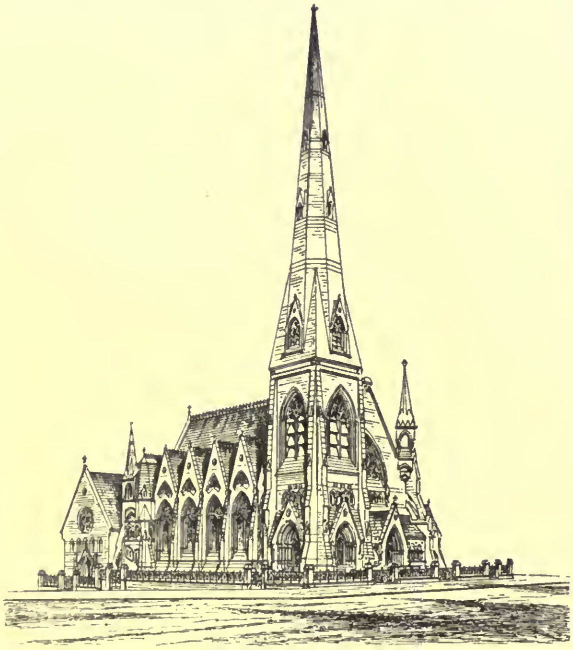
[1] Thomas Coman, who was a printer and a member of the board of aldermen, served as mayor during December, 1868, to finish the unexpired term of John T. Hoffman, who had held the office, but had just been elected governor of the State. EDITOR.

But a short time before these festivities New-York was called upon to lend a helping hand to a sister city in distress, and the mention of her noble response may fittingly close this record of a decade's progress in material welfare. On October 6, the great fire began that laid half of the city of Chicago in ashes, destroyed property worth $200,000,000, covered five square miles with ruins, and rendered 100,000 people homeless. On the two days while the fire was raging very little business was done in New-York, and immediately afterward public meetings were held in aid of the sufferers, and citizens vied with each other in liberality. In less than two weeks nearly $3,000,000 in money and material was sent to Chicago as the contribution of New-York. Not all the iniquities of the Tweed Ring, which must be now unfolded at length, can cause such a philanthropic deed as this to be forgotten.


COLLEGIATE REFORMED CHURCH.[1]

The events now to be recorded are such as to bring a blush to the cheek of every honest lover of his country, involving, as they do, the plundering of its greatest city by a gang of thieves in the guise of municipal officers, while the citizens looked supinely on. The causes which conspired to bring about such a state of things were various. In the first place, the concentration of Federal and State power at Washington and Albany respectively had long tended to make New-York the tool of politicians who regarded it as a mine to be worked for their own benefit. The city, instead of being the leader of the State, was only its creature. It was governed by commissions and boards appointed at Albany, ostensibly non-partizan, but often really so only in the sense that they acknowledged no party but themselves. Misgovernment was made more easy by the existence of two sets of officials — one for the city and one for the county, whose limits were the same. The State legislature, too, which should have acted as a check on the governing bodies it had created, too often shut its eyes to their misdeeds, or gave good reason for believing that it was actually in collusion with them.[1]

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[1] The Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church was the first ecclesiastical organization in New-York city, having been founded in 1628. The first church building was erected in Broad street in 1633. The Garden street church (1693), the Old Middle Dutch Church (1729), and the North Dutch Church (1769) formed one parish, all under the name given above. The present edifice, on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth street, is a handsome structure of Newark sandstone, and was designed by W. Wheeler Smith. It was dedicated in 1872. EDITOR.

The war had withdrawn from the city and from the State many of their best men, and those who were left were so occupied with the stirring events of the national struggle that they had no eyes for the rapidly growing corruption of the municipal government. New-York was teeming with the very worst elements in the country, and these were thrown into prominence in the councils of the local Democratic party through the feeling of hopeless apathy which kept the more worthy leaders in the background. Through the port of New-York — the gateway to the American continent — had poured for years thousands upon thousands of emigrants from every quarter of the globe, no small proportion of whom had remained in the city — often by no means the more desirable part.

BRIDGE AND LAKE, CENTRAL PARK.

This is not the place to discuss the causes that led so large a number of these to cast in their lot with the Democratic party. Suffice it to say that the Tammany Society had long served as the means by which the local leaders had accustomed this element to submit to the discipline of political organization. It was so first used by Aaron Burr, and had attained so great power that, once in the control of the baser faction, nothing could stay the progress of that corruption to which in the hands of the better element it would have been an effectual check. The government of the city by a mob of newly imported emigrants, in fact, was the cause of that reaction which handed over the control of municipal affairs to the Albany commissions.

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[1] This state of things, while it reached its height in New-York, was by no means confined to this city. In 1869 Senator Grimes, Republican, of Iowa, thus wrote to his friend Senator Fessenden of Maine: "The war has corrupted everybody and everything in the United States. Thank God, my political career ended with the beginning of this corrupt political era."

At the close of the war all these evil influences were at their height. The tremendous national issues which called for settlement divided the respectable citizens into hostile camps, and the corruptionists, who always act as a unit, had things their own way. The increasing demoralization was aided not a little by the resort of great corporations to bribery to carry their schemes through the State and municipal legislative bodies. Stock-jobbing began to grow more prevalent, the mania for speculation, already described, was rife, and all seemed to be engaged in one great game of grab.

A good opportunity for the plunder of the city by its officials had existed for many years; indeed, it had long been taken advantage of on a small scale, and had the plunderers been content with thousands instead of millions, their misdeeds perhaps had never been heard of. The root of the whole trouble lay in the board of supervisors, a body created in embryo as early as 1787. In that year the mayor, recorder, and aldermen were constituted supervisors of the city and county, with power to apportion and raise the State tax. In 1857 this board was reorganized by the legislature, and made the governing body of the county, consisting of twelve members, six from each political party. This non-partizan provision was made in the interest of reform, but its influence was in the other direction, for by its means unscrupulous members of both parties were enabled to combine into a ring, and thus hold the city at their mercy.

Here was the germ of the great municipal ring, whose future leader, William M. Tweed, was one of the Democratic members of this first "reformed" board of supervisors. Tweed was then thirty-four years old, having been born in New-York in 1823. After receiving an ordinary common-school education, he learned his father's trade of chairmaking; but from an early age he seems to have developed a liking for anything but honest labor, and devoted most of his time to the volunteer fire department, becoming foreman of the "Big Six," or Americus Engine Company. Here he utilized the popularity which he always had power to gain, and which he never failed to make use of, by organizing voters and becoming a ward "boss." In 1850 he was elected to the common council, then popularly known as "The Forty Thieves," where he was not outdone by his associates in the furtherance of lucrative jobs, some of which put money in his pocket, while others gained him new friends or bound old ones more firmly to him. His aldermanic career was appropriately closed by his arrest with his fellow-councilmen for contempt of court in having granted a street-car franchise in disobedience to an injunction.

Tweed escaped imprisonment, and by this time had gained enough political influence to send him to Congress. Here he made no impression, though, by that faculty which he retained through life, he gained hosts of friends,—generally, it is true, but by no means always, in the lower strata of society. After a single term of service he returned to New-York a poor man, and we next find him a member of the board of supervisors, as has already been mentioned. Of this board he was four times president, and here he built up his infamous system of public plunder. But, successful as he was, Tweed seems never to have originated a great scheme; he only elaborated the ideas of others. He was no great organizer of men, had no financial genius, and was remarkable chiefly for his enormous fund of self-confidence and self-assertion, which easily gave him the lead among those of much greater intellect. His power had been enormously increased by his election as grand sachem of the Tammany Society — a result made possible by the condition into which that organization had then fallen. Badly shaken by factional fights, its control had been allowed to fall into the hands of the lower class of politicians after the election of Fernando Wood as mayor. In 1863 Tweed was raised to its head, and from this time forward he began to cumulate offices, being immediately made deputy street commissioner in addition to the supervisorship.

A Oakey Hall

The first act to which the history of the ring can be directly traced was when Tweed and two other Democratic supervisors bribed one of their Republican colleagues to stay away on a day when the board was to appoint inspectors of elections. This corrupt bargain opened the way for others, and soon a scheme for money-making was devised and carried out. A percentage was levied on all bills presented to the board for audit, as the price of the support of Tweed and his two colleagues, who were usually able to carry affairs as they wished. In 1864, however, another supervisor was taken into the ring, and from that time on others were added as it seemed necessary or expedient.

So far the thievery of the ring was of an old and hackneyed character — a mere adaptation of the clumsy methods of the old common council. But now brains were added to the combination by the accession of Peter B. Sweeny — already a power in Tammany, and one of the leaders of that revolution that had set Tweed at the head of the organization. This man essayed the rôle of the power behind the throne, and by throwing an air of mystery about himself and keeping aloof from the vulgar crowd, he succeeded in impressing every one with the idea that he possessed great intellectual force, as is shown by his nickname of "Brains" Sweeny. Yet he was only a lawyer of mediocre ability, the son of an Irish liquor-dealer, and of such knowledge of men as a considerable experience in the lobby at Albany could give him. He had been in the office of James T. Brady, and had risen by his own exertions to the post of district attorney in 1858, but broke down on the trial of his first case from lack of self-possession. He was invited into the ring for his known abilities as a schemer, and seems to have taken a malign pleasure in cloaking its doings, so far as he was able, under the forms of law. It is said that he had a profound admiration for Louis Napoleon, and in similar circumstances might have carried his admiration to the point of imitation; but in New-York he had to content himself with his share of the plunder, and with his wide reputation as a dark, dangerous, and most consummate schemer.

ARSENAL AND MENAGERIE, CENTRAL PARK.

To complete the ring, a financier was required, and one was ready in the person of Richard D. Connolly, popularly called "Slippery Dick." Connolly had been brought in his youth to this country from Ireland by an elder brother, and soon began to dabble in politics. He was elected county clerk before he was naturalized, but, justifying his pseudonym by breaking the promises that he had made to his friends before his election, he was obliged to retire for several years into obscurity. Finally he obtained a nomination to the State senate, and secured his seat by dint of the frauds in which he was an adept. Afterward he served as an accountant in a national bank, which gave him considerable knowledge of money matters. Connolly seems to have had neither the shrewdness of Sweeny nor the impudence of Tweed; but he was smooth, oily, and insinuating, and ready enough to follow in the lead of his bolder associates.

The method by which these men succeeded in their scheme of plunder was by forming wheels within wheels — by a system of subordinate rings, each dependent in some way on its fellows, so that the whole municipal government was tangled up in a network of corruption. Of these subordinate rings the most baneful was that which included part of the State judiciary. The justices whose names will go down to history as the "ring judges" were George G. Barnard, Albert Cardozo, and John H. McCunn. Barnard was corrupt, insolent, and overbearing, and though he had indomitable will, he obeyed the behests of his masters of the ring implicitly. Curiously enough, this man had posed as a reformer in 1866, denouncing the corruption of the municipal government before the grand jury, and issuing injunctions against fraudulent acts of the common council. For a time his praise was sounded on all sides by the public and in the press. The best citizens joined with him in urging the legislature to pass a bill giving to a judge of the first department of the Supreme Court (New-York city) the exclusive right of holding special term in chambers, and, the bill having become law, Governor Reuben E. Fenton was asked to designate Barnard as such judge. The governor, however, on private information, refused, and Barnard, throwing off the mask, dissolved his injunctions, and ordered the comptroller to pay the money for all the contested "jobs."

Cardozo, the second ring judge, was a different man altogether. Hard-working, learned in the law, perfect in his demeanor on the bench, and controlling his temper with wonderful equanimity, he seemed a model of a judge and of a gentleman; yet his career was marked by an utter disregard of law and equity. He is said to have sold justice "as a grocer might have sold sugar." He is reported to have had in view a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is by no means certain that his abilities would have been unequal to the position, for he undoubtedly possessed one of the best legal minds on the bench of the State.

Of the third ring judge, McCunn, little can be said, save that he was as corrupt as his associates, and had less legal knowledge — employing eleven lawyers to write his opinions for him. Besides these men, whose corruption was demonstrated by their impeachment in after years, there were doubtless others as venal, who succeeded in keeping their evil deeds secret. In fact, the world will never know how many men, accounted respectable, were connected, directly or indirectly, with the great system of rings to which all had to pay tribute.

The demoralization of the city press was one of the most alarming features of ring rule. Many of its editors were associates of the city officials, some reporters were given lucrative municipal posts, while others were bought outright, and still others were given "tips" which enabled them to make money by speculating in Wall street, or by investing in city property in districts soon to be improved. Finally, the press derived a large income from advertising contracts, which it was in the power of the ring to bestow. Those papers that were not in ring pay, abused it generally on political principles, and the public, used to political mud-throwing, took what it heard from them with more than a grain of salt. As will appear later, however, though the press must be held responsible for its connivance at this state of things, still to the press was largely due the deliverance of the city from it. And yet the "Times," which successfully led the opposition to the ring, had itself narrowly escaped coming under its control. Being thrown into the market by the death of Henry J. Raymond, it was just about to be purchased by the ring for $300,000, when friends of the reform party, bidding $50,000 higher, secured it in the nick of time, thereby saving its valuable services to the cause of municipal honesty. As soon as this one voice was heard clearly in behalf of common decency and honesty, others followed, and the public soon began to awaken from the curious lethargy into which it seemed to have fallen. At the time of which we are now speaking, however, a false sense of satisfaction and security obtained everywhere. If a few suspected the truth, they appear to have been overwhelmed with a sense of the utter hopelessness of their position.

The mode of procedure of the ring cannot be better shown than by a detailed account of the building of the New-York County Court-house. The original law authorizing it had stipulated that it should cost not more than $250,000. When work was begun in 1862 $1,000,000 was appropriated, and in 1864 a further sum of $800,000 was authorized. Similar sums were authorized year by year, till in 1872 no less than $6,000,000 had been expended on the building, which is by no means particularly large or imposing. Besides this, the ring, as will be shown, took without legislative permission more than as much again, so that, with interest, the building cost the taxpayers of the city more than $14,000,000.

As has been intimated, while Tweed manipulated these robberies, the plans were originated and matured by Sweeny. In the spring of 1867 a contractor named Andrew H. Garvey was ordered by the board of supervisors to furnish the new court-house. By arrangement with Tweed he raised the amount of each bill fifteen per cent., and paid the extra money first to Tweed, and afterward to the clerk of the board of supervisors. The amount by which the bills were raised was increased successively to forty, forty-five, fifty-five, and finally to sixty-five per cent. This, however, became possible only in 1868, after Sweeny had been made city chamberlain and Connolly comptroller, and the entire finances of the city were in the hands of Tweed and his numerous dependents and followers.

BROADWAY, NORTH FROM POST-OFFICE.

In this same year John T. Hoffman, then mayor, was elected governor of the State. He had been an unsuccessful candidate in 1866, but in the mean time the ring had conquered Tammany and fortified itself in power, and was ready for an assault on the State of New-York. The way to gain control of it seemed to be to elect Hoffman governor, for the ring assumed, from its experience of him while mayor, that, while personally honest, he would not interfere with its financial schemes. To gain their purpose, Tweed and his associates committed hitherto unheard-of elective frauds in New-York city. In this year 41,112 aliens were naturalized—more than four times the previous annual average. It need hardly be said that this enormous increase was largely fraudulent. The ante-election tactics of the ring, however, were outdone by what occurred on election day. Thousands of roughs who, thanks to Tweed, were drawing pay from the city in one capacity or another, were drilled as squads of repeaters, and carried fraud and falsification to a science. Judges Barnard and McCunn, sitting till late at night to consider applications for citizenship, outdid the record. Barnard packed his court-room with professional bail and witnesses, and turned out reporters and spectators. To cap the climax, the sheriff appointed two thousand special deputies to arrest any one who might attempt to hinder voting. By these means the vote of New-York city was made to exceed the number of the voting population by about eight per cent., and the Democratic candidate was elected.

Immediately on Hoffman's resignation of the mayoralty to assume the duties of his higher office, opposition to the ring broke out into open rebellion. The citizens had for years known, or at least strongly suspected, the corruption of the city government. Only the year before, Judge Barnard had been exposed most savagely in a pamphlet by Thomas G. Shearman, which subsequent events showed to have told no more than the truth. Millions had already been spent on the unfinished court-house. But the ring was strong in its position, and, as has been said, had already succeeded in getting control of the metropolitan press, by wheedling, bullying, bribing, deceit, or blackmail, as opportunity offered. It was even astute enough to encourage the appearance of opposition, that it might seem the stronger. All the revolts from its control, whether led by dissatisfied politicians or by highly respectable citizens anxious for reform, seemed to outsiders mere struggles between the "ins" and the "outs," and served to confuse good and substantial citizens of both parties.

NEW-YORK COUNTY COURT-HOUSE.

Thus it was in the present instance. The opposition to the ring nominated John Kelly for mayor, and Abraham R. Lawrence for corporation counsel—both clean men; but they were hopelessly defeated by A. Oakey Hall, the ring candidate, then district attorney. Hall was a strange man to find in such company. A native New-Yorker of good family, and a man of remarkable versatility, he essayed during his remarkable career the parts of lawyer, litterateur, journalist, politician, dramatist, lecturer, and actor—all with a certain degree of success. He had been successively a Republican and a Know-nothing, and then passed through various wings of the Democratic party, ending in Tammany Hall. His connection with the Tweed Ring has never been definitely made out. He was acquitted in court of the charges brought against him on the final overthrow of the ring, and while there have not been wanting those who class him as a coadjutor with Tweed, Sweeny, and Connolly, as a member of the very innermost circle, even his enemies have acknowledged that he was influenced by ambition, not by greed.

On January 1, 1869, the ring found itself in complete control of the city, a position which, in spite of the power it had gained, it could not before be certain that it held. Hoffman, who at least was not its enemy, was governor of the State. Hall was mayor of New-York; Sweeny, city chamberlain; Tweed, street commissioner; and Connolly, comptroller. Its three judges were secure on the bench. It might be supposed that it would now rest on its laurels, yet one more thing remained to be accomplished; the city was still governed largely from Albany, and the ring was certain only of its own city. Municipal autonomy therefore became the rallying cry. In order that he might direct his own forces on the field of battle, Tweed was sent to Albany as State senator. Here he found himself in contact with those who were quite as well versed in the arts of corruption as himself. The speculators who had plundered the Erie Railway, as well as the engineers of countless other jobs, had found bribery necessary for their end, and their efforts had raised the price of votes so that, although they gladly received Tweed as an associate, and willingly joined forces with him, nothing could be done without vast sums of money. It thus became necessary to devise new schemes of plunder in New-York city, and these were soon put into operation.

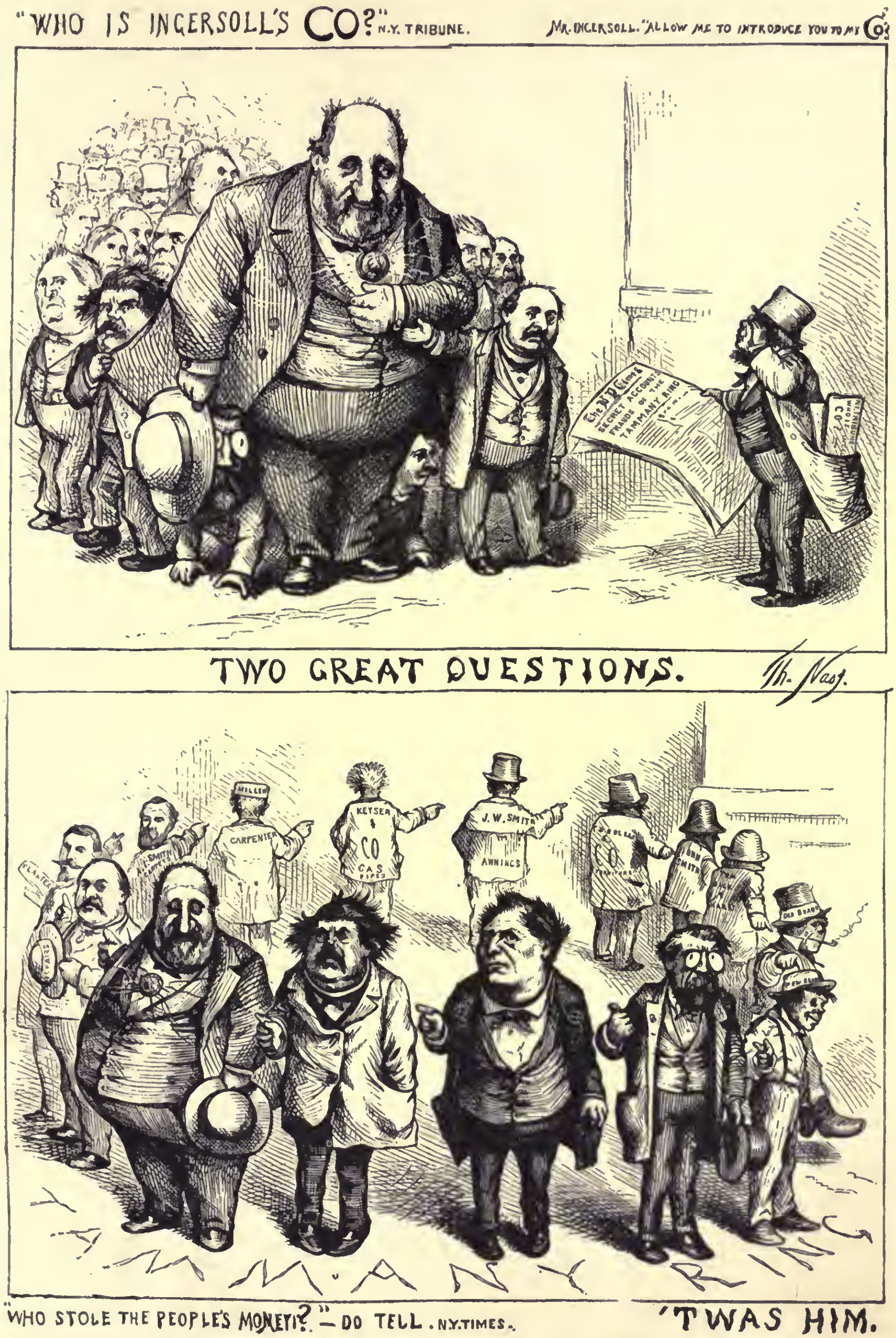
THE MALL, CENTRAL PARK.

The plea by which the conspirators sought to justify themselves may be learned from the subsequent testimony of their subordinate, Elbert A. Woodward. "As I understood it," said he, "Mr. Tweed had to pay the money [to bribe the legislature], and I thought it right and proper for him to reimburse himself." In Tweed's own words: "I found it was impossible to do anything there [in the State senate] without paying for it, and money had to be raised for the passage of bills up there. That was the way the ring first became organized—to pay for bills to protect ourselves in the city."

From this time the system of "reimbursement" was carried on like clockwork, an exact account being kept of all transactions, under the title "County Liabilities," and the profits divided daily. Much of the mythical work on the county court-house was contracted for by a friend of Tweed's named James H. Ingersoll, who sent in bills for labor done by himself or sublet to others. He obtained for carpeting alone the sum of $4,829,426.26,—enough to have carpeted Union Square several times over,—and in the name of George S. Miller he drew additional warrants for $1,404,307.99. Garvey, the contractor already mentioned, sent in bills for acres of plastering, for which he was paid $3,495,626.26, and to a plumber named John H. Keyser was given $1,508,410.89.

The ring was now assailed on all sides, not only by opponents who were clamorous merely for their share of the spoils, but also by leading citizens anxious for reform. Among other acts of the ring, its espousal of the cause of the Roman Catholics in the school question, then for the first time coming to the front, had made it unpopular with Protestants, and had involved it in a struggle with the Board of Education. By the aid of the legislature, and especially through the efforts of Sweeny, the board was abolished, an act which increased opposition to the schemers. When, after the election of 1869, the Democrats obtained majorities in both branches of the legislature, the reform branch of the party, which called itself the Young Democracy, set about the task of legislating Tweed and his associates out of office; and when they failed in this they tried to depose Tweed from the general committee of the party; but here they were equally unsuccessful, owing to the fact that the ring controlled the use of Tammany Hall, and hence forced their opponents to appear as "strikers" and "irregulars." In the successful efforts of the ring to retain their hold on the regular meeting-place of the party, they were seconded by eight hundred of the metropolitan police.

On the very night of this barring out, Tweed introduced for the second time the celebrated Tweed-Frear city charter, which had already been unanimously disapproved. The efforts of the Young Democracy to pass a charter of their own had been defeated by Tweed in his committee on cities, and now he brought up his discredited measure, this time backed by a huge corruption fund, which he used



The above and three following cartoons are reproduced from "Harper's Weekly" of 1871, by permission of the publishers. EDITOR.

so well that the charter passed the senate with only two dissenting votes, one from each party. This charter abolished all control of the city from Albany, and placed its government in the hands of commissioners appointed by the mayor, and holding office beyond his term. He was also given the appointment of the comptroller and corporation counsel. Finally, the salaries of all the officers were made dependent on his will, and therefore, in the end, on that of the Tweed Ring. As the "Times" expressed it, the change was "substantially one from the intervention of Albany to the tender mercies of Tammany." Yet, strange to say, this charter, intended by its advocates only as a means of concentrating power in their own hands, was really, in many of its elements, a reform measure. After being changed and amended for ten years, it finally, in 1884, was restored on substantially the old basis,—namely, the placing of responsibility for the government of the city in the hands of only one set of officials, instead of so distributing it that it could easily be shifted, by bestowing great executive power on the mayor, and by making the heads of departments responsible to him alone. Thus, Tweed and his fellows builded better than they knew, but to them it seemed only that they had at last made themselves perfectly secure in power.

The charter became a law on April 5, 1870, and then Tweed took up the bills abolishing the board of supervisors, which had been drawn up by his enemies and pigeonholed by him in his committee, and allowed them to pass. Finally, on April 26, the last county tax levy was passed, the county and city having been consolidated by the Tweed charter. By the charter, all liabilities against the county incurred previous to its passage were referred for audit to a committee composed of Mayor Hall, Connolly, and Tweed. It may readily be imagined that the opportunity thus obtained was not lost sight of, and, in fact, the city was soon $6,000,000 the poorer in consequence. Much, if not all, of this money went to meet the enormous expenditures that had been found necessary to secure by wholesale bribery the passage of the charter.

The ring now seemed to have triumphed over all its enemies. No one had access to Comptroller Connolly's books, and legislature, mayor, and governor were all either favorably disposed toward the ring, or inclined to shut their eyes to its peculations. The most remarkable feature of the affair is the success with which the conspirators hoodwinked even those citizens who were really opposed to them. Doubtless this was due largely to the fact that every one recognized the real elements of reform in the new charter, and felt how great an improvement it was on the method of rule by irresponsible commissions. Be this as it may, a remarkable influence seems to have blinded the eyes of the reputable element in the city. Samuel J.

Tilden, then chairman of the State Democratic Committee and the ring's bitter enemy, thought that its overthrow could be accomplished only through the success of the opposing or so-called "Apollo Hall" faction of the party; but the citizens, distrusting this as well as the ring, were content to bear the ills that then afflicted them, rather than fly to those that were new and unknown. Besides this, it was well known that the Tweed charter had been passed through the legislature by the votes of both parties; it was hence regarded as a non-partizan measure, and so as worthy of public confidence and support.

The Young Democracy endeavored to obtain recognition at the Rochester Convention of 1870 as the regular party organization; but a gang of roughs, furnished with free passes by Tweed's allies, the officials of the Erie road, intimidated the convention and enabled Tammany to control it. An article in the "New-York Herald" (written probably by either Hall or Sweeny, or at their suggestion) said of this convention that it "was the greatest success ever achieved by the 'ins' at the expense of the 'outs.'"

BROADWAY, NORTH FROM LEONARD STREET.

The interest in New-York city now centered in the mayoralty contest, in which Hall was again the Tammany candidate, and Thomas A. Ledwith that of the Young Democracy. As the election approached, opposition to the ring, newly aroused by the charges of its opponents, increased, especially when demands for Connolly's overdue report were disregarded. Although under former laws the comptroller ought to have published his report in January, Connolly had waited till October, 1870, before issuing that for 1869, and then falsified his accounts for the preceding twenty-one months, besides gathering together nine out of the twenty-one millions accounted for under the convenient heading "for general purposes." People began to doubt the solvency of the city, as the annual assessment for taxes—less than ten millions in 1860—had risen to over twenty-three millions in 1870, while the valuation for taxation had barely doubled in those ten years. The city debt had before the war amounted to but nineteen millions; at the close of 1870 it exceeded seventy-three millions, of which twenty-five millions had been added in that year. It was important to conceal this fact, for not only were the assessment laws heaviest on the landowners, but the per-capita valuation of 1.800 in 1870 meant a heavier burden on the taxpayers than that of .700 in 1860, on account of the increased proletariat which voted for the Tweed Ring, and were fed by it, but did not pay any taxes. In 1840 the annual tax levy averaged less than one half of one per cent. on the valuation, while in 1846 it had reached one per cent. This rate was doubled in 1861, and in 1872 the rate equaled 2.25 per cent. In 1840 the annual tax levy averaged only $4.33 to an inhabitant; in 1850 it was but $6.27; in 1860 it was $11.99, while in 1870 it was $25.11. Yet in spite of this enormous increase, the proportion of debt to the inhabitant had during these last ten years grown from $23.21 to $77.87.

THE LOVERS' WALK, CENTRAL PARK.

It may be briefly said that during the years 1867–70 inclusive, the average taxation of New-York city had amounted to twenty-five dollars annually to each inhabitant, while the city debt had at the same time annually increased at the rate of twelve cents to each inhabitant. In other words, the city revenue covered only about two thirds of the city's expenses. There was a growing suspicion that something was wrong with the city's finances, and this had been so well utilized by the Young Democracy that Sweeny felt the need of counteracting influences on the coming election. He resorted to a master-stroke of strategy by having Connolly invite a committee of most substantial, respected, and shrewd business men and landowners to examine his books. These gentlemen spent a few hours in Connolly's office, and on November 5, just before election, when it was impossible to contradict their reports, issued the following card over their names: "We have come to the conclusion and certify that the financial affairs of the city under the charge of the Comptroller are administered in a correct and faithful manner." In addition it was stated that the city's debt amounted to only $48,644,487, and that by Connolly's arrangement it would be extinguished in less than twelve years.

This was not the sole example of the complacence with which many of the substantial citizens of New-York looked upon, or rather overlooked, the doings of the ring. Tweed had become one of the largest landowners in the city, and his gains, ill-gotten as they were, had begun to bring him recognition. After the fashion of the outlaws of old, who restored to the poor a fraction of what they had taken from the rich, Tweed gave freely to charity and good works, so that it was actually proposed to erect his statue in the Plaza as a public benefactor. At the wedding of his daughter, which occurred about this time, the bride received many costly presents from citizens of wealth and position, and gentlemen not without standing in the best society invited him to their tables.

At the election the ring, as usual, triumphed. Hall and Hoffman were both reëlected, and the thieves seemed firmer than ever in their position; yet the forces that were shortly to overthrow them were steadily at work. Public distrust had by no means been allayed. The opposition press, notably the "Times" and "Harper's Weekly,"—the latter chiefly by means of Thomas Nast's telling cartoons,—never ceased to attack the ring, and hold up its members to public scorn. The power of such caricatures as Nast's at this time can scarcely be overrated. "I don't care what people write," Tweed is reported to have said in regard to them, "for my people can't read. But they have eyes, and they can see as well as other folks."

It was not long before the public had something tangible to justify their suspicions. W. S. Copeland, a henchman of Sheriff James O'Brien, had been given, at his friend's request, a position in the office of the county auditor. His suspicions were aroused by the enormous amounts of the vouchers it was his duty to pass. He took the opportunity to investigate, and speedily learned the truth, which he at once communicated to O'Brien. This information O'Brien kept to himself for some time, intending to use it to blackmail the ring into paying a claim of his own. In January, 1871, he threatened to make the accounts public if his demands were not complied with. Tweed and Sweeny, feeling that nothing could now dislodge them, and that any concession made to O'Brien would lead to further trouble with him, refused point-blank, and the sheriff left, "looking," as a bystander remarked, "like a man who meant mischief." That afternoon, however, appalled by the possible consequences of their act, the ring decided to submit, and James Watson, one of the inner circle, made an appointment to meet O'Brien at a hotel in the suburbs.

Before this meeting could take place, Watson was thrown from his sleigh and seriously injured. The wounded man was helped by O'Brien to his house in Forty-second street, where one of the most remarkable scenes in the drama of the ring was to be enacted. Watson, who was one of the few men that the leaders felt they could trust implicitly, had been burdened with stolen property, transferred to him for safe keeping from all sides. The ring, fearful lest he should not be able to transfer this back into the hands of the original plunderers, and afraid also of damaging confessions, literally took possession of the wounded man's house, not allowing any of his family to approach him, and denying him even the ministrations of a priest. Watson never regained consciousness, but the chagrin of his companions at not being able to get back their plunder was more than offset by their relief to have him out of the way, for Watson had acted as the ring's general go-between and confidential agent, and probably no one man was so thoroughly familiar with all their doings. No one was more relieved than Connolly, who, the day after the imprisoned Watson's death, burned the dead man's account-books and papers, thus putting out of the way much damaging evidence.

Meanwhile, negotiations between O'Brien and the ring were resumed, but came to nothing, owing chiefly to Sweeny, between whom and the sheriff there was bitter enmity. By this time, however, the opposition to the ring had at last borne tangible fruit in the formation of the Association of the Bar of New-York, which was intended as a banding together of the leading lawyers of the city to oppose judicial corruption. Though it was not successful in some of its first efforts, it did its part toward the formation of a healthy public opinion, so that soon the ring was no longer apologized for by respectable citizens, but only tolerated, and the time was not far distant when even toleration was to be no longer accorded to it. This progress continued to be aided by the editorials in the "Times," and by Nast's pitiless cartoons. The attacked party tried its usual tactics in vain. They endeavored to buy the stock of the papers that held them up to public scorn; then the ring corporation counsel, at his master's bidding, tried to dispossess the "Times" on a flagrantly insufficient ground, and finally Connolly offered $5,000,000 to George Jones, the proprietor of the "Times," and free trips to Europe to its editor, Louis J. Jennings, and to Mr. Nast, while the latter was promised a fine dwelling-house and all his expenses paid if he would cease his attacks.

Not dismayed by defeat, and encouraged by signs of popular approval which began to appear, the Young Democracy returned to the fight with vigor after election, and, hearing of Copeland's transcripts of the ring accounts, redoubled their efforts. Isolated attempts in the same direction now began to be made on this hand and on that. Many of these were failures, yet they showed, among other things, that the favorable report of the committee of business men on the city's finances was not justified by facts, and that the enormous municipal debt was still increasing. Soon afterward, a clerk in the comptroller's office, turning traitor, published an account of the armory frauds, — a small chapter in the history of the ring robberies,—but it appeared the day before the Orange riots, and its effect was therefore lost.

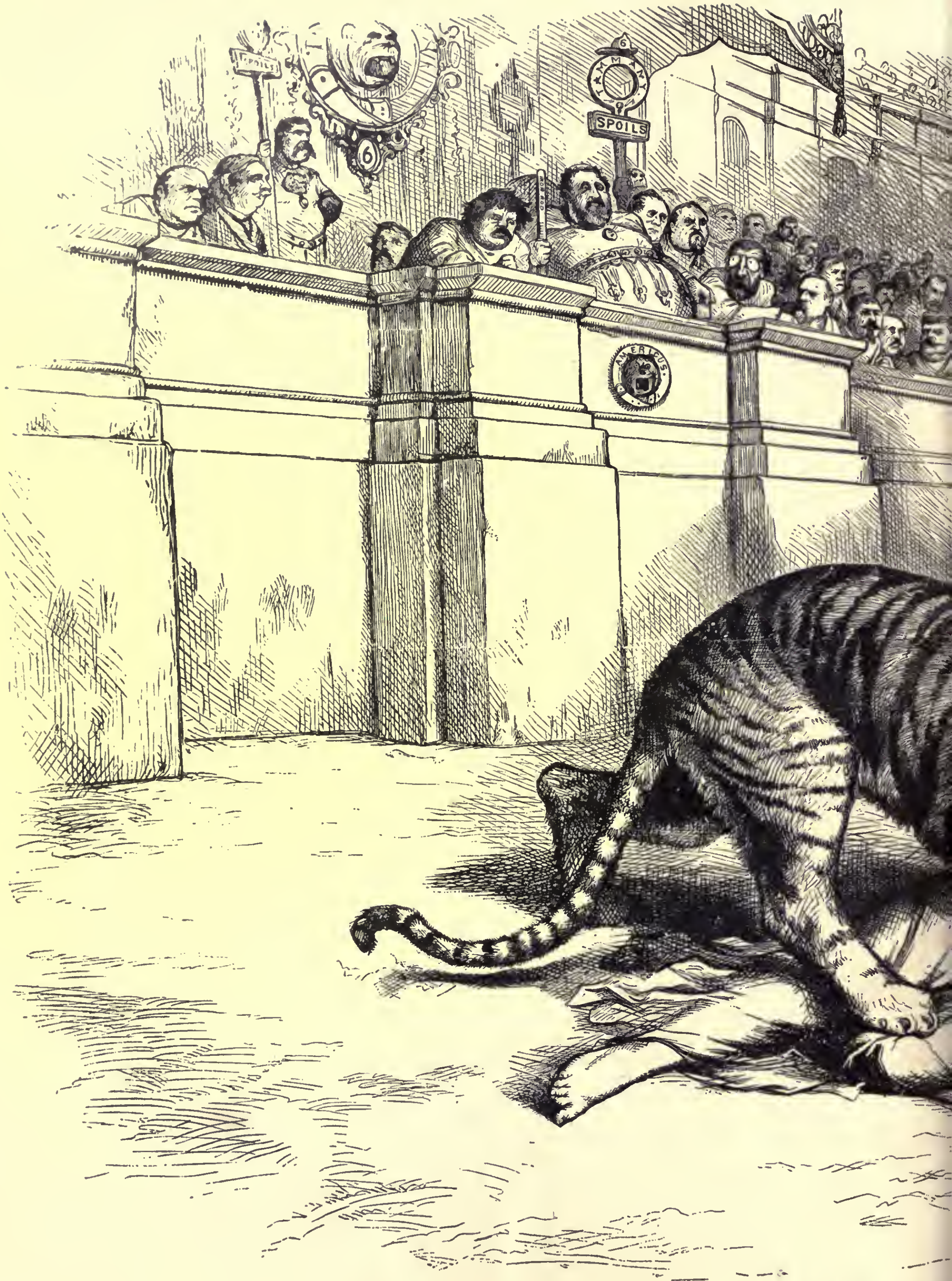
NEW-YORK POST-OFFICE.

Only a few days before this, Tweed had delivered a Fourth of July oration, which would be amusing reading were its political platitudes less exasperating. "We propose," he announced, "if possible, to wrest the government from the hands of those who, in our opinion, are betraying it, from those who are trying to crush out all principles of equality, liberty, and toleration. We propose to recognize the right of the governed to choose who shall be their governor." Among the other principles laid down by this champion of the good, the true, and the beautiful, was the recognition of "the right of those who elect persons to high official stations, to call them to personal account for the manner in which they have conducted themselves and performed their duties." This right the people of New-York were speedily to exercise, though it would seem that they had forgotten its existence.

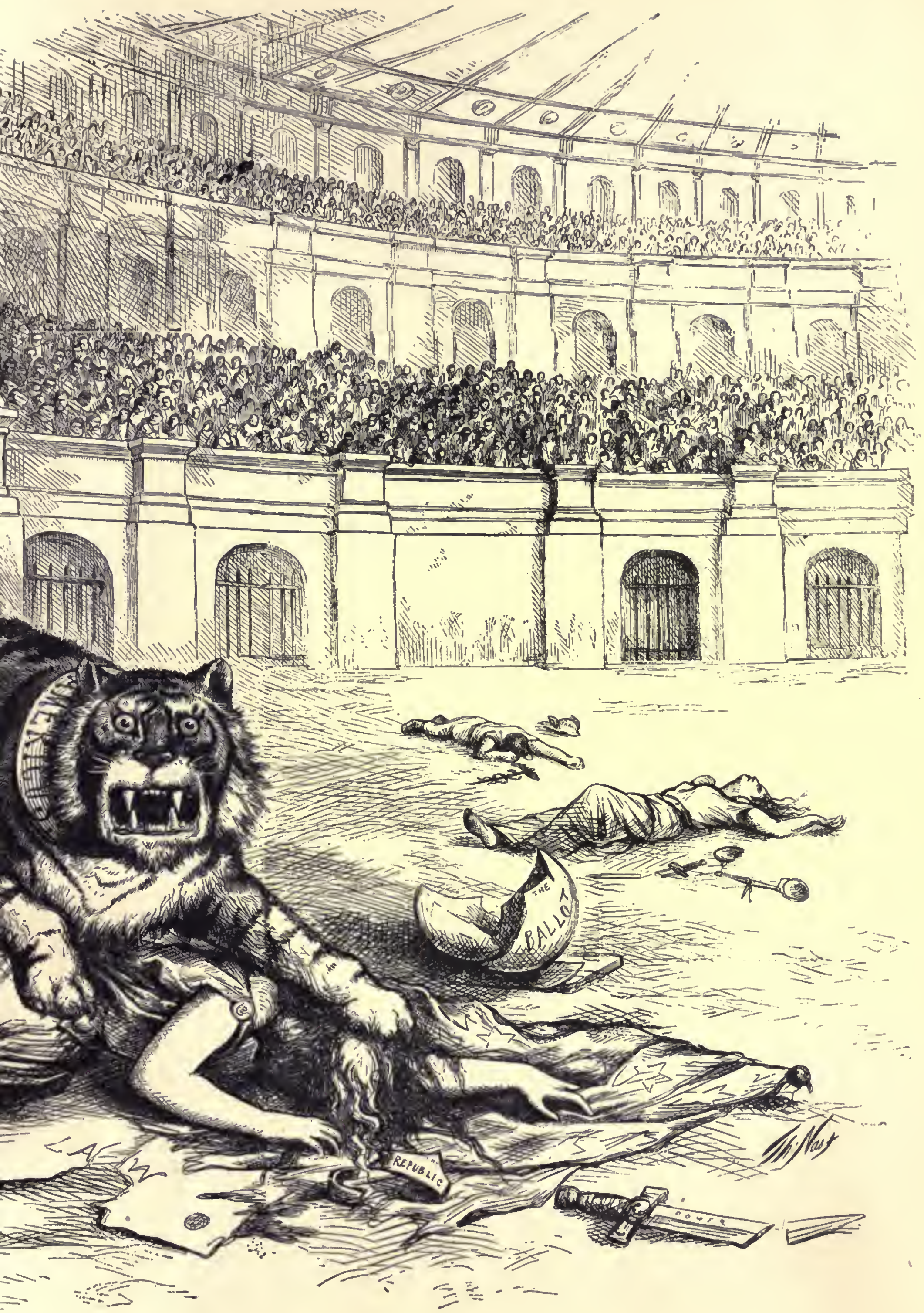
The Orange riot, which has already been described, did its part toward exasperating the public against the ring, showing, as it did, how completely the city had fallen into the hands of its baser elements. On July 18, Sheriff O'Brien, while the excitement about the riot was still at fever-heat, determined to strike his blow, and, after a vain attempt to find Charles A. Dana of the "Sun," carried the ring accounts to Mr. Jones of the "Times," and with the words, "There are all the figures — you can do with them what you please," left the office without sitting down. Beginning with July 20, a batch of the accounts was published by the "Times" every morning, and on the 29th it was made clear to all that the ring had actually stolen more than six million dollars.

These facts, in effect at least, were already known to everybody, but their formal and authoritative publication was the signal for a united effort against the ring. The "Staats-Zeitung," by aiding the "Times," served to indicate the non-partizan character of the movement, and the fact that the ringsters were for the first time driven to the defensive shows that they realized their position. Mayor Hall talked freely, protesting that though he had signed all the vouchers, he had done so only "ministerially," and had not been obliged even to read them over. Tweed kept silence, trusting in his mob of voters and his stolen millions to carry him through. Connolly inspired disgust by his cowardice, and his companions, who thought every one as mercenary as themselves, and saw nothing in the reform movement but a blackmailing scheme, were afraid that he would go over to the enemy's camp. Sweeny was brazenly impudent, posed as a reformer, and in a published interview said of his associates that "they had a corpse to bury with which he had no concern." Considering that hosts of contractors were at that moment regularly paying him his share of the plunder, and that his telltale books were then in Connolly's possession, his effrontery almost evokes admiration.

The doings of the ring had now been fully unmasked, but it was one thing to convince the public of their true character, and another to dislodge the wrong-doers from their position. After consultation a mass meeting was called for September 4 by William F. Havemeyer, Samuel J. Tilden, Joseph H. Choate, and others; and meanwhile, during August, an attempt was made to tie the public purse-strings by obtaining an injunction against Connolly, which the ring judge, Barnard, after consultation with Sweeny, decided to grant. In the interval before the mass meeting, rendered necessary by the summer absence of so many people from the city, the ring tried its old tactics by endeavoring to capture or control the reform movement, but in this it was unsuccessful. The meeting was held, accompanied by overflow meetings in the parks, and was attended by earnest and en-



"WHAT ARE YOU G

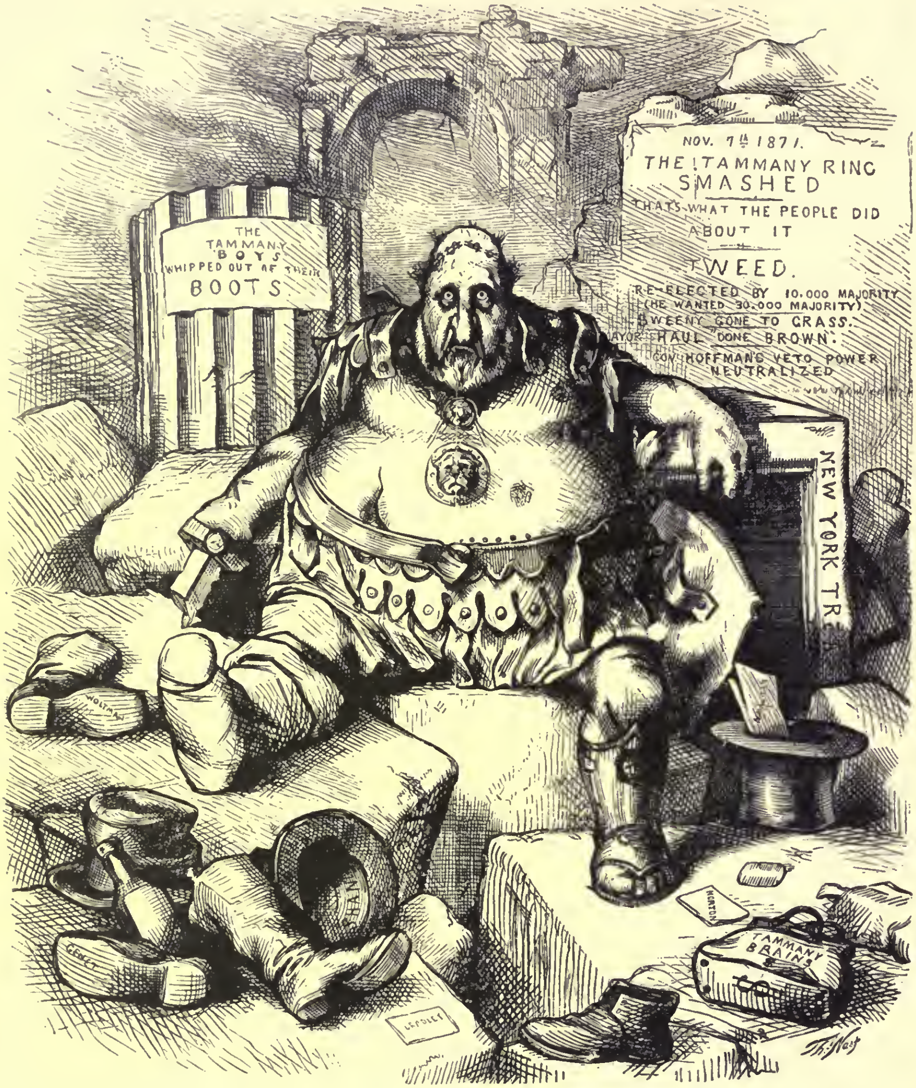


DO ABOUT IT?"

thusiastic crowds of citizens. For the purpose of carrying on the struggle it appointed a committee of seventy, which was led by Tilden, Oswald Ottendorfer, and Havemeyer, and was made up of influential merchants, professional men, bankers, and journalists.

The members of the ring, seeing that at last a storm had arisen that might not blow over as others had done, began to look about to see how they might save themselves. It was first proposed to sacrifice Tweed and Connolly, sending the former to Europe, and having the latter indicted and tried as a scapegoat. They thus hoped to pose as friends of reform and keep the city government in their hands. It was soon seen, however, that Tweed's personal following was too large for this, and the programme was amended by agreeing to sacrifice Connolly alone. The press was therefore turned loose on the unfortunate comptroller, who was pilloried as if he, and he alone, had robbed the city and received the plunder. Connolly, though frightened, had pluck enough to cling to his office. Judge Barnard, in furtherance of the ring's policy, granted the injunction that has already been mentioned, and on September 15 made it permanent, though it was afterward practically dissolved when such a course was thought necessary. On the 10th the comptroller's office was entered, and a large number of vouchers were stolen. This act, which aroused great public indignation, was used against Connolly by his former associates, though they all profited equally by the destruction of evidence against them. In fact, all were now busy destroying bills, receipts, and public records, many of them of great value.

On September 12 Mayor Hall wrote to Connolly a characteristic letter, as follows: "With great personal reluctance, I officially reach the conclusion that the emergency requires your retirement from the head of the Finance Department. I cannot suspend any head of a department, not even pending an investigation. I can only prefer charges to the Common Pleas, who alone can remove after a considerable time for trial. I am compelled to throw myself therefore as Mayor upon your magnanimity, and ask under the circumstances for your resignation." Connolly replied that he was unable to sacrifice himself to satisfy "the hungry appetite of adversaries for a victim." Finally, on the 15th he went to see Mr. Tilden, and asked him for advice. The latter, having found a provision in the city charter by which the comptroller could appoint a deputy with full powers to act during his absence, saw at once how the purposes of the ring could be foiled, and having secured from Connolly the necessary papers, sent him abroad. By this clever move Andrew H. Green was installed as deputy comptroller, and the very stronghold of the ring was thus occupied. The mayor at once endeavored, by removing Connolly, to invalidate Green's title, and appointed to the post General George B.


NOV. 7th 1871.
THE TAMMANY RING SMASHED
THATS WHAT THE PEOPLE DID ABOUT IT
TWEED.
RE-ELECTED BY 10.000 MAJORITY
(HE WANTED 30.000 MAJORITY)
SWEENY GONE TO GRASS.
MAYOR "HAUL" DONE BROWN.
GOV. HOFFMAN'S VETO POWER NEUTRALIZED
THE TAMMANY BOYS WHIPPED OUT OF THEIR BOOTS
NEW YORK TR
WOLTMAN
GENET
NORTON
TAMMANY BRAINS
Th. Nast

"WHAT ARE YOU LAUGHING AT? TO THE VICTOR BELONG THE SPOILS."

McClellan, who at once declined. For a time the fear of violence at the hands of roughs in the service of the ring led to the placing of armed guards in the comptroller's office, but Charles O'Conor in a published opinion upheld Mr. Green's title, and it was concluded that he had better not be interfered with. Mr. Green at once stopped all payments to public officials, who had overdrawn their salaries, and nipped in the bud many lucrative jobs then just developing. Besides this, he enabled Mr. Tilden to expose the ring's system for the division of plunder, showing that Tweed had received twenty-four per cent., Connolly twenty per cent., Sweeny ten per cent., and Watson and

Woodward five per cent. each. This additional proof bore particularly hard upon Sweeny, who had hitherto been able to maintain his innocence with some show of justice. Many of the lesser thieves now followed Connolly to Europe,—in one case (that of Garvey) after threats of murder had been made to prevent further confessions.

But the ring, even in its last gasp, was yet strong enough to control a political convention, and the reformers met their first defeat on October 5, at Rochester, where the Democrats, while refusing admittance to both the contesting New-York delegations, favored Tweed's ticket. It had been Mr. Tilden's ambition to kill the ring by having it disowned by the party, but this hope, as he afterward confessed, had been somewhat chimerical. In Mr. Tilden's own words: "It is but fair to admit that what I asked the convention to do was more than any party was ever found able to venture upon. It was to totally cut off and cast out from party association a local organization which held the influence growing out of the employment of twelve thousand persons and the disbursement of thirty millions a year, which had possession of all the machinery of local government, dominated the judiciary and police, and swayed the officers of election."

The reformers realized that they had received a stunning blow. The sway of the ring, in the words of the "Nation," seemed as firmly established as that of a European dynasty. Tweed had lost none of his confidence in his own power, and in November gave vent to the insolent challenge, "What are you going to do about it?" which has become historical. But the Germans and the better class of Irish, disgusted by the recent disclosures, seemed likely to desert the old party organization, and the reformers, by skilful nominations, succeeded in capturing them all. The election was felt by all to be a crisis in the history of the city. Although Election Day was then not a legal holiday, business was stopped, while several regiments were put under arms to forestall a possible riot. But no riot was attempted, for the ring was certain of victory. Victory, indeed, perched on its banner in one district, where Tweed, by his old tactics, gained his election to the State senate by a majority of 10,000, but everywhere else the reformers were signally successful, gaining 23,000 votes in the city, and nearly 52,000 in the State. The change was so great as to amount to a political revolution. Sweeny at last gave up the contest and fled to Canada, and Tweed dared not take the seat in the legislature to which he had been fraudulently chosen.

In October civil actions had been begun against Tweed, Woodward, Ingersoll, and Garvey,—this course being adopted, in the words of Charles O'Conor, because "of the strictly local character of criminal proceedings and the servility of the local judiciary." Tweed was released on a bail of one million dollars, Judge Cardozo allowing the prisoner's son, to whom his father had transferred his property, to become bail for him. The adherents of the ring now brought nominal suits against Hall, Tweed, and Connolly through their corporation counsel, and tried to bring their cases into court first, but were foiled in this attempt. There were numerous delays, however, and a year had passed since the exciting disclosures of 1871 before any of the thieves whose schemes were then unveiled seemed likely to be punished. Connolly was arrested and admitted to bail in January, 1872, but the district attorney, a partizan of the ring, managed to *nol. pros.* the indictments against Sweeny and his relatives. Tweed, after suffering from lack of money, and being obliged to sell houses and lands, was arrested on December 16, 1871, on a criminal indictment, by Sheriff Owen Brennan, who took his former companion before Judge Gunning S. Bedford, through a crowd which greeted the prisoner with both hisses and cheers. The judge refused bail, and committed Tweed to the Tombs, but he was at once released on a writ of habeas corpus by Judge Barnard, and brought into court before his old friend and creature, where, curiously enough, the ex-boss sat immediately in front of a life-size portrait of himself, which faced the judge's bench. Barnard promptly released him on the absurdly small bail of $5000. On December 29, however, Tweed was forced by public opinion to resign his office of commissioner of public works, and shortly afterward he was made to retire from the grand sachemship of the Tammany Society, Augustus Schell being chosen in his place by acclamation. The committee of seventy petitioned the State senate to expel Tweed from that body, but no action was taken, and he was still nominally a member when serving as a convict on Blackwell's Island. In the following February the Bar Association asked the legislature to investigate the New-York bench, which was done searchingly, the doings of the ring judges being thoroughly ventilated. Barnard appeared before the committee in person, and materially injured his cause by demonstrating the truth of the charges of unseemly behavior on the bench, and by showing his hearers how low an opinion of his functions it is possible for a magistrate to have. "I deserve to be remembered," said he, "if only to show to what consequences the words of Hammond and Marcy led. . . . The judge who holds the chambers owns the patronage; it belongs to him, and he selects whom he pleases, regardless of any suggestion of counsel or dictation from them. . . . I have succeeded in life by aiding my friends, and not my enemies." As a result of this inquiry, Barnard and McCunn were removed from office, and Cardozo came near the same fate; but even at this time his influence was feared sufficiently to cause the acceptance of his resignation, and the appeals of his friends, added to his own, prevented his disbarment. He promised to go to the West, but broke his word, and resumed practice in New-York, where his disgrace soon broke him down.

Hall, Sweeny, Connolly, and Tweed had now all been indicted, but only the first had been tried, his trial resulting, on Christmas Day, 1872, in his acquittal. It had been found necessary to re-indict Tweed, and after a great deal of legal skirmishing he was brought to trial in January, 1873, before Judge Noah Davis, on two hundred separate counts, in the very court-house whose erection had served as a foil for his vast peculations. The trial ended in a disagreement of the jury, but after more vexatious delay another was begun in November following. The prisoner and his friends were confident of speedy acquittal, and the adherents of the ring had exerted themselves to the utmost to this end. After an hour's delay, however, the jury returned from deliberation to ask for further instructions, and fourteen hours later brought in a verdict of guilty on fifty out of fifty-five charges, two hundred and four counts in all. Judge Davis gave the prisoner the highest cumulative sentence in his power—twelve years' imprisonment, and a fine of $3000.

On November 22, two years after his defeat at the polls, Tweed put on the convict's garb, but he wore it little more than a year, being released in June, 1875, by the Court of Appeals, on the ground that the cumulative sentence imposed was illegal. He was immediately arrested again on civil suits for more than $6,000,000, and held to bail in the sum of $3,000,000. Being unable to command this sum, he was confined in Ludlow street jail, but his old friends still had power enough to see that he was lodged comfortably, and on December 4, 1875, while taking an airing, he was allowed to visit his home, and there to effect his escape. After many adventures he succeeded in reaching Cuba, and thence went to Vigo, Spain, where he is said to have been recognized by his resemblance to Nast's famous caricatures. His offense was not covered by the extradition treaty between Spain and the United States, but the Spanish government arrested and returned him as an act of courtesy. November, 1876, saw him again in Ludlow street jail, and on March 8 a verdict was rendered against him for $6,537,117.38. He lingered in prison till April 12, 1878, when he died. In 1877 he had testified on ring frauds before a committee of the board of aldermen, hoping thereby to secure his release, and his disappointment at finding that this result did not follow is said to have hastened his death.

Of all the ring thieves, Tweed was the only one who suffered actual punishment at the hands of the law. Of the others, many, after spending more or less time abroad, were allowed to return unmolested and to live at home in obscurity. Of the thirty millions which were stolen during the supremacy of the ring, the city recovered only a little more than one million, of which $558,000 was regained from the estate of Watson, $151,779 was refunded by Woodward, and $406,562 by Sweeny, nominally from the estate of his deceased brother.

The revolt against the ring showed plainly that though the citizens of New-York are capable of bearing a great deal of misgovernment, they stop short at open peculation, and it is hardly possible that the experience of these disgraceful years will ever be repeated. Although the victory of the reformers was won by the aid of an element not far removed from the one that had been robbing the city,—the employment of Sheriff O'Brien against his former associates being notably an instance of "fighting the devil with fire,"—yet when all circumstances are taken into account, history cannot but acknowledge that the service done the city by such men as Tilden, O'Conor, Ottendorfer, and Havemeyer was second to none. So long as New-York's population is recruited daily from the slums of Europe, and so long as the eyes of her respectable citizens are turned ever toward commerce rather than politics, it is perhaps too much to hope that her municipal government will ever be ideally perfect, but at least she should never suffer from another Tweed Ring.[1]

Among the objects which the committee of seventy had striven to attain was the amendment of the Tweed charter of 1870. As has been said, though this was in itself far from objectionable, the purpose for which it had been obtained, and the uses that had been made of it, had caused the citizens of New-York to regard it as the corner-stone of ring rule. Every one looked toward the creation of a new charter as likely to be one of the most beneficent results of the reform victory of 1871. The object of its framers, according to the "Times," was "so to reduce the profits of office-holding that the professional politicians and place-hunters will be forced to abandon their corrupt and corrupting avocation. . . . So far as possible, all fees should be abolished, and wherever they are collected they should be promptly turned over to the city treasury. As for the subordinate offices, . . . it would be well if they could be made permanent and independent of political changes." In accordance with these ideas, the committee framed a charter, one of whose features was a board of aldermen of forty-five members, who should be elected by the system of cumulative voting, thus insuring minority representation. This part of the reform, however, was not destined to be adopted, for the charter was vetoed by the governor. In 1873, however, a charter was passed which embodied many of the features of the first, abolishing the board of assistant aldermen, which had been substituted for

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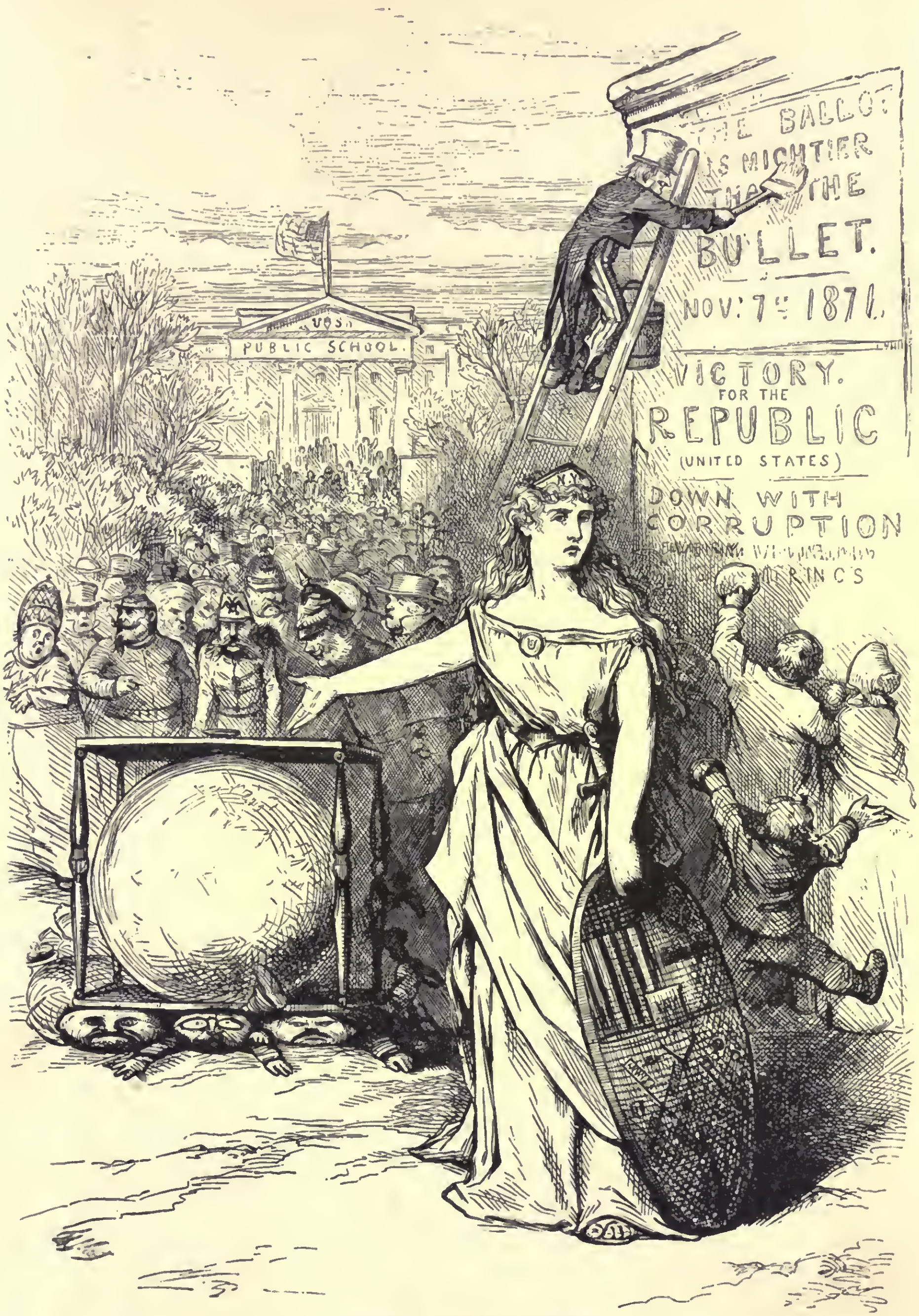
[1] The author of this chapter is much indebted to Dr. John M. Gitterman, of this city, for valuable data connected with the history of the Tweed Ring. "The Life and Letters of William M. Tweed," by William Edelsten, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, will, it is expected, be issued during 1893. EDITOR.



TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.
NEW-YORK. "NOW YOU SEE WHAT I DID ABOUT IT. GO AND DO LIKEWISE."

the old councilmen by the Tweed charter, and vesting all legislative powers in a new common council of twenty-one aldermen. It provided also that the State and charter elections should take place on the same day. They had hitherto been held on different days, and it is noticeable that the change, instead of proving a measure of reform, has generally been deplored, serving as it does to confuse national and municipal issues, and give opportunities for "deals" and the trading of votes.

The first election under the amended charter took place in November, 1874, when William H. Wickham was elected to the mayoralty. His predecessor, William F. Havemeyer, who had taken a conspicuous part in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring, and who had been the first mayor chosen after its downfall, did not live to complete his term of office, being stricken down with apoplexy on November 30, 1874.

No sooner had the city begun to recover from the excitement due to the overthrow of the ring, than the years of extravagant speculation and inflated values which are described in this chapter bore their fruit in one of the greatest financial panics in the history of New-York. It was not wholly unexpected by thoughtful men, for there had been indications for some time of the unsettled financial condition of the country. Among these had been the great strike of 1872 in New-York city, which, beginning among the house-painters in an effort to have the working-day reduced to eight hours, spread to the carpenters and bricklayers, and finally included nearly every class of workmen in the city. It is estimated that 40,000 men ceased to work, and that $5,760,000 was lost directly or indirectly through the strike. It was unsuccessful, all the men ultimately returning to work under the old conditions.

But the crisis of 1873, like the great one of 1857, was chiefly, or at any rate largely, due to the too rapid development of railways throughout the country. For several years previous the country had been spending from four to five hundred millions in railway construction, of which sum at least four fifths were borrowed. That this state of affairs could not go on forever had for some time been quite apparent to thoughtful observers. The first mutterings of the coming storm came in May, 1873, in an utter failure to place an issue of bonds on the European market, the fact being that there was no more available money in Europe for such purposes. It now became only too evident that the great unfinished railways, which must yet absorb vast sums before they could begin to yield any return, must go down, carrying with them, as is inevitable in such a crash, a long train of dependent concerns. The first to go to protest was the Midland of New-York, but its bankers, the Messrs. Opdyke, kept their heads above water, and the general public had as yet no idea of what was almost immediately coming.

Early in September the Western wheat crop began its usual call for Eastern money; stringency began; railroad acceptances became unsalable; and on the 17th, 18th, and 19th, the Canada Southern, the Northern Pacific, and the Chesapeake and Ohio went down, carrying with them the great banking-houses of Robinson, Cox & Co., Jay Cooke & Co., and Fisk and Hatch. No houses had stood higher in the esteem of the public, who had rightly trusted them as conducted with caution and sagacity. It was at once realized, therefore, that a great crisis was at hand. The next great failure was that of the Union Trust Company, and by the 20th thirty-five firms, including many of the most prominent members of the Stock Exchange, had suspended.

W H Wickham[1]

Public distrust was now at its height. No one dared to bid for stocks, and the governing committee, fearing that more failures might follow, promptly closed the exchange. Meanwhile, the national banks, which had been accustomed to begin the autumn with $50,000,000 to $65,000,000 reserve, had found themselves with only $38,000,000, owing to the growth of the country and the demand in the South and West for legal-tender notes. By the middle of September this had been reduced to $25,000,000. On September 21, President Grant met a notable assembly of bankers in New-York, and was urged to place at the disposal of the banks the legal-tender reserve of the national government, amounting to $44,000,000. This he declined to do, owing to legal obstacles; but he directed the assistant treasurer to buy United States bonds, when offered, till $12,000,000 had been disbursed. This sum was thus paid out during the ensuing week, but its payment did not operate to relieve the banks, whose reserve by the 27th had been reduced to $12,000,000. Greenbacks began to be hoarded; the banks refused to pay them out, and soon they commanded a premium of three to five per cent. The city banks, many of which were suspected of lax administration, at first began to struggle with one another, the strong ones striving to shake off the burden of the weak, but they finally combined to help the merchants. There was a general disposition to hold the stock speculators responsible for the panic, and it was thought by many that the banks, while discounting legitimate business paper, should refuse to lend to stock-brokers.

The Stock Exchange remained closed for more than a week, from September 22 to September 30, during which time a thriving business was done on the street by outside brokers, the laws of the exchange prohibiting its members from buying or selling elsewhere than on 'change or in their own offices. The determination of the brokers to keep their credit, at whatever cost, threw a large quantity of stock on the market, and it was eagerly snapped up by people who thronged to the city to secure bargains. A short-lived "Independent Exchange" was opened, and though it was in existence for only a week, it was the scene of enormous transactions, and the foundations of large fortunes were laid in it.

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[1] William H. Wickham was born in Smithtown, L. I., and at the beginning of this century his ancestors had been prominent in affairs in New-York city for over a hundred years. Mr. Wickham was for two years president of the Volunteer Fire Department of New-York, was director and vice-president in the Mercantile Library Association, and was one of the citizens' committee of seventy that ousted the Tweed Ring from power. He served as mayor in 1875-77, to which position he was elected by the Democrats. His administration was notable for the high class of the appointments to heads of departments made by him, including such men as William C. Whitney, Allan Campbell, General Fitz-John Porter, General William F. Smith, Joel B. Erhardt, Stephen A. Walker, Charles J. Canda, and Dr. Edward G. Janeway. At the close of his term he was tendered a banquet by the leading citizens, regardless of party, at which the president of the Chamber of Commerce presided,—a compliment never before or since paid to an outgoing mayor in the city of New-York. EDITOR.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.

The regular exchange opened again on September 30. For the first three days the rules were suspended so that no contracts could be enforced, but at the same time a committee was appointed to see that creditors should be made secure by money or securities deposited with it. The exchange was crowded with those who had come to buy in a cheap market, and they found manifold opportunities. When the rules of the exchange were once more enforced at the close of the three days, however, only one house—G. Bird Grinnell and Co.—was unable to respond to its contracts. During the panic it is probable that millions of securities passed out of Wall street; for when, on October 2, the banks began to call in their loans, thus tending to increase the stringency of money, rates declined, notwithstanding, from one quarter of one per cent. a day to seven per cent. per annum, so rapidly had the demand for money decreased. The demand for investments continued large, while the stocks for sale were few; but the difficulty of obtaining loans checked all tendency to speculation, and orders to buy were usually declined by brokers, unless accompanied by the necessary cash. Thus, business began again in the most conservative manner, but public confidence was not restored, and, indeed, the stagnation of business continued largely for several years following.

S. Ely[1]

The celebration of the hundredth anniversary of American independence, which occurred during this period of depression, came at an opportune time to aid in restoring business to its proper basis, bringing, as it did, into the country new ideas of all kinds, and opening up markets in all directions. At first, the proposal to make an international exposition at Philadelphia the principal feature of this celebration was somewhat belittled by New-Yorkers. The criticism was freely made that an exhibition of the world's products was quite unsuited to the occasion. These carpings, however, soon gave way to a spirit of general helpfulness, and New-York did her part toward making the celebration a success, reaping in return her full share of the benefits which accrued thereby to the country at large. The exhibition was a great educator, and from it dates a greater improvement in public taste, in more directions than one, than many people are willing to acknowledge. Since 1876 the architecture of New-York has been distinctly of a higher class; her statues, instead of being disgraces to the city, as are many of those erected previous to this year, have shown a higher public standard of art; new industries have sprung up, directly traceable to the influence of the exposition — in fact, it was an era to be remembered in many ways. Especially should it be kept in mind that in this year was given the first successful demonstration of the possibility of communication by telephone, so that from this time dates the development of that remarkable instrument.

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[1] Smith Ely, Jr., was mayor of New-York in 1877–79. As a youth he studied law in the office of Frederic de Peyster, but did not practise his profession, early embarking in the leather business in the "Swamp." In 1857, Mr. Ely was elected to the State senate, where he made an excellent record, and in 1860 was elected one of the county supervisors. During his tenure of this latter office, the Tweed Ring was formed, and Mr. Ely was one of its bitterest foes in opposing the twelve-million-dollar expenditure for the new court-house. Upon the expiration of his term he was reëlected, and, although a Democrat, received the powerful support of Horace Greeley. In 1870 and 1874, he was sent to Congress, and in 1876, while still there, was elected mayor of the city over General John A. Dix, the Republican nominee. Before leaving the mayor's office, where he had made an enviable record, Mr. Ely was offered the congressional nomination, and was also tendered the comptrollership, both of which he declined, preferring to return to private life. EDITOR.

That the French people were fully sensible of the interest that they properly had in the anniversary at hand was shown by two gifts — one, the bronze statue of Lafayette, by Bartholdi, that now stands at the southern border of Union Square, given by the French residents of the city; the other, the noble statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, by the same sculptor, now such a conspicuous object in the harbor. Though the latter was not completed and set in place till many years afterward, the gift was announced at this time, and the arm of the figure, with its uplifted torch, was set up in the exhibition grounds at Philadelphia, and afterward in Madison Square, New-York, as a reminder to the public of what was to follow.

During this same year the Emperor and Empress of Brazil visited New-York — the first reigning sovereigns, save King Kalakaua of the Hawaiian Islands, who came in 1875, to set foot on American soil. The emperor soon became a public favorite by his simple and democratic demeanor, and by the evidence he gave that he had come to this country to see for himself, and to learn all that could be learned by diligent observation. In July, before returning to Brazil, he delivered an address at Chickering Hall before the Geographical Society.

In the November election of the centennial year, Smith Ely was chosen mayor, serving the city acceptably till 1878. The latter year found New-York just taking breath again after the new crises through which it had passed. Tweed had just died in jail, such of his companions as were known in their true characters were in exile or in hiding, and the memory of this gang of municipal bandits was fast fading away. The period of depression consequent on the panic of 1873 was almost at an end, and the next year (1879) was to witness a revival of trade. Thus, the close of the period covered by this chapter found the city on the highroad to recovery from its financial and governmental troubles, even as at the beginning of the period it was looking forward to new growth after the stagnation caused by the civil war. Of the two periods, that of the Tweed Ring, with its accompanying excessive speculation and the subsequent panic and commercial depression, undoubtedly was more injurious in its effects than the former. The ravages of the war period were far away from the city, while the corruption and financial disaster of the Tweed period were within its very doors. Yet even as the brightest feature of a great war, with all its horrors and its appeal to men's baser instincts, is the heroism and sacrifice that attend it, so, too, in the succeeding struggle with corruption and fraud, the efforts of those who successfully opposed it, winning the victory when victory seemed most improbable, and when the plunderers seemed most strongly intrenched, shine out all the more brightly for the sordidness and public apathy that surrounded them. There was no waving of plumes and blare of martial music about their triumph, yet their struggles in the dusty law-courts and in the devious paths of municipal diplomacy were just as real as those of the heroes of 1861–65 on bloody battle-fields, and they saved the city of New-York just as truly as these others saved the Union.

NEW-YORK DOCKS, EAST RIVER.

CHAPTER XV

NEW-YORK DURING THE LAST FOURTEEN YEARS

1879–1892

THIS chapter closes the continuous narrative with the period from 1879 to the present year, 1892, inclusive. Familiar ground, it may be thought, to residents and readers. What, that they have not known or seen of it personally, have the newspaper and its ubiquitous reporter left untold? But in such a city of bustle and movement, where one day scarcely quiets down before the milkman and market-wagon are abroad beginning another, and where business after its kind is so absorbing, what ephemera are events, how quickly thrust out of mind! The incoming wave leaves as much of writing in the sand, and itself soon ebbs and is swallowed up by the next. Moreover, in thirty years and to a new generation, this familiar present, if it is such, will be history—as is already our civil war. Characteristic events must, therefore, at once be caged where the future can find them, before they take wing and are lost. And what writer—in any department—can tell precisely the line, the sentence, the incident, which in the future may have interest or be turned to account? In 1663 there occurred in the northern parts of the continent, and especially in Canada, a great earthquake or upheaval, which lasted six months. It probably altered the whole geography of the Saguenay, and was accompanied by terrific and extraordinary meteoric phenomena. Yet to Domine Selyns alone among the colonists are we indebted for the slightest allusion to it; and that in a single line of one of his many fugitive pieces—a poem on "the marriage of the rector of the Latin school."[1] To the writer and the rector and his bride, now for two hundred years under ground, that line and that allusion, perhaps, seemed of less value than some others in the poem, which are no longer of any interest.

It is to be remembered, also, that the present of the city, even the short period with which we are busy, is itself a development, merely the point we have reached; that already since it began changes have appeared, if only as bubbles upon the surface, which yet indicate intrinsic movements or some stir of thought by which the future will be affected for good or ill; and that to note, relate, and collate, not events and things alone, but these in their meaning and connections, is the legitimate work of history. Standing upon the Brooklyn bridge, and taking it for an illustration, how much it gives us to think about, past, present, and future! Two hundred years ago, a small wherry, struggling slowly across at the summons of a horn, was enough for the existing traffic. Even a rainbow spanning the stream from shore to shore would never have suggested such a thought as that a bridge might some day do the same. It was an idea too colossal, that it ever could be needed or possible. But as the little polyp of the south builds up the coral reef, first one species at a depth of water adapted to its nature, and then another and another species in succession till the whole reef is completed, so upon the opposite shores, and by the gradual accretion of peoples and wealth, grew the cities which are the real foundation of that bridge. In 1867, by official statement, the Union Ferry Company was

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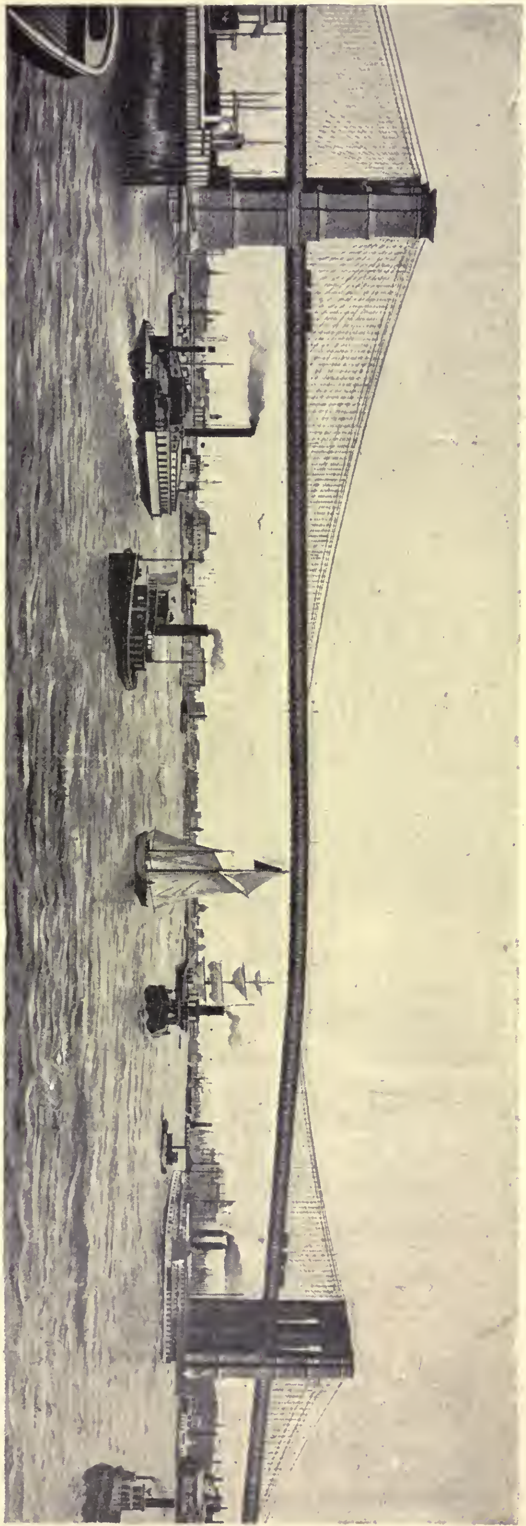
[1] "Anthology of the New Netherlands, or Translations from the Early Dutch Poets of New-York," by Henry C. Murphy. New-York, 1865.



THE EAST RIVER BRIDGE.

transporting upon its boats (besides wagons and teams), forty millions of people a year from city to city. Already, however,—twenty-five years ago,—the rush was growing too great to be handled with safety, and to business men delay, even of minutes, meant money. In fact, as still the question, our own time has before it no greater physical need or line of development than that of locomotion, of movement from place to place, of rapid transit, of the practical reduction of time and space, of distances. Therefore should history recognize the genius of John A. Roebling, who, as narrated in the preceding chapter, designed the Brooklyn bridge,—who showed that to be feasible which thus far had never been attempted. When completed, it would be, he declared, "the greatest bridge in existence, the great engineering work of this continent and of the age." He did not live to see it completed, or even practically commenced. In 1869 his son, Washington A. Roebling, took up his work and carried it through. Nevertheless, the plan of this vast achievement was in his head, and all the more important details committed to paper, before a stone was laid. And what immense problems confronted him at every step of that plan,—problems as to the river-bed and foundations for the towers; problems relating to the great arch (1595 feet 6 inches in length, 135 feet from center to high water) which was to be the main span of the river; problems of weight, and strength, and material; problems of oscillations and resistance to storms, gales, hurricanes; with other problems, numerous and great, relating to the supporting cables, to anchorages, approaches, and (by no means the least) to probable cost and utility and revenue! Take but the one item of those four giant cables, which, cast from tower to tower and anchored upon the shore, were to be the supporting muscle of the bridge, and what anxious thought and computations they required, as to size, weight, length, and ultimate enduring power, from the first wire of galvanized steel, weighing a pound in every eleven feet, up to a total burden-bearing strength of 12,200 tons for each cable! Moreover, with the plan perfected, what a work yet remained,

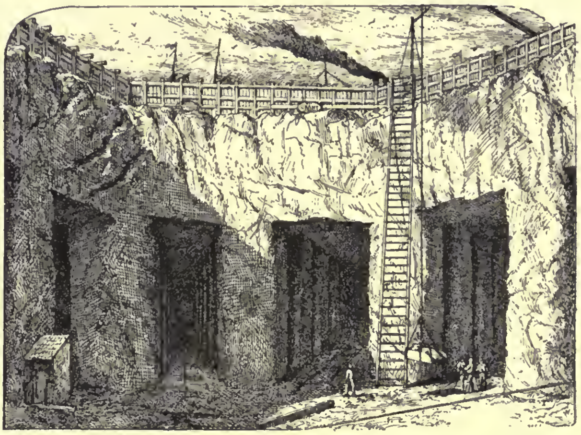
EAST RIVER AND NEW-YORK BAY, FROM THE BRIDGE.

was yet to be begun! First, to sound the river's bed, obtain a foundation, and locate the towers which were to be, at the high-water line, one hundred and forty feet by fifty, and two hundred and seventy-two feet in height. It took the whole summer of 1869. Whilst busy at this work on the Brooklyn side, the elder Roebling lost his life, and by means of a ferry-boat. It struck the float on which he was standing, and crushed his foot, an injury resulting in lockjaw, and followed, after sixteen days of suffering, by his death. His son, however, immediately took up the task where he had dropped it—searching for a foundation. It was found at forty-five feet below high water mark; on the New-York side at seventy-eight feet. But from the quality of the formation it required a timber base to the masonry; and for that timber—indestructible in salt water—there was yet a danger, small but insidious, powerful, and not to be neglected. What would the most consummate labor and skill above water be worth, with the teredo boring and paring away the timbers below! As old among nature's agencies as the coral, whilst the one builds, it is the mission of the other to destroy. The shells of the teredo which were taken from fossil wood about Brussels, it was remarked, had a strong scent of the ocean; but that ocean belonged to the Eocene era—the dawn, as it were, of existing creatures, and to none nearer. This little bivalve still plies its trade, making up by numbers what it lacks in size. One pile which Mr. Roebling took out from the ferry pier, and which had been of sixteen inches diameter, was found eaten away to a thin stem of three inches between the mud and the low-water line. And so it was decided that the timber, solidified with concrete, was safe in its place below the mud surface for all time. Yet how massive the structure which must sustain a tower above it weighing seventy thousand tons, and a permanent pressure of five tons to the square foot!

One more primal difficulty remained for ingenuity to overcome—the caisson. The actual construction was begun January 3, 1870. We cannot describe it, or Mr. Roebling's many shifting contrivances to meet emergencies. To get it down, as itself the main part of that timber foundation, inch by inch through boulders and an almost impenetrable soil; working meanwhile in compressed air, where, if a candle were blown out it would relight itself; where work too long continued in such an abnormal increase of oxygen created danger of paralysis; and where the accident of fire might at any time imperil the whole structure;—all this required the highest qualities of patience and skill. Of one such fire, caused by an empty candle-box, a man's dinner, and a candle held too near the roof of the lowermost chamber, it took months to repair the damage. Through such difficulties have we obtained the Brooklyn bridge! It was finished, and opened to the public, May 24, 1883, at a total cost of $15,000,000. Has it fulfilled its purpose? With an average present railway transit of about one hundred and thirty-five thousand passengers a day, on October 12, 1892 (the Columbian celebration in New-York), the cable-road on the bridge carried 223,625; and, in addition, about 200,000 foot passengers crossed the bridge! There were 2954 single-car round trips made over a distance of two miles and an eighth. But have we even yet reached the climax of achievement in this direction? It has merely solved problems in the way of progress and development. Already two more great bridges are in contemplation for other localities along the East River. The city has passed the Harlem, has populous streets where once were outlying manors, and demands bridges; and perhaps the time only lags a little when the Hudson will be spanned to the Jersey shore. Meanwhile, another scheme awaits, perhaps, a little more bridging — to expand by swallowing Brooklyn, and making of the two a single city. So does the snake sometimes take a frog by the hind legs, with a view to similar self-expansion and unification. Occasionally, however, a large and lively frog, preferring its own individuality and the management of its own concerns, bolts the intended absorption even in mid process. In the case of the cities a fine thing it would be, no doubt, for the dominant political power — the undivided sway of such masses, offices, and revenues; and for him who, though neither mayor nor elected by the people, governs with greater power under the simple name of "the Boss." But herein, what a danger for the State!

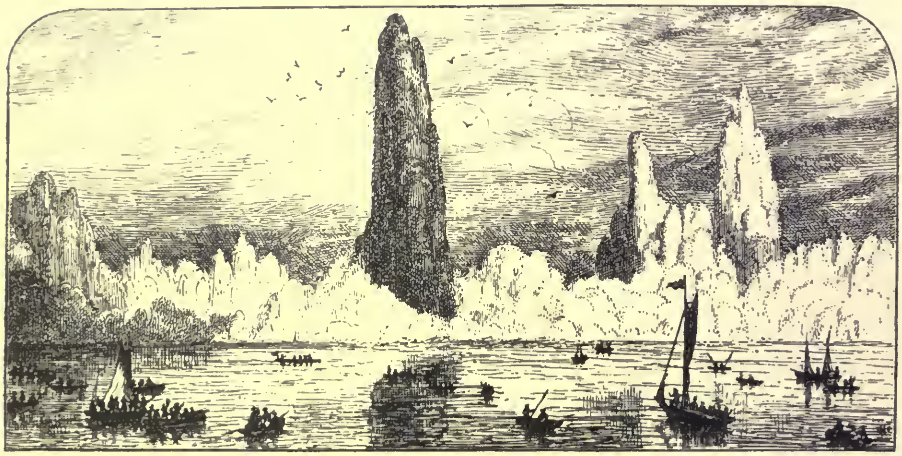
THE VERPLANCK HOUSE, 1892.

One more engineering feat of great importance to the city, and connected with the river itself, should not be passed by. We refer to the opening of Hell Gate, or, as originally written, *Hellegat*,—the word signifying (according to Judge Benson) "beautiful pass," but applied to the whole of what is now the East River. As the Dutch soon found, however, what looked so "beautiful" when seen from the shore, was something quite different when they undertook to navigate through it. Engineering has already greatly reduced its worst features; but as portrayed by Cooper, in his vivid narrative of the chase of the Water-witch, the reader can almost replace the past. Nor is Irving's humorous description at all out of the way, where he speaks of the compressed current as shouldered off from this promontory and that, and horribly perplexed by rocks and shoals; taking these impediments in "mighty dudgeon"; at half-tide roaring with might and main, "like a bull bellowing for more drink," but when the tide is full sleeping "as soundly as an alderman after dinner"; in fact, resembling "a quarrelsome toper, who is a peaceable fellow enough when he has no liquor at all or has a skinfull, but who, when half-seas over, plays the very devil!" At the east, in mid-channel, lay Pot Rock, broadside to the current for one hundred and thirty feet, and only eight feet below the surface at low water. Next, and where the stream rounded into the river, Hallett's Point protruded three hundred feet, and in such a way as to throw the stream over upon the "Gridiron" with tremendous violence; to escape which, vessels had almost to shave the Point if they would get round into the eastern channel. Or if, turning to the northern side of the stream, they essayed the middle or the main ship-channel over to the New-York side, there again confronted them, within nine feet of the surface, the dangerous Frying-Pan Ledge, with other rocks and ledges beyond — "treacherous reefs," "intricate passages," and "a thousand dizzying eddies"! The scene of this great aqueous disturbance, always dreaded by seamen, is the narrow strait lying between Manhattan and Ward's Islands and the Long Island shore; yet within it, before the improvements were made, one thousand vessels a year were wrecked or seriously damaged.



HELL GATE.—EXCAVATIONS AT HALLETT'S POINT.

Up to 1845 Hell Gate had not even been surveyed. In that year David Hall induced other merchants to join with him in petitioning Congress in the matter. The first survey was made for the Coast Survey Office by Lieutenant (since Admiral) Charles H. Davis, in 1848; and a second, the same year, by Lieutenant (since Admiral) David D. Porter. Still, nothing was done to the purpose beyond the making of a chart in 1851. So far the only plan proposed was that of Lieutenant Davis (reaffirmed by Porter) to blast and dock, and in this way get rid of the most serious dangers. During that year M. Maillefert, a French engineer, proposed to the Chamber of Commerce the plan of blowing up Pot Rock, the Frying-Pan, and Way's Reef by gunpowder discharged upon the tops, as had been done in Nassau harbor and elsewhere. He offered to do the work for $15,000, and this was subscribed by Henry Grinnell ($5000) and others. The experiment lasted a year, and came to an end after only partial success. Nor was work resumed until 1866, when General John Newton took charge of operations. Meanwhile commerce was suffering to the amount of nearly $2,500,000 a year; but yet Congress was chary and slow about giving. Not until 1868 could it be induced to make its first large appropriation, $85,000. In 1869, however, it was $178,200. Then General Newton really began his great and successful labor.



HELL GATE.—BLOWING UP OF HALLETT'S POINT ROCKS.

The removal of individual rocks from mid-stream he determined to leave till later, and to commence with that great outcropping battery,—720 feet in width, and projecting 300 feet into the stream,—Hallett's Point. But any attack from the water side was, under the conditions, impracticable. Therefore, like Grant at Vicksburg, he went inland, threw up a coffer-dam between himself and low water, and for a series of years sat down "over against" his stubborn objective, Hallett's Point. Henceforth it was a work of patient undermining, and for his men of perpetual night and day drill, gallery following gallery out to the verge of the reef, and under a roof of rock whose old seams or cracks or rottenness might at any time pour down upon them a deluge. Not till Sunday, September 24, 1876, was everything ready for the great explosion, which was to be the end of the Hallett's Point obstructions. The supporting piers were all charged with explosives in groups, every eighth group having its own battery, all of them connected with one finger-key on shore. The galleries were then flooded, and at high tide the explosion took place. It lasted three seconds. A column of water was thrown up more than fifty feet; yet, though fifty-two thousand pounds of explosives were used, no damage to property was done. In Astoria, a pitcher of water standing on the ground close to the same strata of rock was not even shaken. The cost of the whole work was $1,717,000 — not so much as the bridge, nor so original a piece of engineering, but in its way, perhaps, as important.

When, during the progress of these operations at Hell Gate, it became evident that time and money and good engineering would prevail over the obstructions, the East Side Association especially had charming and golden visions of a not distant time when Harlem, the original "out ward" of the city, would be the center of its foreign commerce. That day is not yet, but it may come. The swift-footed Grecian nymph Atalanta (it is said) promised to marry whichever one of her suitors should surpass her in running; but a certain bright youth threw golden apples before her, which she stopped to pick up, and so lost the race! Our swift-footed city picks up and pockets all the apples without stopping, and is at this date far beyond the "out ward." This rapid advance itself gives something like substance to what were in 1874 mere speculative anticipations as to the future of that region. But a forward step in another direction has been taken, which may have important results. It is but eight miles across from the Hudson to the East River by the line of the Harlem River and the Spuyten Duyvil creek. A channel-way through, of sufficient depth,

THE HARLEM RIVER IMPROVEMENTS,—LOOKING NORTHWEST FROM KINGSBRIDGE ROAD.

would shorten the usual passage round by way of the Battery to the extent of twenty miles, and avoid the delays, expense, and dangers thereto incident. With this in view, so early as 1874 Congress passed an act for deepening the Harlem River, with General Newton in charge as engineer. His preliminary surveys were made during that year; but for years thereafter farther progress was obstructed by legal obstacles. Not till January, 1888, was the work recommenced. Nor is it a simple work of dredging and removing obstructions. Passing from the Hudson through Spuyten Duyvil creek, it contemplates a cut from three hundred and seventy-five to four hundred feet wide through Dyckman's meadows, involving that width of solid rock. Already three quarters of a million have been spent upon it by Colonel George L. Gillespie, of the corps of engineers, who is in charge of the work. When completed, the result will be a channel for vessels drawing at mean low water eight feet. At an immense saving of time, it will place the traffic of the Hudson in a direct line with Long Island Sound. Such progress has been made, during our period, upon the waterways surrounding the city.

THE HARLEM RIVER IMPROVEMENTS, LOOKING WEST FROM KINGSBRIDGE ROAD.

From the bridge and engineering as a feature of our period, we may pass to house and city building, as a striking illustration of the general development. After a long sleep of some three hundred years, architecture has had a great revival during the last forty or fifty years. Only of late, however, has there been any marked activity or progress in this country. "Architecture and eloquence," says Emerson, "are mixed arts, whose end is sometimes beauty and sometimes use." To build is an instinct older than the first rude hut; the beginning of architecture was an awakened sense of proportion and of beauty expressed in ornamentation. Therefore may the progress and culture of a people or an era be measured, in some degree, by the grandeur and beauty of its buildings. These, in so far as they can claim to be artistic, always express something, some idea or end "of beauty or of use." Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, the venerable president of Union College, knew something of architecture when, having been invited to admire a quite costly new church, he asked (pointing to the wooden corbels overhead): "And what do those represent?" "Oh, nothing," was the answer. "Then," he replied, "why are they there?" Artistically, they were simply a permanent and unsightly blot. The copious ornamentation by Hiram of the temple in Jerusalem was beautiful,—lilies, lions, oxen, pomegranates, and palm-trees, with cedar-wood and fir-wood and gold of Parvaim and Ophir,—because it all meant something, and was in place. Our own later

THE VANDERBILT RESIDENCES.

architects have profited greatly by a better and more critical study of fine old models,—Norman, Lombard, and Italian,—of the principles involved in each, and the reasons for this and that. The leading ones are comparatively, or quite, young men. And with their own progress has been connected a better education of the people through travel and observation abroad, a greater appreciation of and demand for the beautiful. This, with growing wealth, private and corporate, has changed our city. The massiveness and beauty in molding and tracery which were once confined to cathedrals and princely palaces, may now be found even in private residences. It would seem, at first, as if to design a doorway were a very simple thing, without much scope for artistic effect. Yet it is part of one larger whole. Let any one trace a series of doorways from Dutch plainness, the half-door and stoop, in colonial times, through periods of uniformity and general ugliness, down to the finer specimens of these latest years, and the difference will appear.

NEW-YORK BAY, BATTERY PARK, AND GOVERNOR'S ISLAND.

Nevertheless, as usual, necessity has principally caused the recent great change in our city, just as in England climate required the use of glass in her cathedral windows, which her architects speedily turned into a means of adornment. The great cost of land in the lower business districts set our architects to work, the problem being, in general, economy of space in favor of business uses and a good rental. Hence the many-storied office-buildings, in which the ingenuity displayed may justly be called American. Strong they must be, but without the encroachment of masses of masonry upon valuable floor-space, especially in the lower stories. Hence the scientific device of iron and steel in a skeleton framework infolded by the concealing and protecting masonry. Of what avail, however, the offices, high in

Edwd Cooper [1]

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[1] Edward Cooper was born in New-York city, October 26, 1824, attended the public schools and Columbia College, and thereafter spent some time in foreign travel. Upon his return, he became, with his brother-in-law, Abram S. Hewitt, a partner in the firm of Cooper, Hewitt & Co., whose senior member was his father, Peter Cooper, the philanthropist. He has been a prominent Democrat, and was mayor from 1879 to 1881. At the time of the Tweed Ring's power, he was one of the committee of Seventy whose efforts completed its overthrow. EDITOR.

the air, without that other truly American product, the "passenger elevator"—that rapid-transit contrivance indoors, without which much of the present life of the city would come to a standstill, as if stricken with heart-failure! It has made possible those lofty and elegant apartment-houses which, during the decade, have become such a feature up town, as have the office-buildings down-town. What an enrichment in the way of living, if one can do so, to have your own apartments complete and ample upon a single floor; in a building really fire-proof, as are a few of them, with stone and concrete and iron; where the fifth floor or the tenth is as accessible as the first, and vastly more desirable; where, above roofs and street noises, the resident can look off upon distant shores or the bay, and down, at evening, upon a thousand lights of the city; where, if he so chooses, he can turn the key, deposit it in the office, and go to Europe without a care;—in a word, to delegate to others the usual annoyances and cares of city housekeeping,—the coöperative plan, as applied to living, in its perfection! With many gradations, it is true, from the crowded and unwholesome tenement-house of three or four stories, and an intervening variety of apartment-houses more or less desirable, yet such is the nature or tendency and extent of the present and most recent development in building. Not, however, that change has confined itself to these high structures. The old uniformity in residences, whole blocks alike,—the "brownstone fronts," for instance, of certain

HIGH BRIDGE AND WASHINGTON BRIDGE.

sections and a somewhat earlier period,—has given place to an opposite diversity in style. If at times sensational or excessive—an advertisement (and what efforts and exhibitions of genius are advertisements nowadays!), it at least indicates the drift of thought and desire in the direction of supposed beauty. But, given a lot of eighteen or twenty feet front in a block more or less complete, to build thereon the usual three or four stories in height; to make a house roomy, attractive, and accoutred with conveniences within, whilst without it is individual in style and yet coherent and beautiful; to do this with the windows and doorway and bow-windows and roof-line as the extent of his scope in the way of diversity, surely it is a problem to test an architect! "Picturesque" he may make it,—Egyptian, eclectic, or something else,—but probably at the expense, as is so often seen, of distortion somewhere. Having broken the shackles of uniformity, and in such a period of rapid city development, we are to expect extravaganzas from freer thought in architecture, as in other things.

The subject is too large to admit of detail. We close it with one more reference. It is to the present up-town movement of institutions which might have been expected to remain located for at least a lifetime. We may compare it to the flight of some larger birds northward for greater facilities in nesting. There are those still living who have seen one church (Rev. Dr. John Hall's) remove from Cedar street, from Duane street, and from Nineteenth to Fifty-fifth street, and another cross the city from Rutgers street to Madison Avenue, and again recently to a spot far up the Boulevard; who have trodden the classic halls of old Columbia in College Place, two miles from its present location in Forty-ninth street; and who saw the New-York University erected on Washington Square. In that university building, as a part of its history, Professor Samuel F. B. Morse painted, and experimented upon the telegraph till by his alphabet he made of a wire a new highway of thought and mutual communication. Years ago the writer met him in Paris. Representatives of European governments were there in session to decide upon some suitable acknowledgment in money of its usefulness to them. After several propositions, made and rejected, he himself proposed—simply one year's saving to them resulting from its use! They took a fortnight to investigate, and then said it was impossible; no government could do it, the amount was so large. Finally, they decided upon 400,000 francs ($80,000). "I never expect to die rich," said the professor; "at home they keep me so constantly in law"; nor, in fact, as the result of a lawsuit by his company, was he permitted to retain the whole of that foreign *douceur*. Other distinguished men have also had a place in that building, such as Chancellor Theodore Frelinghuysen, Chancellor Howard Crosby, the late Professor John W.

Draper, and Professor Tayler Lewis[1]—the latter a scholar as profound as he was various in his knowledge; an expert in many languages; a poet, a skilled musician; a mathematician capable of original problems; versed in jurisprudence and public questions; a theologian, an eminent Bible student and commentator; a writer keen, forceful, versatile, whose pen seldom slept; in short, abler than a specialist, a foremost product of American scholarship.

CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.[2]

But, forsaking the seat of an honorable history, the university, and likewise Columbia, have yielded to removal. The latter comprehends in too scanty quarters its growing School of Mines. As showing the trend and development of thought, this most conservative institution has lately, in a conservative way, opened its facilities of learning to the "higher education" of woman. It contemplates greater expansion and advancement, for which it certainly has the means. The history of its revenues is itself an illustration of the march of building and its results. It is this: Early in the century Union College (Schenectady) was deriving a revenue from a so-called "literary fund," the product of State lotteries. These had not at the time the ill repute which time and experience of their evil have fastened upon them. Dr. Nott, the president, an inventor (whose hall stove was formerly in every house), contrived a scheme intended to secure the most perfect fairness—never in use, since one model was burned with the patent office, and the remaining one he later on destroyed. But these lotteries and a State "fund" were jealously regarded as giving Union an unfair advantage over Columbia (King's) College. Therefore (1816), Rev. Dr. Mason, its provost, was sent to Albany in its behalf. Fortunately, the Dr. Hosack botanical garden in New-York, which the State had bought, was not proving useful property; and, as fortunately in the end, this piece of property Dr. Mason was induced to accept, leaving to Union College the lotteries. Comprising about twenty acres, it lay between the present Fifth and Sixth avenues, and between Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets,—for Columbia the germ of its present wealth.

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[1] At the time of his death, May 11, 1877, a professor in Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

[2] The corner-stone of the cathedral was laid on December 27, 1892, St. John the Evangelist's day, with solemn and impressive ceremonies, and in the presence of many notable ecclesiastical and other dignitaries, the Bishop of Albany delivering the sermon on the occasion. One Hundred and Tenth street, which forms the principal approach to the cathedral, is undergoing widening, and will be called Cathedral Parkway; it will unite Central, Morningside, and Riverside parks in one continuous and unsurpassed driveway. EDITOR.

W R Grace[1]

Our city may almost be called fluid. Even its largest buildings yield to waves of motion. They go up and come down, and are carried to great distances. Both of these institutions will soon be found more finely located, miles away: Columbia, upon Morningside Heights, and the University at University Heights. The New-York Historical Society has secured a new up-town site; St. Luke's Hospital is going, having selected a Bloomingdale location; the Leake and Watts Asylum (One Hundred and Tenth street) has already gone. Elbow-room, chest-expansion room, is the general necessity imposed upon them by activity and the pressure from behind. Upon the site of the Leake and Watts Asylum, at a cost of $850,000 for the ground, has already been begun the Episcopal cathedral of St. John the Divine,—to be, when finished, five hundred and twenty feet in length; to cost, it is estimated, about ten millions, and requiring a great income to maintain. The bishop's church, it is, in idea, the building of a reservoir which shall concentrate within itself the energies and purposes of the Episcopal system, and dispense them with greater power. It is an advance of ideas within that church, for which no previous decade was ready or could control the means. As a building, it may be taken as a specimen of what our architects are capable. Its designers (Heins and La Farge) are young men. They have made it the round-arched Gothic, but not as servile copyists. On the contrary, whilst obedient to the laws inherent in the Gothic, they have exercised a freedom required by the purposes of its interior; and in deference to climate—our own icy and variable climate, which disintegrates even stone — they have thrown the protecting shelter of the roof over the usually exposed flying buttresses. In addition to a ground elevation above the river of about one hundred feet, the dome and its spire will reach a height of four hundred and fifty feet.

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[1] William R. Grace was born in Ireland, came to New-York when a lad of fourteen, became a merchant's clerk, and later started in the commission and shipping business on his own account. He has been a successful and prosperous merchant, and is now the head of the firm of William R. Grace & Co., which is engaged in the South American trade. Mr. Grace, who is a Democrat, occupied the mayor's chair in 1881–82, filling the position with judgment and discretion; in 1884 he was again elected to the same office, serving for the years 1885–86. EDITOR.

THE BOWERY, NORTH FROM GRAND STREET.

But (passing from the cathedral and its thus far undeveloped purposes), on the other hand, the great Methodist Book Concern, recently built, is a center of widely radiating influences—perhaps quite the denominational hub. And, in token of present progress, the old system of a single minister in each church is yielding to newer necessities and development. Each church is becoming more of a center, in its way, whose outspreading tentacles are mission buildings, and efforts direct upon the growing and needy community. Development, expansion,—it is everywhere; seen in great stores and multiplying factories. Even our immense post-office, first occupied in 1877, has outgrown itself and is querulous for more room. Will the time ever come, in a near or remote future, when New-York may be called built? Or will it continue to pull down, in order to enlarge its habitations and its places of industry?

With greater brevity we may refer to what has been and is both cause and effect of the preceding,—viz., better means of transit. But one lingering relic survives of the old omnipresent omnibus. It is the Fifth Avenue line of stages,—a survivor, but without the dash, the wide-awake pursuit of a fare, the skill in meandering through crowds, which characterized the old keenly competing lines; a survivor, not as a "moving creature that hath life," but as it were one of the "creeping things" mentioned in Genesis. The system is out of date for our hurrying multitudes. It is not so, thus far, however, with the horse as a locomotive for the street-car. To judge of his place in the city, one has only to recall the effects of a "tie-up," or the serious epizoötic within the decade; during the latter of which business was interrupted and sermons were preached on the religious aspects of such a visitation,— a visitation more widely felt in its results than would have been cases of cholera occurring here and there! And what an industry the horse has created— what with his own short life in service (about four years), the grain and hay consumed, and the army of men dependent upon him! But horse-flesh and muscle must now, in turn, yield to the traction company and the cable as, for long distances and speed, a better competitor with the "elevated," which also belongs to this period, having been opened for service in 1878.[1] The quicker the transit, the larger the volume of travel for both. The telephone has not interfered with the telegraph, nor that, nor both of them, with the mail service. Each creates a new necessity for the other. Certainly all this is progress, and to be noted as a feature of the day. The very removal of the huge horse-

ELECTRIC SUBWAY MAN-HOLE.

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[1] Charles T. Harvey, now of Nyack, N. J., was unquestionably the originator of the elevated road, the first of its kind in the world's history. In 1867 he exhibited his models and plans to the State Senate, and was authorized to complete them. By later and various processes his rights were nullified. But the Senate and House have several times sustained his claims, the last time by bill of March 10, 1892. Yet after twenty-five years of efforts to obtain justice, whilst others have been reaping the rich fruits of his ideas, Mr. Harvey has received no remuneration whatever. The plans at first contemplated a cable-road instead of one run by steam.

car stable, with its malodorousness, what a difference it will make to immense parcels of property! Nor, since it relates to rapid transit should another happy change be omitted. The unsightly poles loaded with telephone, telegraph, and electric-light wires have to a great extent disappeared from the streets—a very important riddance, especially in case of fires. It is probable, however, that few know the amount of labor, care, and cost required to subway city wires; beginning, first of all, with the hard, concrete trench, three or five feet deep, along which are to run, from man-hole to man-hole (two hundred and fifty feet), a series of prepared iron pipes or "ducts" in isolated tiers, secured in concrete, immovable, and topped with creosoted planks—this whole "conduit" being made capable of withstanding, in safety, a pressure of five hundred pounds to the square inch; and then, to complete the system, must be added the roomy and convenient iron or brick man-holes, out of which are fed into the different iron ducts the many-wired cables which are to traverse the conduit. A cable of one hundred telephone wires can pass through a single duct, which may be, perhaps, two and a half or three inches in diameter. The capacity of all the ducts—say twenty in number—may readily be seen: surely an improvement to have safely underground, in solitary confinement as it were, those dangerous "volts" which a high wind or an accidental crossing of the wires might render murderous,—has made so indeed to more than one unfortunate lineman!

WASHINGTON BUILDING AND PRODUCE EXCHANGE.

In 1888 occurred a (happily) rare event which, for a few days, rendered locomotion of any kind almost impossible. Our contrivances cannot outwit or secure us against nature and Providence. It was merely a fall of snow and a wind — the so-called "blizzard." But with wires down, and streets blocked against traffic and travel, there were those who were cut off from even the necessaries of life. It was a "boycott" on a great scale, which perforce deprived dealers of their trade, and families of their milk and coal and food. Strangely enough, there was a child born during that tremendous night of the storm, which finished its little career during the most fearful electrical

WASHINGTON MEMORIAL ARCH.

phenomena, lasting nearly all night, in August, 1892. On the other hand — as among its melancholy results, through a cold then caught — the blizzard of 1888 caused the death of a brilliant man; one who had once had prominence and power in both the State and the nation; one to whom President Grant had offered the chief-justiceship; and who, at the time of his death, had a great law practice in the city — ex-Senator Roscoe Conkling. These circumstances give him a place in this history. A distinguished senator of the after war times has said that in the Senate of that day there were a dozen who might be ranked with the traditional orators of England. The number alone is striking. America has had not a few such orators scattered along her history. Mr. Conkling was one of that dozen; not a Webster nor a Clay, but in the debates always a commanding figure, essentially an orator; whose great memory made all his resources at once available; whose command of language, strong, striking, and pungent, was something marvelous; whose voice, form, and manner were fine and imposing; yet who sometimes spoiled his effect, even in sarcasm, by a superabundant rhetoric, a style too showy, ornate, and merely oratorical — he could not resist it, it was the style of the man. A striking and conspicuous personality always and everywhere, in the law-courts as much as in the senate, a man of acknowledged abilities, not yet old, his death, owing to a persistent attempt to stem the blizzard, made the storm notably disastrous.[1]

Our appliances for locomotion are not yet perfect, not beyond the recurrence of "blocks" and other accidents. Put together the accidents upon the elevated, in the Fourth Avenue tunnel, and elsewhere within the city limits during the few years past, and they are many. Iron and steel and machinery are themselves fallible; and, then, who shall guarantee the switchman or the engineer? How long can a switchman's brain endure the monotony of switching, coupled with the responsibility and strain of always doing it right? It may here be mentioned that years ago President Franklin Pierce was passing over the Boston and Maine Railroad, on his way to Washington to be inaugurated. An accident occurred, and his son was killed. It was at a switch over which many trains passed, and tended by a faithful and experienced man who had been there for years. That night that man went to bed and *dreamed* that he had set the switch wrong; in a dazed condition rushed down and turned it wrong; and in five minutes the express-train bearing the president came along! In his fright he ran away, and of course was held responsible and ruined. Some time afterward, the writer asked a night switchman on the New-York Central how long he had been at that switch — it was thirteen years; how many trains passed over it at night — the number was very large; and then, if he ever dreamed of switches? His answer was that his wife said so — he was always talking in his sleep of trains and switches. In a word, his brain was telling him to move on to some other switch. Were a minister to repeat the ten commandments thirty or forty times a day for thirteen years, with no other employment and a penalty for doing it wrong, his mind would in time grow confused, his memory fail to grip the smooth-worn phrase. It is not always carelessness — though a jury may say so — that causes an accident (and some poor man's ruin), but the steady strain on the hand and eye and brain too long continued. Switchmen have no vacations to break the circuit of their ideas, and keep them from mentally muddling the switches.

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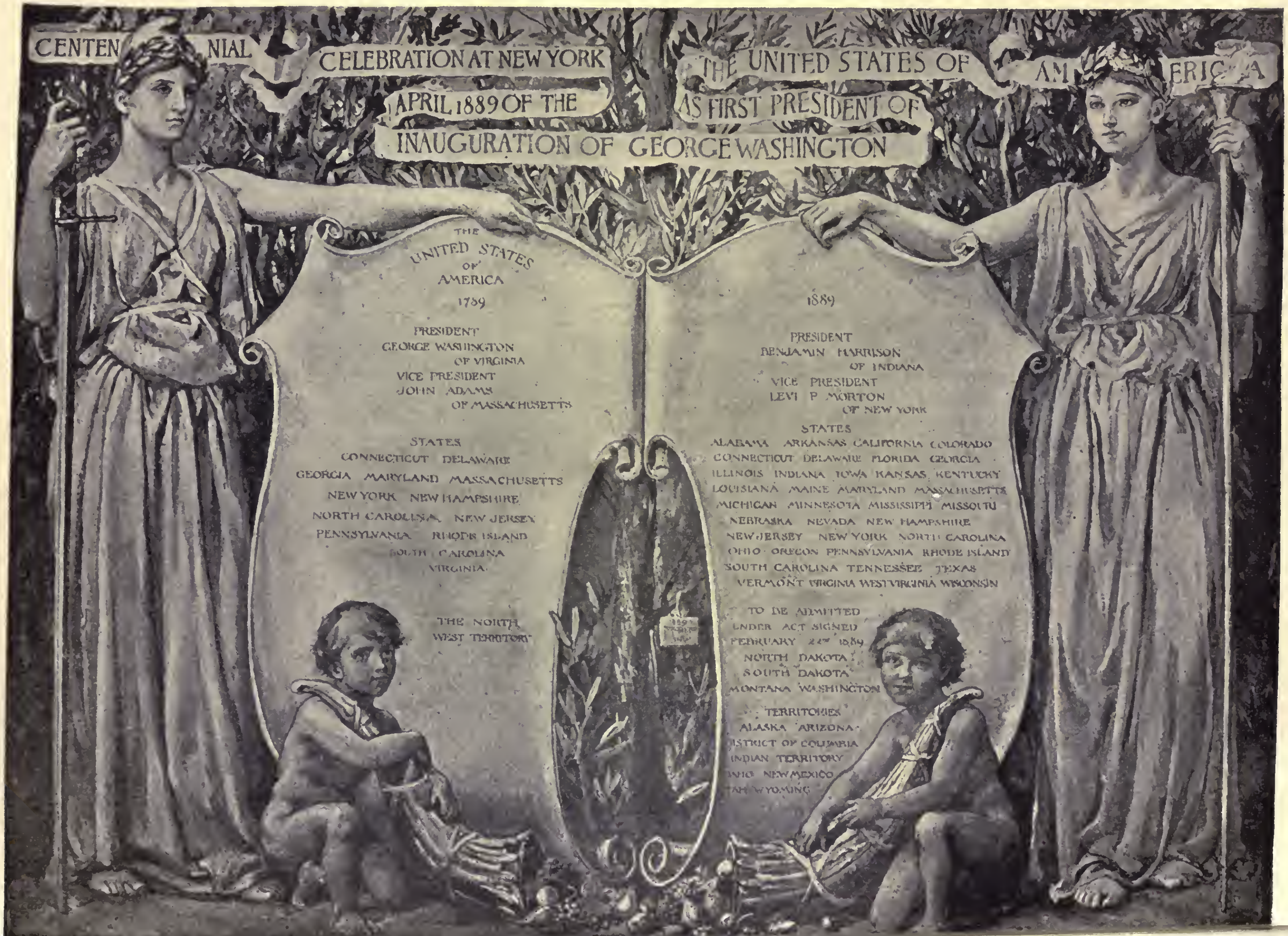
[1] President Fillmore once said that if Clay, Calhoun, and Webster could only have agreed which should come first, they might all have been president. Perhaps it might have been so with Mr. Conkling and some other statesmen, could they have composed their antagonisms. Such things may pull down climbing ambition just when it reaches for the topmost apple.

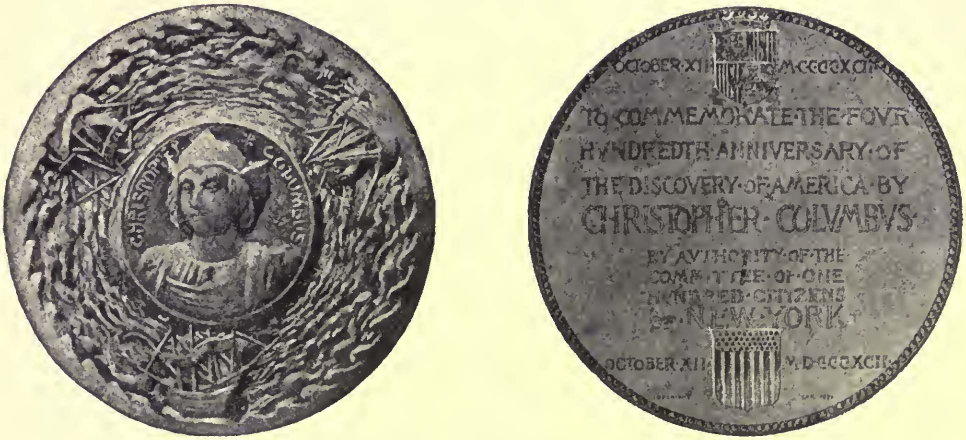
COLUMBUS MONUMENT.

Thus far, without attempting detail, we have had in view the material side of New-York. It would be impossible, in the limits of a single chapter, to give full specifications of the development in that direction. We pass to matters and things representing, not the actually necessary or the strictly useful, but the ideal. We refer to events whose object was commemorative, and to things intended to express ideas. The advance in such things over the past has been marked, and the growth and expansion not all one-sided. It has been almost a new era. In a spectacular form we have been cultivating ideas—cultivating patriotism and the artistic. We have found in our history something to celebrate, and worthy of celebration, besides the Fourth of July. The statue of Liberty, erected in 1886, stands in our harbor, the embodiment of an idea as grand as the statue itself—that, after the trial of a hundred years, here is indeed liberty. Its broad and massive foundations, with the material of its colossal form, indicate permanency; whilst, to all who come honestly—come, perhaps, with a sigh of relief—to our shores, its torch is an invitation and a welcome; honestly and with good purpose, for liberty, as represented in that grand and noble form, is not anarchy, not lawlessness, not merely the individual will and pleasure: it is draped in robes of decorum and law. Will it ever become a mere memento of what has been? It represents, it cannot defend or secure, liberty. Will it ever represent a failure? That depends upon the people, who must first ostracize the virtues which make it not an ideal in bronze, but


CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT NEW YORK APRIL 1889 OF THE INAUGURATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
1789
PRESIDENT
GEORGE WASHINGTON
OF VIRGINIA
VICE PRESIDENT
JOHN ADAMS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
STATES
CONNECTICUT DELAWARE
GEORGIA MARYLAND MASSACHUSETTS
NEW YORK NEW HAMPSHIRE
NORTH CAROLINA NEW JERSEY
PENNSYLVANIA RHODE ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
THE NORTH WEST TERRITORY
1889
PRESIDENT
BENJAMIN HARRISON
OF INDIANA
VICE PRESIDENT
LEVI P MORTON
OF NEW YORK
STATES
ALABAMA ARKANSAS CALIFORNIA COLORADO
CONNECTICUT DELAWARE FLORIDA GEORGIA
ILLINOIS INDIANA IOWA KANSAS KENTUCKY
LOUISIANA MAINE MARYLAND MASSACHUSETTS
MICHIGAN MINNESOTA MISSISSIPPI MISSOURI
NEBRASKA NEVADA NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW JERSEY NEW YORK NORTH CAROLINA
OHIO OREGON PENNSYLVANIA RHODE ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA TENNESSEE TEXAS
VERMONT VIRGINIA WEST VIRGINIA WISCONSIN
TO BE ADMITTED
UNDER ACT SIGNED
FEBRUARY 22ND 1889
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
MONTANA WASHINGTON
TERRITORIES
ALASKA ARIZONA
ISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
INDIAN TERRITORY
AHO NEW MEXICO
AH WYOMING

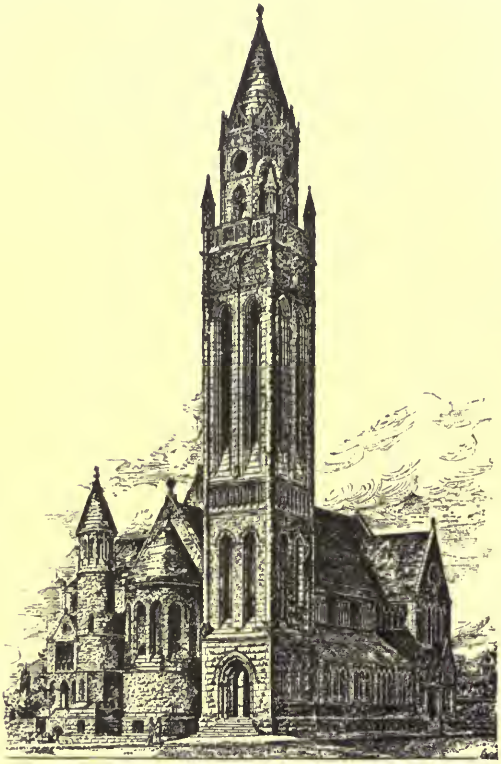
a living reality. Yet history has some disagreeable lessons. Nations are not cast in bronze. They change with their development, and are not always what they were.

In 1889 was celebrated the inauguration of Washington, with the scene, to a certain extent, revived; that is, with President Benjamin Harrison landing at the same spot (the foot of Wall street) and in the same way, by boat, and passing thence with the great procession to the place indicated by history—the present location of the statue of Washington. So far historical; but what a representation of our own day! The naval parade, the great procession through dense multitudes compacted into one citizenship from many nations; a procession comprehending governors of States, an immense military display, scenes typical and imposing, a tableau holding the eye for hours, yet which found its culmination of interest in the splendid marching of hundreds of children from the public schools! Fittingly the occasion has itself been commemorated in more lasting form by the erection of the fine marble arch on Washington Square. The same magnitude of design, the same allegory and pageant, has also characterized the late celebration—October 12, 1892—of the landing of Columbus; during which, also, a statue of the celebrated navigator was unveiled at the southwestern entrance to the Central Park, and, in the absence of the mayor, accepted by the editor of this work on behalf of the city. Moreover, what a spectacle was the funeral of General Grant, in 1885, at which the two ablest living generals of the war (Sherman and Johnston), once well-matched opponents, rode peacefully together in mutual tribute to the great silent soldier. And we are building his monument and tomb, to be always before the eye of the future and to recall his historic deeds. These have been the grand commemorations of the period. But more than ever before, as


CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
OCTOBER XII MCCCCXCII
TO COMMEMORATE THE FOVR HVNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY CHRISTOPHER COLVMBVS
BY AVTHORITY OF THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HVNDRED CITIZENS OF NEW YORK
OCTOBER XII MDCCCXCII

THE COLUMBIAN CELEBRATION MEDAL.

an indication of advanced thought, we have been adorning our streets and parks with works of art representative of men and events worthy to be remembered. Above all, as permanent "eye-teaching," and a permanent monument of the period, of its taste, its munificence in both collecting and giving for public uses, we have the admirable Metropolitan Museum, opened in 1882.


ST. JAMES CHURCH.

There is always another side. Civilization does not advance equally all along the line. The grand army has its ignoble and cowardly camp-followers. It must be an unusually healthy tree in the forest that has no withered leaves to shed, no dead branches, no parasitical fungus at the root. If our streets and parks show growth in the direction of the ideal, in statuary and ornamentation, there is to be seen in them statuary of another kind far from ornamental. Especially in City Hall Park, the very focus of city life and activity, close by Printing House Square with its night and day activities, with Franklin and Horace Greeley in full view to set them thinking, and many a newsboy earning his own decent living, there they sit upon the benches, almost as permanent as statues, and the more remarkable for the contrast they present! From the park to the poorhouse in winter; from the bench to the saloon, the lodging-house, or to beg; such is their life. They are the "dead-beats" of the community, and its parasites. To this they have come, illustrating nature's law of degeneration alongside of activity, growth, and development. To this their nature is now limited. Like the hermit-crab in its shell, they live in the cast-off clothes of other people. Tailors' bills, grocers' bills, homes of their own, duties, they have none to trouble them. They are simply parasites; they feed on others. Begged and given a ticket for a lunch, a few pennies for a drink, something for a vagrants' lodging-house, and such like, and the day's sum total is made up. Laziness and filth have become their normal condition. A worn-out, broken-down horse is respectable; he has worked for his living, and borne the cuts bad fortune has bestowed upon him with patient endeavor. When he dies there will remain something useful besides his bones. As to these others, nothing, not even their shoes. It is the other side of the picture of progress, not ideal but actual.

As now pertaining to actual life in the city, and its development on the better side, during the period before us, we turn to the subject of schools and education. There has been a noticeable change since 1879. It will probably not interfere with anything written in previous chapters to refer to the past and its schooling. There are some yet remaining who went to school in Exchange Place, in Pine street, in Cedar, or in Nassau, where now stands the Equitable building; and, later on, in Murray street, at Anthon's famous grammar-school, which for so many was the gateway into Columbia College. No private schools now linger in those lower regions, which once were to school-boys regions of pains and penalties. In the younger days of the century, about 1815, there were several Irishmen in the city who had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, had been concerned with the Emmets in the proceedings of the United Irishmen, and as exiles had taken up teaching for a living. Their vocation was drill, especially in the classics, at the time the essential part of scholarship. And, certainly, they made scholars well grounded and capable in the classics and such other branches as they taught. It is to be said, however, that they did not confine themselves to drill as a means of implanting solid and correct knowledge. They kneaded it in with their hands, and faithfully used "physical culture" by means of the strap, the favorite implement of that day. Nor was it gentle culture, as of tender juvenile vines; on the contrary, and frequently, a good top-dressing at their hands was harrowing. A Philadelphia lad, who had left school with the blood running down his back, made a vow. Returning forty years afterward, a man of wealth and standing, he hunted up his old teacher. Times had changed with him, and the vow was superfluous. But such were—not with these only, but in general—the methods of teaching early in the century. The largest and most successful of these schools, we may add, was that of Joseph

A. S. Hewitt[1]

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[1] Abram S. Hewitt was born July 31, 1822, received his education at Columbia College, practised law in New-York, and later became a partner in the firm of Cooper, Hewitt & Co. For twenty-five years he has, as secretary of the board of trustees, directed the educational and financial affairs of the Cooper Union. In politics a Democrat, he was one of the organizers of the County Democracy in 1879. Elected to Congress in 1874, he served continuously, with the exception of one term, until 1886, when he was elected mayor, receiving 90,552 votes, against 68,110 for Henry George, and 60,435 for Theodore Roosevelt. His administration was noted for a rigid enforcement of the laws. In 1876 he was chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and the same year was elected president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers. His report on "Iron and Steel" at the Paris Exhibition in 1867 met with approval, and was republished at home and abroad. EDITOR.

Nelson, known as the "blind teacher," and on that account worthy of special mention. His eyesight had failed him as a student at Columbia College. Nevertheless, he was already able to understand any Latin or Greek book by simply hearing it, and his sisters were likewise classical scholars, who could read to him. Therefore he determined to teach.[1] His own department was the classical, the other branches he left to assistants and a monitor.[2] And teacher Nelson, like the rest, was wondrous good at drill and flogging, made excellent scholars, some of them afterward well-known men. Blind as he was, he never missed the right one, but would spring out, collar, and flog him; flog for a false quantity—making no errors of his own in the matter of quantity! His rule seemed to be: to sharpen the wits of a boy, strap him on the legs! Of course, they eagerly watched his finger as he felt along for the hour-hand on his silver watch—there might be time for one or two more floggings! But he was as precise about the hour as he was about the grammar. Afterward appointed a professor at Rutgers College, New Jersey, his portrait is there, with his finger still on the watch.

FOURTEENTH STREET, WEST FROM UNION SQUARE.

No school of the past, however, has had the repute of Anthon's grammar-school. It was what its name imported—a school of rudimentary drill, but one of a higher grade and more comprehensive scope than any of the preceding. Although educated for the bar, Professor Anthon was by nature and aptness of mind a linguist and teacher. A college professor at twenty-three, incessantly at work on dictionaries, grammars, and critical editions of classical works (ultimately to the number of over fifty volumes), in 1830 he added to his labors this school, in which he was both rector and the teacher of its highest linguistic department—the first Latin. Our review concerns principally methods and advances in teaching. But Professor Anthon was, personally, the motive lever of his school. Up, himself, at four in the morning, and busy with his books and exact criticism, he insisted upon industry and thoroughness in his pupils. He gave instruction, but insisted upon education. Nor was he satisfied with a grammar knowledge of words, sentences, and their construction, but in translation it must be the best word and an elegant translation. By means of Latin and Greek he thus shaped the thought, the mental habits, and English style of many a small boy, whose individual proficiency, moreover, decided his daily place in the class, up or down, and the weekly report to his parents. Such was his method, and his eye was everywhere. That itself was a stimulus. Dr. Anthon greatly admired the celebrated Dr. Richard Busby, of England, who had educated more men eminent in church and state than any teacher of his time, who refused to pay deference to the Prince of Wales in the presence of his pupils because before them he could acknowledge no superior, and whose panacea for all delinquencies was the rod![1] And assuredly, in his own domain, Dr. Anthon had no superior. There, with his elegant and athletic form, his fine head and imperial manner, he was a veritable Jupiter on his mountain, or a Taurus in his constellation—a teacher whom grown men recall with a certain gratitude, if they feared him as boys. For Dr. Anthon, like the others, believed in the rod: with this only change, from the crude and hard ferule and strap to the more genteel and limber ratan! He had his favorites, the always diligent and good boys, who escaped—like the present distinguished dean of Columbia College, Dr. Drisler. But for the dull, the careless, or the lazy there was no escape. For all such the ratan was as conducive to education as pepsin to digestion. Not so easy or pleasant to take! With certain figures marked upon a slip of paper, which the stalwart and jocose professor of mathematics down-stairs well understood, and which he was to count upon the fingers of the boy; to march into the midst of thirty other boys as audience and spectators;

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[1] A remarkably energetic blind man was seen by the writer in 1880. Piloted by his wife and son, he was going over a Swiss pass, not by the regular, even road, but by short cuts wherever available. His object was to reach Chamouny, and make the ascent of Mont Blanc, in order to show how much a blind man might do!—apparently, taking the moon by his teeth, and an attempt more to the purpose if made on level ground!

[2] Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye, the still living senior pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Church, was one of Nelson's boy monitors.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.

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[1] Dr. Busby's portrait is included in the Harvard College collection.

to be grasped by the wrist and stand with extended palm; to rise on the tiptoe of expectation, whilst the professor playfully dallied; to take impromptu steps which were not the stately minuet, whilst the mobile countenance bore witness to the correctness of the professor's advancing count; and then to return with tingling fingers and the receipt for a flogging! There was but one of the parties concerned who enjoyed it—the stalwart and jocose professor. It refreshed him as a beautiful piece of applied mathematics; it was his lunch for the day. Such were the educational processes of the largest and best grammar-school of the city fifty years ago.

To come now to our assigned period. Learning, it is certain, has dropped from her list of stimulants the exhilarating ratan. Her hook is baited, the rather, with glittering prizes. On the other hand, the curriculum is larger and more ambitious. The modern languages and other subjects dispute for the hours and the place once, by common consent, assigned to Latin and Greek. Moreover, to "fit for college" (male or female), and in the shortest possible time, has become with schools an important aim; it affects their grade and numbers. And this requires more books, more pages to be read at a lesson, more hurry, with less time to be devoted to drill and the rudiments. A few questions put to pupils of different schools will show this. Is it an advance over the past? There is, indeed, a demand for "higher educa-

"TIMES," "TRIBUNE," "SUN," AND "WORLD" BUILDINGS, PARK ROW.

tion." But "higher education," like a house, must begin at the bottom, with the foundations, the rudiments, and proceed with equal care to the top. Professor Agassiz was wont to give a beginner a lobster, which he was to study minutely, with glass in hand, for six months. Chancellor Kent in his old age said to the writer that whatever reputation he had gained in life he owed to the fact that when he studied law he had but one book. That book was Blackstone's Commentaries; and having no other, he studied it thoroughly and until he had mastered the principles of law. It was in 1782, when there were no American law books and no reports of American decisions, and when law itself, as applicable to American institutions, had not been shaped. Those first studies, afterward built upon, enabled him to bring order out of confusion in the State Supreme Court, and later, as chancellor, in the Court of Chancery; so that when, after nine years, he retired, they likened him to Lord Nottingham, who had founded the equity system of England, and was "enabled in the course of nine years to build a system of jurisprudence and jurisdiction upon wise and rational foundations."[1]

THE TERRACE, CENTRAL PARK.

We must recognize the fact that the day and its conditions are different; that under any method the larger part will only make fair progress; that eminence is the attainment of but few; but that even a peep into knowledge may be helpful. There are schools and schools in the city, from the thorough to the "fashionable"; the latter, or at least some of them, as like to the former as is the bird Taurus (the "hollow-sounding bittern" of Goldsmith), all legs and wings and feathers, to the noble ox whose lowing it was thought to imitate. Whatever is desired can be had. And for "higher education" there is increased provision. For instance, Columbia College has many departments besides (in the freshman and sophomore years) a regular college course. Gradually these are thrown open to the student as

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[1] The chancellor had just received a bust of himself. He did not like it. "It makes me look so cross, and I am not cross," he said. In fact, his old age was genial, active, and playful. His son, Judge William Kent, in preceding him down the long steps into the yard, took a leap over the railing. "Oh, I can do that too," said the chancellor; and over he went himself.

"elective" studies. In the senior year everything is "elective." And thus at an earlier date than formerly the student may get down to the specialty he may wish to pursue, with every advantage of apparatus and instruction at hand. He is not marked from day to day as formerly, but must study, or bear the penalties incident to a report as "deficient." Such is the change of method at Columbia — an instance merely of the changes through which the university, like Columbia and other colleges, is passing. So far as it marks an advance in study, it must react upon the schools. On the feminine side, Barnard College, chartered in 1889, is and is not a department of Columbia. It is not supported by its funds. Its recitations are separate but on parallel lines, which, upon completion, entitle the graduate to a Columbia diploma; and thereafter, if she so chooses, to the privilege of attendance upon certain of its "elective" studies. The number of students is as yet not large; and still smaller the number of those who avail themselves of what may be called an educational aftermath or after-grass. It has to compete with such popular institutions as Bryn Mawr, and Smith, and Wellesley, or Vassar and Wells. In a city whose first educational impulses came from Holland, among whose earliest and best scholars were women, it is but still following the example of three out of four of the Dutch universities — of Leyden, Utrecht, and Amsterdam — to throw open doors of learning to women, some of whom, as in the past, may prove great proficients.

Tho E Vermilye

In a city history it is impossible to overlook the public schools. They reach the largest numbers, especially the poor, in all parts of the city; and if the present compulsory law does not actually secure an education to all, it is at least fairly well enforced. Our period, from 1879, covers the incumbency of John Jasper as city superintendent of schools, and has certainly been one of advance. Of this one evidence is patent enough in the gradual consolidation of smaller schools, till lately in crowded and inconvenient buildings, and placing them in those newer ones planned to accommodate from two thousand to three thousand pupils, and provided with the best sanitation and conveniences. Even with this consolidation, and with whatever inefficiency in the action of the compulsory law, the number of grammar and primary schools, or separate departments, has grown, since 1879, so as to require seven hundred more teachers, or 3496 in all, for an average daily attendance of 137,849 pupils. These schools, again, have been supplemented by evening schools having two grades of junior and senior, with elective studies in the latter for pupils not under sixteen years of age, whilst in the junior or regular department the ages may range from thirteen to eighteen years. These, in 1892, had 28,537 registered pupils, and a nightly average of 9376; and, in addition, are four evening high schools, with an average of nearly 3000. Moreover, whilst it is evident that the efficiency of a school must depend much upon the teaching or executive power of both principal and teachers, there has been steady progress in school work since 1879. Whatever change has been fairly tested and proved advantageous has been adopted. Of especial importance has proved the introduction, first of manual-training schools, and then, in 1890, the introduction into all the schools of the course of study therein found so useful. This educational course begins at the lowest primary grade, and goes through to the highest grammar grade; goes from the kindergarten, with its "eye-teaching" for the least, up to the high school. In all it is regarded as a living principle of education, to be applied wherever practicable. And, indeed, among such a population, so circumstanced, what can be more efficient than a course of instruction which includes the body as well as the mind! How excellent, again, the law of the State which requires in its common schools attention to such subjects as physiology and hygiene! For this, also, provision is made, through talks by the principals, outside of the regular studies. That the standard of scholarship among the teachers must be good, is evident. Indeed, to secure a requisite proficiency, the standard of licenses has been raised in 1892 from seventy-five to eighty-five per cent. But with a Normal School of 2000 pupils to draw upon, to secure the best for the purpose should be no difficulty.

PARK AVENUE, NORTH FROM THIRTY-FOURTH STREET.

During this period has also been tried the experiment—an experiment in this city—of having female members upon the Board of Education. Since of the three chosen to the office none has been reappointed by the mayor, it must, for the present at least, be deemed a failure. The number suited by tact, temperament, and training to the position is necessarily small, and, whether in the board as a legislative body or in the schools, it may easily become a trying and unpleasant one in view of the many subjects which may arise and distract opinion. It stands an experiment discontinued by the will and judgment of the appointing power, the mayor, although it brought into service upon the board women of well-known character and capacity, and experience in various phases of city work.

Franklin Edson[1]

How well approved, upon examination, is the work of the public schools, a late incident may show. Let it here first be said that they are intended in their various districts to reach even the poorest and all nationalities. It is a notable fact that the best scholars are Jews, both in deportment and learning; their parents require of them proficiency in such matters. The next are Germans, whilst the Irish, with different traits, have produced from these schools bright specimens of what, with education, they may become. Even some of the poorest among them, seeing what the schools have done, entertain for their children this greatest desire—an education! The incident is, that one who knows this work and has attained wealth through a large clientage among the poor, and desires to return them something of what he has received, has arranged a plan by which twelve pupils now pass yearly from the public schools into the city college, and will do so till the full number of sixty is reached. That number is to be maintained, and will cost him the sum (for which he has already provided) of $20,000 annually in perpetuity. His one condition is that they shall be poor, capable, and desirous of an education. If one is disposed to do good, even a penny paper may furnish the abundant means.

This beneficent act brings us naturally to the subject of charities. The public schools are not charities. They are a tax for the good of the whole, by which the state seeks to protect itself against the dangers of ignorance and vice. It recognizes them as its best means of self-preservation. Charities, on the other hand, are, or are mainly, voluntary organizations for different humane and Christian purposes. New-York has over a hundred of such. They represent not the riches of the rich alone, but vastly more that cannot be computed in money—the time and devoted labors of an army of workers, some of whom give, in proportion to means, veritably the "widow's mite." Churches, Sunday-schools, family training, and a diverse multitude of Christian influences all contribute to this charitable work. If there is evil in the city, there is also immense good done. More than fifty of these charities are devoted to children. We can only indicate by a few examples to what this work has grown. Some are temporary and specific in their object. When, eighteen years ago Mr. Bergh aided in establishing a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, who would have supposed that its scope could be large? City life, however, has its cruelties as well as its misfortunes, and these not from strangers or guardians alone, but from parents. During that period this society has rescued from abuse—and even, in instances, from mutilation—and placed in suitable homes or in institutions, more than 25,000 children, and at the reception-rooms (opened twelve years ago) over six thousand have been sheltered, clothed, and fed! Some, again, are asylums, such as the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum and the Juvenile Asylum. The latter can accommodate a thousand inmates. It takes truant and disobedient children of from seven to fourteen years old, or such as have parents unfit to rear them. These it takes in and educates, or sends to permanent homes elsewhere. Broader yet in its sphere of action is the Children's Aid Society. It comprehends all children of the poor. Although established earlier, its particular line of usefulness began in 1861 with William A. Booth as its president, and Charles L. Brace as its superintendent—men admirably adapted to work together in such a field. Mr. Booth has just retired, in his eighty-eighth year, with the abundant and increasing fruits of the society visible. Mr. Brace died three years since. In 1861 there was at the top of the "Sun" building a large room used for homing

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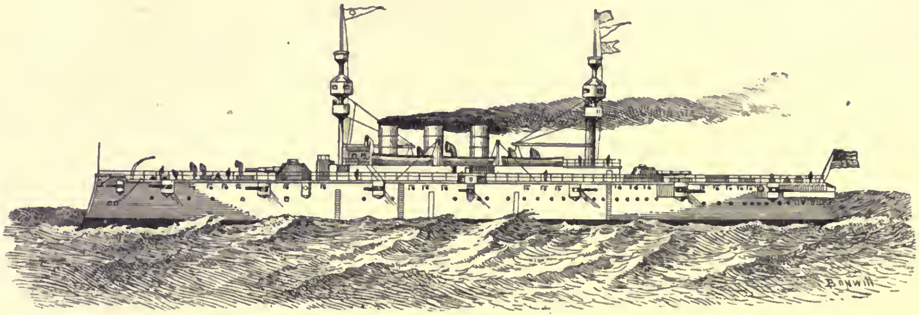
[1] Franklin Edson was born in Chester, Vt., April 5, 1832, and comes of Puritan stock. Mr. Edson's early days were spent on his father's farm, and he obtained his education at the Chester Academy. Settling in Albany in 1852, he entered into business with his brother, remaining in that city for fourteen years. In 1866 he removed to New-York, became a commission merchant, was elected three times to the presidency of the Produce Exchange, and devoted much attention to the transportation and grading of grain, and labored assiduously to secure the reduction and abolishing of the canal tolls, a result finally accomplished. Always a Democrat, Mr. Edson served as mayor of New-York in 1883-84, and infused new thought and life into all branches of the municipal government. He is a director of the Bank of New-York, and has occupied other offices of importance. EDITOR.

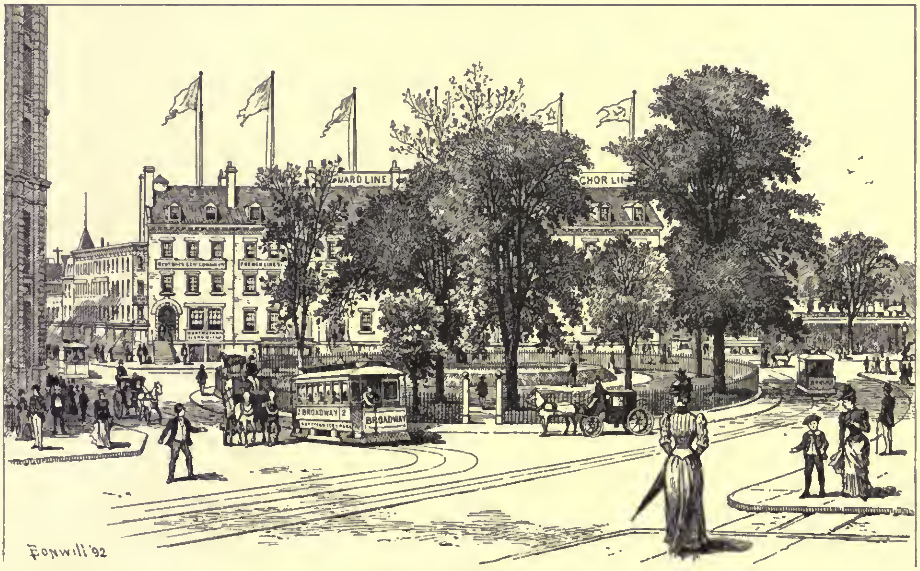


UNITED STATES CRUISER NEW YORK.

pigeons. There they started a lodging for newsboys and other such waifs and gamins of the streets, and gathered in from forty to seventy. It witnessed some remarkable scenes, and was for that class truly a "morning sun." It was the original of the newsboys' downtown lodging-house, among whom, also, a Sunday evening meeting soon became an institution, conducted for seventeen years by Mr. Booth and Mr. Brace alternately, and since, in other houses, by such actively engaged business men as Howard Potter, D. Willis James, the late Judge Van Vorst, and Theodore Roosevelt. Of these lodging-houses, which are also industrial schools, the society to-day has six or seven. A bad neighborhood—the worst—is selected, some liberal donor is found, and the house is built. One for girls of from twelve to twenty was opened in Twelfth street in September, 1892. Its cost was a donation of $70,000. And there they learn—the girls, cooking, laundering, dressmaking, type-writing, and other pursuits; the boys, printing, wood-carving, clay-molding, drawing, carpentering, and similar employments. Epidemic or contagious diseases there have been none. They have gymnasiums, savings-banks, night schools, loan-societies, a shoe-fund, drying-rooms. Is it to be wondered at that such a house, established in a neighborhood, should have its effect upon the children who otherwise would grow into "gangs" and the "dangerous classes"? Upon one evening three judges of distinction upon the bench told the children their youthful experiences,—not entirely different from their own. It was in "Mackerelville," where once a respectable man could hardly walk by day in

THE BATTERY, 1892.

safety; but what the police could not do has been done by this society. Moreover, it has a health home at Coney Island, where, in 1891, 7498 children were cared for; at Bath, Long Island, a summer home, where were 4000 children; a sick children's mission from which are supplied at their homes nursing, and medicines, and medical advice free; and a flower mission of importance in its work. In its lodging-houses were 6600 different boys and girls during the year; there were twenty-one day schools and twelve evening schools, and 11,638 regular or transient pupils, and it furnished 579,552 meals. At a cost of twenty dollars each, it last year sent to homes in Kansas and Nebraska 2600 children, and in thirty-two years has sent to such homes 92,000. And its income, which in 1861 was $20,000, was this year $376,324. What does not the city owe to such workers in such charities! What to Mr. Brace, the energetic superintendent and organizing manager of this especial charity!



BOWLING GREEN, 1892.

Other societies and agencies are doing good work in their own way. The aggregate of their efforts is enormous. To prevent slipshod giving and waste, several of them will soon be located together in a building just erected on Fourth Avenue between Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, a sort of charity exchange. But evidently those that reach down to the children, that break in upon their environment—the overcrowded tenement-house from which they take them, the street, the saloon—and replace these with lifting influences,—those are doing a work almost beyond computation. A few years since the Prison Association published a chart of a single family in Ulster

County. Its history went back a hundred years, to a Revolutionary soldier and a vagrant girl of sixteen, since known as "Margaret the mother of criminals," and her four sisters. In six generations their descendants have numbered twelve hundred! Living among some inland lakes of the county, isolated, poor, ignorant, and vicious, with lunacy, idiocy, and epilepsy among them, the result of such lives,—with very few exceptions, male or female, they have shown the natural effects of such a heredity and such an environment—they have been criminals and bad. Heredity alone is not omnipotent. Ninety per cent. of those removed by the Children's Aid Society have had intemperate parents, yet have not become intemperate themselves. But the environment, to correct it early, in that is hope; and, as we have already indicated, to that work the charities of our day are very largely turning their faces; yet not, certainly, to the neglect of the older poor.

Hugh J Grant[1]

The health or sickness of the body may be judged by the temperature, the pulse, or some eruptive symptom; but every eruption does not imply general and radical impairment. It may be local or temporary. The same may be said of a great city. A case of cholera here and there, or typhus, should not be reported as an epidemic. It would not properly describe the condition of the city. Walking through our streets at any time during the last dozen years, one might easily imagine them in a perpetual fever and unable to lie still, throwing off their cover of pavements only to have them put on again. What an upturning and unearthing! Contractors' jobs, certainly, some of them, and other people's money. Nevertheless, what a weight and wear of traffic it indicates, the supplies and business of a great city! How many of the conveniences of our life lie underground—water, sewage, gas—in mains that must be kept in repair! What new appliances for motion, heating, living, growth itself requires! All this means progress, but progress in frequent collision with public convenience. Doubtless the "cable-road" means progress; but meanwhile a great avenue remains "paved with good intentions."

Among the people, also, what signs of fever and unrest! Haste and hurry may be habit or temperament, or the press of good business. Multitudes are thus in motion, with a daily strain that requires shorter hours of work, or (as has become the case) more frequent breaks and holidays. Yet do people seem to be more migratory. Houses are now closed for months, where formerly a few weeks' absence sufficed; due in part, undoubtedly, to the behests of fashion, in accordance with which, when the season opens, in May or June, multitudes flit and bustle here and there, all together, like a bevy of sparrows in the street. But it is also due, undoubtedly, to the opening of pleasurable routes, to increased conveniences of travel, and to the fact that so many are able to maintain for themselves a home in the country. For a season or permanently rapid transit permits multitudes to maintain such homes; and to the student of city problems the hope is that increased facilities over those so far attained may enable other multitudes, of

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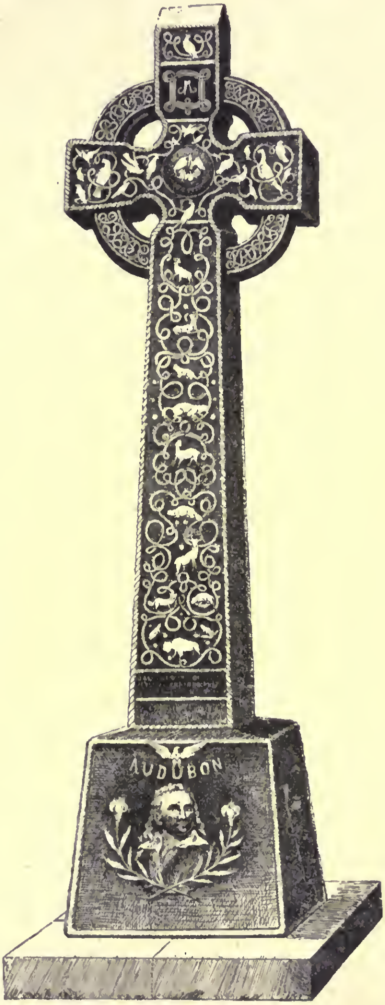
[1] Hugh J. Grant was born in New-York in 1852. He was graduated from Columbia College Law School; was elected alderman in 1882, and was again reëlected. In 1884, he was nominated by Tammany Hall for mayor, but was defeated; and in 1885 he was elected sheriff. Renominated for mayor in 1888, he was elected, polling 114,111 votes, against Joel B. Erhardt 73,037, and Abram S. Hewitt 71,979. He was reëlected to the office in 1890, defeating Francis M. Scott by 23,357 votes, and was succeeded in 1893 by Thomas F. Gilroy. EDITOR.

WALL STREET IN 1892.

the poorer class, to cool the fever of city living with the fresh air of the country. What we have said, however, does not cover the subject. There are a fever and unrest which characterize the period. Were we to choose an image of a condition, it might be, at one end of the city, a fashionable woman whose unending rounds of teas, dinners, visitings, receptions, card-parties, dances, and operas indicate and make a feverish life; or, at the other end, none better than the wandering "fakir," the personification of business unrest, prosperous to-day, to-morrow down; whose life, like the tape of the "ticker," is a continuous record of ups and down and fluctuations, of fever and chills, till the waste-basket receives the used-up scroll. We have had during the period one notable failure and panic—the failure, in 1884, of Grant and Ward; whereby our patriot soldier, who in the morning thought himself worth a million, at night found himself with less than nothing. How wonderful his spirit of endurance, so great that, notwithstanding this influx of calamity, added to the anguish of disease, he could yet begin and finish his admirable "Memoir"! We have had during the period bank-wrecking and failures, lunacy, "corners" and dishonesty, the outcome of a feverish, daring, or grasping spirit, with results bad enough or deserved enough to those concerned; but as incidents involving individuals, not the generality, not the majority, and not even peculiar to the period in review. We have had in this year a cholera scare,—a healthy scare, in so far as it led to a stricter quarantine, and to increased efforts at sanitation and cleanliness. Some localities, at least, have felt the chill of an unusual exposure from being unusually clean: a cleanliness remedied on some streets (it is said) as soon as the vision of carts and sweepers had passed! There are always those ignorant or vicious or reckless enough to defy precaution for themselves or others; they must be ruled by an active police and an efficient, non-political health department. In 1832, during the first cholera season, in a house from which fifteen had already been carried, an eye-witness saw the two remaining inmates eating clams from

THE POST-OFFICE AND PARK.

a pail, and eating them raw, and using language not to be repeated! Such classes we have always, awaiting disease; they are themselves a permanent disease. But, separate from all these things, the decade has been full of unrest, restlessness, even fever. No one cause can be claimed for it. It relates to no one special subject or class of subjects. It is mental unrest, not affecting the city alone, but the country. Just as at certain seasons meteors in unusual abundance enter our atmosphere, and burn and blaze across the horizon, so have new ideas entered,—new ideas to be tried or old ones to be readjusted, by experiment, by discussion, by friction, by strife. The air holds them in combustion. Whether ignorantly, crudely, or intelligently, people are thinking. From the kitchen to the top story of life there is friction of ideas. Among the laboring classes high wages, plenty of work, and unusual savings-bank accounts as indices of prosperity, do not affect it. They have their ideas to be tried, something yet to be changed in ways of their own. During this decade, as at other epochs, the "labor question" has given frequent trouble. In 1889 there was a great strike of horse-car drivers, upon a question of hours or wages; whilst in several later strikes the issue has been the employment or non-employment of non-union men (even down to one man) by some concern here or there, or the discharge of a union man. We have even seen regiments during this year called out upon hard and unexpected duty at Buffalo by a strike of switchmen, few in number, but who held the key of a public roadway, and could thus interrupt the business of thousands. Certainly, a crude and ignorant way of solving the labor problem. A costly, but good result, if repeated trial has brought us nearer to something else. Even with



AUDUBON MONUMENT.[1]

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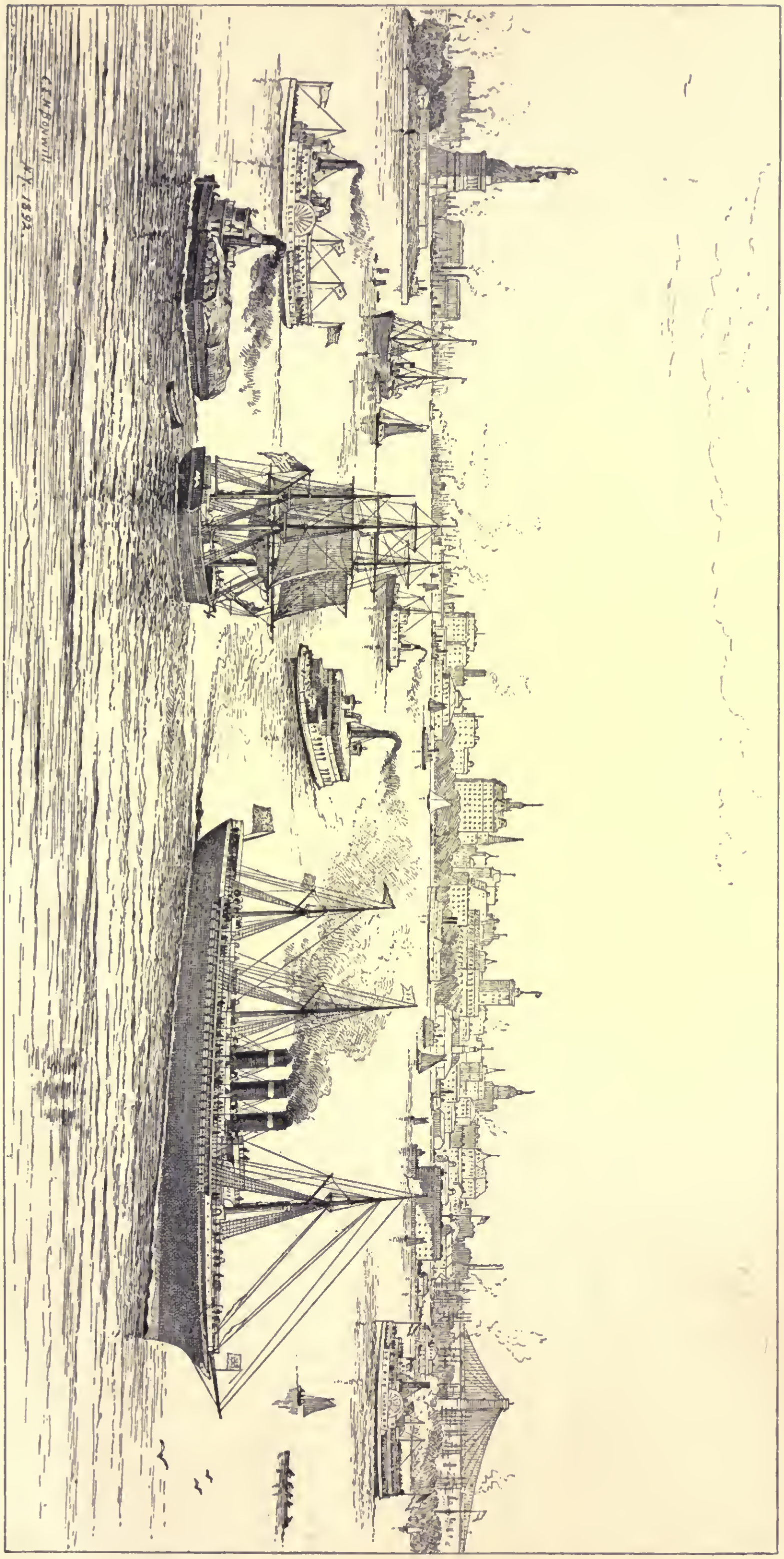
[1] A memorial to Audubon, the naturalist, will be unveiled early in 1893. It covers his grave, and stands at the head of Audubon Avenue, in Trinity cemetery. It is in the form of a Celto-Runic cross embellished with birds and animals and appropriately inscribed. The cross is made of North River limestone, is twenty-five feet high, and cost about $10,000. EDITOR.

real grievances to be redressed, it is organizing private war for private ends, and making the many suffer for the sake of a few; it is an attempt of parties or trades, forming themselves into unions, to obtain their ends, say in wages, by force and coercion,—a method which, if generally adopted, would tear business to pieces. With the car-drivers, who threatened and drove others away, it was an attempt at a monopoly of driving upon that line, at their own prices, and with the company's horses and equipment as their capital. It is monopoly and tyranny of the worst kind which claims exclusive rights in a trade, and which, to prevent a fellow-craftsman, or even an apprentice, from pursuing it, stops private building in the midst, and all firms that deal with the concern that employs him. It is, in the extreme, demoralizing to the workman, who finds his work to depend, not on its merits, but on the mere coercive power of his organization. It is a method of force which, doubtless, had to be tried; but, may we not hope, only as a rough stepping-stone to some better outcome and development?

Thos. F. Gilroy

In putting the outlook of the period together, the question is, What are the forces at work, and to what do they tend? They are good and evil. On the evil side we have, to begin with, the fact of numbers—the thousands imported every year to swell the already startling sum total of ignorance, vice, degradation, and finally crime. Their environment is poverty, the overcrowded tenement-house with its inevitable degradation, the liquor-saloon, the street. Separately, which is the worst? But, with all these huddled together, what a force for evil! The number alone of homeless and vagrant youths in the city during each year is estimated to be about thirty thousand; and they are born and bred in just such neighborhoods and places. As they grow they constitute the "dangerous classes," always ripe and ready for crime. A distinguished writer, Hon. Andrew D. White, during the summer delivered an address at Chautauqua on the "murder problem"; as if murder had grown (and it has) to the size of a problem, something to be studied and solved! Vain as are these youths, quarrelsome, ambitious in the only way known to them, viz., to have repute among their fellows as "toughs," as "nervy," as "killers"; still more than this, to have their pictures and biographies in the newspapers day after day,—to achieve such glory is to some of them well worth the chance of a hanging; for chance it has become, the chance which a soldier takes in battle. These youths are the "heelers" and "repeaters" of ward politicians, of men with a "pull." And now come in the law with its delays, the criminal lawyer with his devices, and ultimately the chance of a pardon, a commutation,

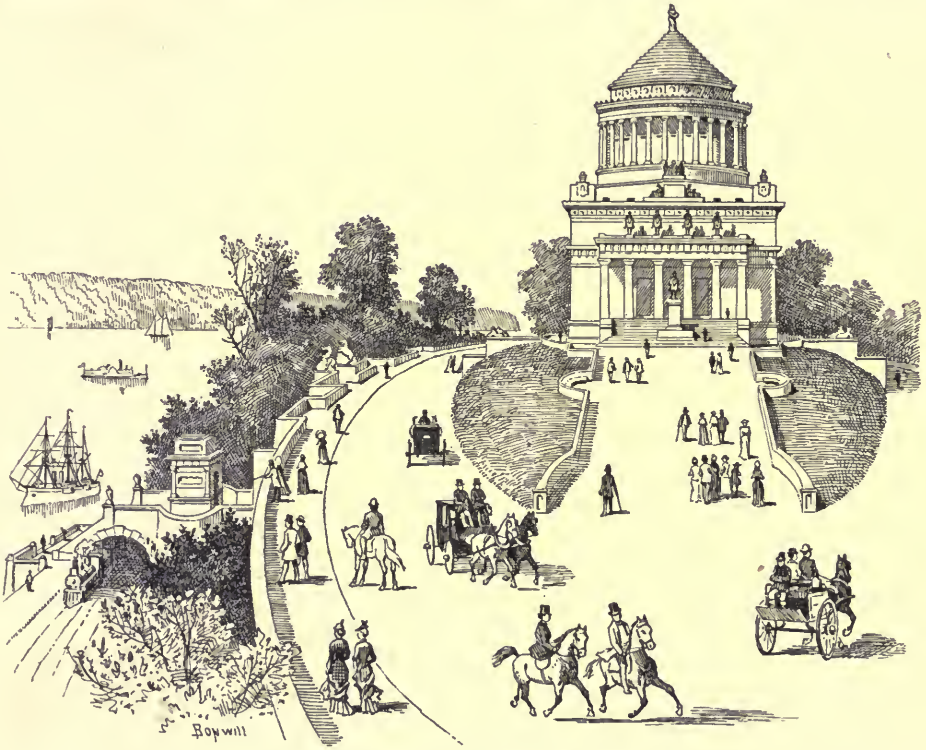


NEW-YORK CITY AND HARBOR IN 1892.

or an escape. Surely, in some of its features, a condition of hopeless evil, an unchangeable sore! Add to all this a corrupt politics, the kind of men chosen to govern, the firm grip of the liquor interest, and the dependence of all upon these classes, together with the many of better antecedents who do not care; and the complexion of things, for the good side, is painful and discouraging. The numbers and the governing influences are against it.

On the other hand is something to be said. There are houses in the city so apparently ingrained with fever that to remove it is impossible,—houses that cannot be reformed. They must be left as they are, a resort for the vilest, or be pulled down. Neither can the health authorities, nor hospitals, nor physicians, though armed with the best appliances of science, cure all the maladies even of a district. They can mitigate, can remove some, can isolate and quarantine others, and in cases cure; but the inevitable result must come to many. The same must be said of moral agencies—our public schools, our grand charities, our churches, our educating and reforming organizations: they cannot remove all the ignorance and other evils of the city. Nor can they, like the bees when an intruder too large to be removed threatens harm to the hive, seal it up by itself in a dense coffin of propolis. But they are persistent agencies, and we may reason from what they have already done to a broader future beyond. There are fires where, from the first, the only hope of the fireman is to save adjoining buildings that have not yet caught. These agencies, as we have seen, venture into the worst to save what they can. They have planted themselves, as engines of good, in some of the worst districts of the city; and already with success that opens a future. Twelve thousand vagrant children come yearly under the influence of the Children's Aid Society alone. Even the older element, as they have proved, is not beyond the reach of influence. There are "treasures hid in the sand," like Jerry McAuley and others of his class, where one would hardly expect to find them—men and women whose only schooling has been that of ignorance and vice. If, on the one hand, that which in its opening is a flower may in its culmination prove a thistle; on the other hand, the lotus, the most beautiful flower of India, grows in the mud!

Certainly, when we look only at the seething mass concentrated in our city from all nations, to educate, elevate, and assimilate it may seem too great a task. Of two things, however, we never should despair. They are education and the Christian religion as lifting forces. Their failure in this country would mean our doom. But it has been proved that the amount of electricity which would charge a thundercloud is not enough to decompose—that is, to tear apart the two gases that compose—a drop of water. Such restriction has God laid upon the cloud. Big and dangerous as it may sometimes seem or be, it cannot destroy the blessing which, as a "wandering cistern," it was intended to convey. Such force of resistance has God given to the raindrop, in its accumulated streams the life of nature and all being. Like the two gases which compose the raindrop, education and religion must combine; and, combined, they are in the world a permanent, ever active, and efficient power, if slow yet sure. We should remember that in the twelfth century the people of England were sunk in brutal ignorance; that what little knowledge existed was possessed by a studious few; that they were Norman and Saxon, victor and vanquished, separated by caste and hatred; that their only religion was a debasing superstition; and that it has taken seven centuries to develop from this beginning the England of to-day. It needs time. But our circumstances are different. It will not need so much time to work up the dissimilar and perplexing material. As this appears to-



GRANT'S TOMB ON RIVERSIDE DRIVE.[1]

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[1] As Sir Walter Scott's Edinburgh monument is the finest yet raised anywhere on earth to the memory of a man of letters, so it is believed that the tomb of Grant, now building on Manhattan Island, will be the grandest yet erected in the wide world to a soldier, surpassing even that noble one which stands near the banks of the Seine, raised to the memory of the hero of Austerlitz and Marengo. The situation of the poet's or the emperor's monument cannot for a moment be compared to the magnificent site of the American soldier's tomb, on the banks of the Hudson, among the grandest rivers in the world—perhaps the very grandest. EDITOR.

day, crowding so much of our city, much of it may seem but rubbish and refuse fit for the ash-barrel or the dust-heap. Born in great numbers, these people pick up a day's living without a thought beyond, struggle, suffer, and die. Over 60,000 of them cannot write their own names. What is their use or purpose in life? Are they merely a part of nature's fecundity? Undoubtedly, many of them may die, must die, as they are; and so in each generation. Yet the problem is not, after all, a hopeless one for the city. Crowded already, in parts overcrowded, with more than can find work, emigration must take a turn. Education and religion are pushing upon their environment; and, in time, out of the present ignorance and degradation will come something better. The races will mingle and Americanize. The influences at work all look to something better. The hybridizing bee dips its legs in the pollen of a flower; goes to another, and, behold, a better variety! The cosmos is but a weed to begin with, but under cultivation it is already becoming a marketable flower of the fall; whilst the chrysanthemum, the favorite of the day, and which is a union of the Japanese, Chinese, and American varieties, has this year produced a Columbus variety in color, and another which is the very perfection of form. Such, we may hope, will be the march of improvement in our city on the moral and human side, to equal that upon the material side. An English statesman, at the close of a long life in the public service, was asked if what he saw and had seen made him gloomy. He had seen the ups and down of parties; had seen his country prosperous, and again apparently the reverse. He had seen that a country might be going too fast, and needed, as sometimes in the spring the season needs, a check. There was much at the time of his retirement that looked discouraging, but his reply was that he did not feel gloomy; that he had often found what he thought a disastrous retrogression to be merely "the ebb of the advancing wave." "No," he said, "I do not feel discouraged; *Hannibal peto pacem* — 'I, Hannibal, seek peace'; that is all!" Personally he was tired. The historian of the future, beginning at 1893 where this volume closes, may have much to tell of progress and fruitage where we see only germs; to tell of better times, when the heads of its present writers will lie among the "mournful marbles."

CHAPTER XVI

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL HISTORY OF NEW-YORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ANY outline of the constitutional history of New-York in the nineteenth century involves primarily the consideration of several great public movements, culminating in the constitutional conventions of 1821 and 1846. Each of the constitutions presented by these several conventions led to very radical changes in the substantive law or procedure of the State. The constitution of 1821 was followed by a notable revision of the fundamental law of New-York, which exercised much influence also on the laws of other States; while the constitution of 1846 was followed by the overthrow of the ancient judicial establishment of New-York, and by drastic reforms of the inherited and antiquated procedure in use for several centuries in the courts of justice of New-York. Both constitutions were in the direction of more liberal institutions, and were intended to confer upon the people of the State greater political powers and privileges than had ever before been granted to them.

In the preceding volume some of the defects apparent in the constitution of 1777 were noticed; two of these led to the constitutional convention elected in the year 1801. The constitution of 1777 had omitted all directions for its amendment; but, on the theory that all political authority emanated from the people, the legislature in 1801, by a referendum act, recommended a convention to consider two changes. One of these was made necessary by the embarrassing ratio in which the senate and assembly were augmenting with the population, and the other by a notorious conflict which had arisen between the governor and the other members of the council of appointment concerning the governor's exclusive right of nominating to certain public offices under the provisions of the constitution of 1777.

The delegates accordingly elected by the suffragists met at Albany, October 13, 1801, and chose Aaron Burr, a delegate for Orange County, chairman. The ultimate number of members of assembly was for the future restricted to one hundred and fifty, and the number of senators to thirty-two. The right to nominate to office under the 23d section of the constitution of 1777 was declared to be vested concurrently in the governor and in each of the members of the council of appointment. The change made in the appointing power by this construction of the constitution deprived the office of governor of the State of much of its existing influence, and led to a perpetual struggle of the politicians for the control of the council of appointment. It introduced no real reform, and led only to the conviction that the appointing power was more safely lodged in the hands of the executive than in the hands of a council or committee.

In reading the accepted version of the political history of the State of New-York, one might infer that the entire period between 1777 and 1821, the date of the second constitution, was devoted to a constant and petty struggle for political place, and that no lofty public measures received or demanded the attention of the leaders of the political parties of the State. Yet such an inference is not wholly verifiable. During this entire period there was great popular dissatisfaction with those provisions of the State constitution of 1777 which related to the property qualifications for electors, and with other provisions which vested such transcendent political powers in the judges of the great courts of record. The precise nature of such provisions has been adverted to in the preceding volume.[1] The popular dissatisfaction for some time took the usual form of protests in the newspapers of the day. But in August, 1820, Tammany Hall, as the organized representative of the dissatisfied element of the population, initiated a movement for a convention to amend the State constitution. The subsequent legislative bill providing for the convention promptly met with the disapprobation of a majority of the council of revision, who vetoed it, Chancellor Kent writing the opinion of the council with all the conservatism of a trained lawyer. No veto in the history of the State has met with greater censure than this action of the council of revision. The council was openly accused of wishing to defeat the will of the people, and of conspiring to retain the State in the hands of the lawyers and landholders who, from its foundation, had carefully guided its political fortunes. The report of Michael Ulshoeffer, chairman of the select committee of the assembly, combated the logic of the veto with great vigor, and is regarded as the abler State paper of the two.[2] A bill was finally so drawn in March, 1821, as to meet the main objection of the veto by the council of revision. It submitted the question of holding a constitutional convention to the decision of the electors of the State. The electors having decided in the affirmative by a vote of 109,346 to 34,901, delegates were next chosen, who met at Albany in August, 1821. Before considering the changes accomplished by the convention, it will be in order to survey the forms to which some of the leading institutions had then attained.

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[1] Chapter XIV, Vol. II, of this work.

[2] See this paper in Street's "N. Y. Council of Revision," 455.

The judicial establishment of New-York was never more efficient than in the first twenty-one years of the present century. It was still substantially the provincial establishment erected by the English, and continued by virtue of the recognition accorded to it in the first State constitution, adopted in 1777. Under this constitution the Supreme Court of Judicature, as originally established in 1691, continued on its ancient footing. But the influence of the court increased much with the growth of population and affairs, and this was followed naturally by the publication of a regular series of printed law reports. The elevation of James Kent to the Supreme Court bench in 1798, and his interest in the law reports, did much to place this ancient court on a more influential basis. Under the judgeships of three great judges — Kent, Thompson, and Ambrose Spencer — the court was very excellently administered, and many legal principles were settled; while fluctuating theories gave place to determinate and known rules of law, reported in the famous series of leading cases by Caine and Johnson, the official Supreme Court reporters The Supreme Court justices still went the circuit when the regular terms of the court *in banc* were not in session in Albany, Utica, or New-York. As a law court the Supreme Court of New-York may have been surpassed by several of the law courts of other States, whose influence on American law has been, no doubt, more profound. But it was otherwise in respect of the Court of Chancery.

Smith Thompson[1]

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[1] Smith Thompson was born in Stanford, Duchess County, N. Y., January 17, 1768, graduated at Princeton, and was admitted to the bar in 1792, practising in Troy and Poughkeepsie. He went to the legislature in 1800; from 1802 to 1814 he was associate justice of the State Supreme Court, meanwhile declining the mayoralty of New-York city, and in the latter year he was made chief justice, an office he held until his appointment as secretary of the navy in 1818, by President Monroe. He was elevated to the United States Supreme Court bench in 1823, remaining there until his death, December 18, 1843. The portrait is from the original painting by Durand. EDITOR.

In the year 1814, James Kent was translated from the chief-justiceship of the Supreme Court to the Court of Chancery. From a common-law judgeship he passed to the "throne of equity." In the same year, Johnson, the Supreme Court reporter, was directed by the legislature to report the decisions of the chancellor. With this event begins the most brilliant period of the New-York Court of Chancery. Livingston, the first chancellor under the State government, had been an able judge, a great diplomat, and a sagacious figure in political life, but his judicial work is not known, as his opinions have remained unpublished. Only his legal opinions in the council of revision, and a few rules of court, as yet mark his term of office as chancellor. Of Chancellor Lansing's administration more is known, for he promulgated seventy-four chancery rules, or standing orders in chancery, which are called by jurists the equivalents of edicts or direct legislation, and are recognized as powerful factors in the administration of government. Some of these rules were an improvement on the contemporary English equity practice. Chancellor Lansing's career also labors under the disadvantage of having had no reporter. But with Lansing's successor, Chancellor Kent, it is otherwise: from the very beginning of his judicial life he was attended by the reporters, and the precise value of his labors to the State and nation is approximately ascertainable. Chancellor Kent had, at the threshold of his career, perceived that to an American lawyer of his day two great and living problems were presented for solution: the relations of the common law of the older country to the new republic, and the relations of the judicature branch of government to the legislative and executive branches in a composite or federal state. In 1794, as professor of law in Columbia College, he had addressed himself tentatively to the latter proposition. In 1795 he published a small volume of dissertations preliminary to a proposed course of lectures on the common law. But the lectures failed to attract hearers, and were discontinued. At a long subsequent period, and in his retirement, he gave to the public his "Commentaries on American Law," which throughout the United States became a recognized institutional treatise, as celebrated in its way as Blackstone's "Commentaries on the Laws of England" had been in its way. In the New-York Court of Chancery, Kent found an instrument which he at least knew how to use. He was profoundly impressed with the traditions and dignity of the ancient prototype of his court, the High Court of Chancery in England. No one could be more mindful of the fact that in England the chancellors had exercised legislative functions similar to those which the Roman pretors discharged in the development of the civil law. But Kent had no disposition to innovate. His was an eminently practical mind, and in the year following his elevation to the chancery he stated that he would follow the English chancellors' conceptions of equity, and would undertake no innovations, which he regarded as very dangerous.[1] In thus limiting his extended judicial powers, he, perhaps, denied himself an opportunity of expressing his own conceptions of equity, and of taking an original place in the very front rank of English-speaking chancellors. He was content to serve as an expounder and commentator of Anglo-American law: thus he contributed little that was original to those fundamental canons of English equity which comprise the perpetual edict of that system, and which were practically completed in England by his contemporary, Lord Eldon. In this respect Kent's present influence differs from the influence, for example, of such an American jurist as Marshall, who possessed an original and creative intellect of the highest order, and whose judgments must always be sensible on this continent in the region of political law and philosophy. In thus treading in the footsteps of the English chancellors, Kent did not, as we shall see, escape the responsibilities which the anomalies incident in New-York to his office made inevitable; for the recipient of such great political powers could not hope to elude criticism under a republican form of government. Nor can it be said that those who, in the convention of 1821, criticized the abnormal power intrusted to a chancellor of this State, were wholly without justification. In addition to exercising the law powers of a chancellor under the former English system, the chancellor of New-York, by virtue of his office, sat in the court of last resort, and, though he could not vote, might argue in support of his own judgment below. He was also one of those who possessed in the council of revision a qualified veto on all legislation under the first constitution. This was an abnormal and tremendous power for a judge. These powers, which it is proper to say Kent had not sought, nor even helped to confer, he exercised without fear, in the old-fashioned federal and professional manner, very exasperating to the newer school of republican lawyers, who would not defer so profoundly to the legal system of England. Thus, toward the year 1821, Kent, in the minds of his opponents, was the leading representative of the hated and influential survival of what they believed ought to have been purely ante-revolutionary traditions, having little application to the conditions of American life under the republic. His opponents deprecated the chancery conceptions of a "throne of equity." Indeed, the whole idea of a chancellor, they said, was associated with a kingship: a chancellor without a king was almost as inconsistent as a king without a chancellor. The entire chancery establishment came in for condemnation because it fostered a class of officials and practitioners whose exclusiveness was distasteful to the population of the newer and growing parts of the State. Thus, side by side with Chancellor Kent's practical, conservative, and just administration of the Court of Chancery, were growing up the seeds of discontent in the minds of the more independent and emancipated political thinkers. This discontent culminated in the constitutional convention of 1821, when Kent had been only seven years chancellor of New-York.

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[1] 1 Johnson's Chancery, 530.

In addition to the great courts mentioned, there were in the year 1821 the Court of Errors and the Court of Probates, already noticed. The Court of Errors, it will be recalled, consisted of the senators, the chancellor, and the judges of the Supreme Court.[1] In 1787 a ministerial part of the jurisdiction of the Court of Probates had, by an act of the legislature,[2] devolved upon certain officers termed surrogates. The Court of Admiralty had expired when the admiralty jurisdiction had been called into being by the federal constitution of the general government. The minor courts of the State remained in 1821 substantially as before the Revolution.

Before noticing the changes wrought by the new constitution, let us glance again at the condition of the State of New-York about the time of the convention of 1821. In 1808 the number of freeholders entitled to vote for senator and governor was 36,500, and in 1820, despite the increase in population, the number of freeholders qualified to vote for the great officers of the State had not increased in a like ratio with the population. This was felt to be a grievance by the people at large. In 1820 the major part of the inhabitants were still engaged in agriculture, and the rural districts were increasing in population at a greater ratio than the urban communities. In 1812, twelve new counties had been carved out of the one great county theretofore lying west of Seneca Lake. In 1820 the sixteen counties in the State of the year 1790 had become fifty-five counties, embracing five incorporated cities and six hundred and sixty-two boroughs or towns.[3] After the peace with England in 1783 the western territory, or that great country west of the 80th meridian, had attracted large numbers of settlers. One of the routes to the Ohio country from New England was through central New-York, and many men of New England birth either stopped on their way to the far West, or settled in New-York, finding certain advantages or attractions in the then wild parts of this State. Thus, central, western, and northern New-York soon began to have the political tone of New England.[4] These men of New England entertained very different conceptions of government from those embodied in the State constitution of 1777 by the old land-owning and lawyer classes of the province of New-York. Thus it happened that the exponents of the new parts of the State—men of the old-fashioned Puritan names—were, in the constitutional convention of 1821, as a rule, found in the party of reform, and not in the ranks of the more conservative and native element of the State.

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[1] Chapter XIV, Volume II.

[2] Chapter 38.

[3] Spofford's "Gazetteer," p. 691.

[4] "Gazetteer of Western Continent for 1810:" title, "New-York."

As late as 1820 the more populous districts of the State existed in the two oblongs anciently settled,—extending, the one down Long Island and the other up the Hudson River,—and there the inhabitants were mainly of the old provincial type. In Kings, Ulster, Albany, and parts of Orange County might still be heard the Low Dutch of the seventeenth century, although, from the want of Dutch schools and the preponderance of people of English stock, the use of the language of the first European settlers had greatly diminished. But in the ancient districts Dutch and English names were still found in most families curiously combined, denoting that the social condition had followed the political transitions of the province, and that the race of the conqueror had blended with that of the conquered. The population in these districts was still largely native. Franklin pointed out that even at the time of the war of independence the inhabitants of all the American colonies were largely natives, and descended from those who had emigrated from Europe prior to the year 1700. The fact that the population of New-York State was largely native in 1820 is corroborated by the statistics of the city of New-York in 1820, when, out of a total population of 123,706, but 5390 of the inhabitants of that city appear to be classed as unnaturalized foreigners. Indeed, in 1820 the population of the whole State was mainly composed of native Americans, and, as stated, the major part were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The great city which now stands rather for North America than for the State of New-York, and which is fast outgrowing its traditions as an ancient capital of an ancient province, had increased from 80,000 inhabitants in 1808 to 123,706 in 1820. From the year 1756 to the year 1790 the general progress of the city in population and resources was much like that of other American cities. But after 1790 it became evident that New-York was, for a long time at least, to lead other American cities.[1] Yet for some years after the constitutional convention of 1821 the affairs of this city were conducted mainly under the royal charter known as the Montgomerie Charter of 1730.[2] As late as 1827 General Dix noticed the fact that in New-York city "the Dutch families by which the first settlement was formed were still represented in their descendants, who constituted a considerable proportion of the whole number of inhabitants,"[3] but he admitted "that the descendants of the English families who established themselves during its colonial dependence on Great Britain" were then much more numerous.

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[1] Dix's "Resources of the City of New-York in 1827."

[2] See Chapter VI, Volume II.

[3] "Resources of the City of New-York," p. 38.

Such, then, were some of the conditions prevailing in New-York at the time of the constitutional convention of 1821—a population composed largely of native Americans, whose pursuits were in the main agricultural. No body of aliens had yet become so formidable or consolidated as to constitute a known and separate political organization, generaled and led by professional political headmen of their own race. The conditions of commerce were still largely primitive in character: the Erie Canal had not been completed; steam navigation was yet in its infancy; the telegraph and the railroad were unknown; while postal circuits were made over the common turnpikes and waterways of the State. Yet the material conditions of life were relatively those of a highly civilized State, and not very dissimilar to the conditions in the civilized States of the older world. New-York had already been settled for two centuries.

And Kirkpatrick.[1]

When the constitutional convention met at Albany, August 28, 1821, the delegates were fairly representative of both the reformers and the conservative party in the State. The older counties sent their most distinguished lawyers and the landholders representing their traditions. From Albany and the older counties came Chancellor Kent, the Jays, and the Livingstons; from New-York County came, among others, Nathan Sandford, Ogden Edwards, Henry Wheaton, and Jacob Radcliff. From the newer counties were sent such men as Jarvis Pike, Nathan Carver, Victory Birdseye, Micah Brooks, Jason Fenton, and General Erastus Root. Among the other notable members of the convention were Daniel D. Tompkins and Martin Van Buren. From the fact that Daniel D. Tompkins, "the favorite farmer's son," as he was then called, was elected chairman of the convention, it was soon evident that the Democrats were in the majority, and that the new constitution was to be made more democratic in principle than the old one had been. The debates in the convention show clearly that the primacy of the old judicial establishment, with its abnormal political power and the qualified electoral franchise erected on a basis of landed interest, in conformity to the former Anglican institutions of the province, were the main points of attack by the reformers. Incidentally the justices of the Supreme Court, and even the distinguished chancellor, were virtually put on trial by the convention. They were made the manifest victims of an organization which had confused the coördinate departments of government, and their explanations in convention were generally prefaced by apologetic and painful explanations due to their unfortunate position. In this regard the spectacle of the convention was a triumph of democracy over the upholders of ancient institutions. Sometimes the debates became virulent. The chancellor was likened to "the Bohun Upas of Java, that destroyed whatever sought for shelter or protection in its shade." Even his reporter, Johnson, with his "big and little" books, was ridiculed. Chief Justice Spencer, in some respects the ablest common-law judge in the State, was contemptuously told "that he might have been a Holt or a Mansfield had he kept from the political arena." It was evident that the people were impatient with the veto power vested in the council of revision, which, it will be remembered, consisted of the governor, the judges of the Supreme Court, and the chancellor. The judiciary had thus been dragged into every political measure of importance, and the consequent torrent of popular denunciation had much diminished their usefulness. Thus, Kent and Spencer, whom we now regard as the high priests of the ancient system of law, were at the end of their judicial careers made the victims of the Anglican institutions of a former century, of which they were the stoutest upholders. It may well be doubted whether the chancellor and the judges were wise in attending the convention as delegates. They knew that their power was to be broken; they were there making stately defenses of their past, and to save the remnant of former institutions, when neither needed extenuation. The convention finally decided to make a new constitution, as the old was deemed past amending. The council of revision was abandoned, and after the fullest deliberation a limited veto power was transferred to the governor. The council of appointment, which then appointed 709 officers in the city of New-York alone, next shared the fate of the council of revision. A great number of minor offices were made elective.[1] Justices of the peace were to be appointed by the boards of supervisors and the county judges.[2] The appointment of the higher judicial officers was vested in the governor, with the consent of the senate.[1] The appointment of secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general,[2] surveyor-general, and commissary was vested in the senate and assembly on joint ballot. All officers holding their offices during good behavior might be removed by joint resolution of the two houses of the legislature. The term of office of governor having been invested with some part of the former powers of the several councils of revision and appointment, was abridged from three to two years in order to insure a greater responsibility to the electors.

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[1] Andrew Kirkpatrick was born February 17, 1756, and graduated at Princeton. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1785, and practised successfully. In 1797 he was a member of the New Jersey legislature, soon resigning to become judge of the State Supreme Court. In 1803 he was made chief justice of the State, which office he held for twenty-one years. He married Jane, eldest daughter of Colonel John Bayard, and died in New Brunswick, N. J., January 7, 1831. (*Vide* a privately printed address on the chief justice, by General Wilson, New-York, 1870.) EDITOR.

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[1] Constitution of 1821, Art. IV.

[2] In 1826 an amendment made the justices elective.

The debates in the convention on the electoral franchise were spirited, exhaustive, and really instructive. With the most advanced thinkers on this subject stood Peter R. Livingston of Duchess County. He allied himself to the tenant-farmers, who were largely for reform, and opposed General Van Rensselaer and Chancellor Kent, who stood openly by the ancient traditions of a superior landed interest, and who were at least for the survival of an upper legislative house which should represent the more exclusive body of freeholders. All recognized that some extension of the franchise was inevitable, and the more conservative fought to retain the provisions of the old constitution which divided the electors into two classes according to property interest. The debates afford curious evidences of the survival of ancient institutions, and the frequent use of such words as "yeomanry" and "landed interest" denotes that the legacies and traditions of a former century were hard to extinguish even under the republic. General Van Rensselaer placed his objections to universal suffrage on the ground that the influence of the city of New-York would be augmented at the expense of the ancient and long-settled rural districts. Other opponents placed them on the more subtle ground of experience, which they affirmed had demonstrated that universal suffrage gave an undue control to the plutocracy of wealthy manufacturers and other employers of labor. The convention finally enlarged the basis of the franchise. Freeholds no longer qualified. Every white male resident taxpayer, militiaman, fireman, and laborer on the public highways, of full age, was to have a vote for all elective officers.[3] Men of color only were disfranchised, unless they were freeholders and for three years citizens of the State. Singularly enough, the most radical upholders of universal suffrage appear to have been the opponents of the negroes, whose true friends were found in the ranks of the old land-holding and legal aristocracy of the State.

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[1] Constitution of 1821, Art. IV, Sec. 7.

[2] Under an act of February 12, 1796, seven assistant attorney-generals were appointed by the governor and council of appointment during pleasure. The attorney-general officiated personally in New-York County. The office of district attorney was created April 4, 1801. By a law passed April 21, 1818, each county was erected into a separate district. Under the second constitution the district attorneys were appointed by the Court of General Sessions in each county. See Volume II, Chapter XIV, of this work.

[3] In 1826 most barriers were removed, and white manhood suffrage made practically universal.

The most interesting chapter in the history of the convention relates to the judicial establishment, which we have seen owed its existence to the former royal government, and its continuance to the conservatism of those who had framed the constitution of 1777. In the year 1821, the Supreme Court of Judicature consisted of Chief Justice Spencer and three associate justices, who were, as we see them now, all able common-law lawyers, but perhaps not free from the peculiar formalism of the old English law administered by them. Their political attitude and their labors in the council of revision had undoubtedly made them very obnoxious to the people, and had brought even their judicial work, which was of the highest order, into great and unmerited disrepute. The new constitution vacated all judicial offices after December 1, 1822, and thus assured a new common-law judiciary. Various proposals were made in convention to transfer the entire equity powers of the chancellor to the Supreme Court, and to render the court more popular and accessible; but this reform was postponed.

The changes effected in the judicial establishment were not great. The powers of the judges of the great courts were somewhat circumscribed, and the judges themselves were removed out of the immediate realm of politics by the destruction of the council of revision. They were retained as members of the old Court of Errors, consisting of the senators and the higher judiciary, as before, though the senate was rendered much more democratic by the practical abolition of the former property qualification required of the electors for senators. Some slight change was made in the procedure of the court when sitting as a court for the trial of impeachments. The powers of the Supreme Court justices were further circumscribed, as it was supposed, by taking away from them the duty of going the circuit, which it was asserted had been often made a political tour whereby the authority and majesty of the law had been perverted to partizan uses. The circuit and chamber duty of Supreme Court justices was transferred to a new class of circuit judges, who might also be invested by the legislature with an original equity jurisdiction.[1] Thus relieved of circuit duties, the Supreme Court was reduced to three justices, consisting of a chief justice and two associates, who were to hold office, as before, during good behavior or until sixty years of age, though they might be removed by joint resolution of the two houses of the legislature. Although the Court of Chancery was not destroyed, Chancellor Kent's term of office was not extended, and was left to expire in a few months, or when he reached sixty years of age,[2] which happened in a short space.[1] It was proposed in the convention to abolish this court and transfer its powers to the law courts, but the time was not deemed opportune. Under the authority of the constitution, which authorized the legislature to vest equity powers in the common-law judges,[2] very considerable changes in the organization of the court were, however, soon introduced in practice. It was thought that this measure would lessen or popularize the power of the chancellors. But the chancellors soon demonstrated the fallacy of this opinion,[3] claiming that their judicial powers were beyond the control of the legislature. The measure, however, did demonstrate the feasibility of merging legal and equitable powers in the same judicial officer, and under the succeeding constitution it led to very extended reforms of a like nature.

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[1] Constitution of 1821, Art. V.

[2] The same limitation was contained in the constitution of 1777. It was inserted at the instance of the lawyers, who had been plagued through the senile infirmities of Chief Justice Horsmanden, one of the last of the crown judges, and for some thirty years on the bench.

The new constitution of 1821[4] made a slight alteration in the declaration concerning the future law of the State. The original constitution had continued a part of the statute law of England as the law of New-York. The legislature, having consolidated all the English statute law in a general revision, had repealed in 1788 the residue, and so the new constitution, unlike the first, made no reference to the English statutes, but declared "such parts of the Common Law and of the acts of the legislature of the Colony of New-York as together did form the law of the said Colony on the 19th day of April, 1775, and the resolutions of the Congress of the Colony and of the Convention of the State of New-York in force on the 20th day of April, 1777, which had not since expired, or been repealed, or altered, and such acts of the legislature of this State as were then in force, should be and continue the law of this State, subject to such alteration as the legislature should make concerning the same." All parts repugnant to the new constitution were excepted.

The other changes wrought by the constitution of 1821 were in the main subordinate to those indicated. The Bill of Rights sections were amplified in conformity to the amendments to the federal constitution. One section, growing out of a famous case, was, however, entirely new.[5] It provided that, in all prosecutions for libel, the truth might be given in evidence; and if it should appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous was true, and published with good motive and for justifiable ends, the party should be acquitted. The jury were to have the right to determine the law and the fact in such cases. The history of this section was intimately associated with the trial of Crosswell, indicted in 1803 for libeling Thomas Jefferson, then president of the United States. On the trial, Chief Justice Lewis had charged the jury that they were to pass only on the publication of the libel and the truth of the innuendoes, other questions being reserved to the court. Alexander Hamilton, in the motion in arrest of judgment, was said to have made the greatest argument of his life, thus vividly recalling the trial of Zenger, and the argument by another great advocate of the same name, in the same court, in the year 1735. The court *in banc* being divided in Crosswell's case, a bill was introduced in the legislature in 1805, by William W. Van Ness, settling the law on this point. The purport of this act was now thought important enough to be fixed more securely by constitutional enactment.

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[1] When Chancellor Kent left the bench he was overwhelmed with attention by the bar, and various memorials and tributes were addressed to him. He had been a faithful, learned, and diligent judge, and reflected great honor on the State. But he was not in strict accord with the more advanced democratic notions of popular government; and when he refused even to sign in the convention so moderate a reform as the constitution of 1821, he was consistent.

[2] Art. V, Sec. 5.

[3] 2 Paige, 95.

[4] The constitution of 1821 came into full force and effect on the 1st day of January, 1823, but the convention was chosen in 1821, and entered upon its duties in August of that year.

[5] Art. VII, Sec. 8.

Wm Paterson[1]

In January, 1822, the people ratified the new constitution by a vote of 75,422 to 41,497 for the constitution, and in favor of a change in the nature of the original State government of New-York. By the contemporaries of this measure it was esteemed a revolution; but as we see it now it was but a conservative step forward in the march of more democratical institutions. The changes thus really wrought in the political fabric may be briefly summarized as follows: The mode of exercising the veto power was reformed by transferring a qualified negative to the governor alone. A more democratic method of exercising the appointing power was adopted, while complete democracy was attained in respect of many minor offices made elective. The suffrage was so extended as to constitute practically white manhood suffrage, few persons without property, except those of African descent, being disqualified to vote.[2] The senate having been thus popularized, the Court of Errors, then constituted in the senate, was brought nearer to the great body of the people. The original courts of justice of New-York, the Chancery and the Supreme Court, were left in such a condition that the chancellor and the Supreme Court justices were no longer officers of State, but were to exercise judicial functions only, of which they might be largely shorn by the power reserved to the legislature, and affecting their several jurisdictions. The defect in the original constitution, which made no provision for its future amendments, was remedied by Article VIII of the new instrument, prescribing the formalities, including a vote of the electors, to attend future amendments. This amendment was taken from a similar provision in the constitution of Massachusetts, and obviated the necessity of a convention upon each change proposed thereafter.

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[1] William Paterson was born in 1745, and his parents, who were Irish, brought him to this country when he was two years old. He was graduated at Princeton, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1769. In 1776, he was a member of the New Jersey State Constitutional Convention, and the same year became attorney-general. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1780–81 and to the National Constitutional Convention in 1787, and in 1789 was elected to the United States Senate, which then met in this city. He became governor of New Jersey in 1791, and two years later was appointed by Washington a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, an office he held until his death, in 1806. His daughter Cornelia married General Stephen Van Rensselaer. (*Vide*, "New-York Genealogical and Biographical Record of 1892," for an address on the judge by his grandson William Paterson of Perth Amboy.)

EDITOR.

[2] It was not until 1826 that citizenship, manhood, and residence became the avowed basis of the electoral franchise (Constitutional Amendment of 1826) for the white part of the population, negroes being required until 1870 to be freeholders paying tax before they were entitled to vote.

In several respects the new constitution still reflected ancient class prejudices: the governor must be chosen from the body of freeholders, and must be a native citizen of the United States. Neither the possession of personal estate nor naturalization was sufficient to qualify a non-freeholder and an alien born for this office. The experiment of voting by ballot, having been provided for in the first constitution and having proved successful, was, in the new constitution, made imperative on the future.

The first legislature under the new constitution was overwhelmingly Democratic, not a single senator being of the other political party. Governor Clinton met the legislature when it convened, and delivered a speech to them, which was met with a motion for a committee to consider the propriety of answering it. This committee made a report animadverting in terms of severity upon the governor, and pronounced the practice of delivering a speech instead of a message "a remnant of royalty" which ought not to be tolerated. This incident serves only to indicate the jealous deprecation of the ancient customs of New-York, and that with the new constitution the people intended more fully to break with the past and to enter upon a genuine era of republican government.

In April, 1823,[1] the legislature, pursuant to the new constitution, divided the State into circuits for the purpose of organizing the new Circuit Courts carved out of the old Supreme Court, and substituted for the old *nisi prius* or itinerant sessions. By the same act, the new circuit judges, who possessed the powers of the old justices of the Supreme Court in chambers and on circuit, were required to reside within the circuit for which they were appointed. This last provision for prudential reasons had not been thrust on the convention, as it might have alienated the votes of those who were believed to be candidates; but the idea was nevertheless very influential in animating

[1] Chapter 182.

some persons who regarded the old courts as centralized institutions and too closely connected in their traditions with ante-revolutionary times. This school of thought desired a local judiciary of first instance, rather than one whose domicile and inspiration were to be found at the seat of government. This was the beginning of that reform in the judicial establishment of New-York which consists in decentralizing or rather localizing all the courts of first instance, thus constituting them county rather than State tribunals.

In 1823 an act was passed authorizing the circuit judges to hold Courts of Equity; it was soon repealed and the power restored to the chancellor, but the circuit judges were to act as vice-chancellors within their circuits. In the year 1826, in the first district, embracing the city of New-York, equity jurisdiction was conferred on a legal officer termed the vice-chancellor; for in this district the volume of litigation demanded an increase in the number of judges. From time to time other coadjutors were in like manner appointed. By an act of 1823,[1] the Court of Probates, founded in 1778, was abolished, and its original probate jurisdiction was transferred to the surrogates of the various counties, but subject to an appeal to the chancellor, who was invested with the residuum of the jurisdiction of the Court of Probates not otherwise delegated.

We come next to one of the most important reforms instituted under the second constitution — the Revised Statutes. Before treating of this celebrated work, let us review for a moment the prior revisions of the statute law of the State. In the chapter on the laws of the preceding century some account was given of the first revision by Messrs. Jones and Varick. The second revision of the acts of the State legislature was undertaken as a private or commercial venture by Thomas Greenleaf. The second edition of Greenleaf's work brought the revision of the State laws to a period nine years later than that of Messrs. Jones and Varick, and as it was recognized by the courts as a faithful work, it received a judicial sanction, accorded to no other private edition of laws, excepting perhaps the Webster publications from 1802 to 1812 inclusive. The next revision of the laws was undertaken by Justices Kent and Radcliff, pursuant to an act of the legislature;[2] this soon became the corrected version of the public and private acts of the State. This revision simply omits the laws or parts of laws abrogated, and pursues a chronological arrangement of the first volume and a subject arrangement of the second. The new revised laws of 1813 next superseded Kent and Radcliff's revision. By an act of the legislature,[3] William P. Van Ness and John Woodworth were directed to arrange the laws of a general and permanent nature systematically in divisions under proper heads, with such marginal notes as appeared to be best calculated for public information. As the revision of Jones and Varick was the first of the State revisions in point of time, so that of Van Ness and Woodworth was *facile princeps* in point of method and arrangement; the marginal notes, prepared by John V. N. Yates, and included in the revision of 1813, are among the most valuable expositions of the laws of this State; they oftentimes, by enumerating the various English and colonial acts which contained like provisions, embrace a succinct history of the statutes to which they refer. Even at the present day the history of many legislative measures may be more easily gathered from this revision than from any other single work, and it remains a profound example of faithful professional service.[2]

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[1] Chapter 70. Chapter 190, Laws of 1801. [3] Chapter 150, Laws of 1811; Chapter 195, N. R. L. of 1813.

B. F. Butler[1]

The revisers of 1813, imitating the example of Messrs. Jones and Varick, did not include in their revision the colonial acts which remained in force under the 35th section of the State constitution. Printed as an appendix to the revision of 1813, are to be found several acts of the colonial assembly which the revisers thought would be useful to the profession. Among these is the "Charter of Libertys" enacted by the first regular legislature of New-York in 1683; the Ordinances of Lord Bellomont and Viscount Cornbury — continuing the Supreme Court of New-York after the act of the legislature passed in 1691 had expired by limitation—are also included in such appendix. As illustrating several questions concerning the former provincial law of inheritances, which long retained some elements of the Dutch jurisprudence, the revisers appended also the Articles of Capitulation between the Dutch and English, signed in 1664. They might, with equal propriety, have included in the appendix the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, for it was, with unusual particularity, made a fundamental part of the State law by an act of the legislature, passed in 1788,[1] repealing all acts and parts of acts which conflicted with the treaty in question.

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[1] Benjamin F. Butler was born December 17, 1795, and was a lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell on his mother's side. He attended the academy at Hudson, N. Y.; afterward studied law with Martin Van Buren, then practising in that town, and eventually became his partner. In 1821-24 he was district attorney of Albany County, and was appointed one of the three commissioners to revise the statutes of New-York. In 1828 he was a member of the legislature; in 1833, the commissioner for the State of New-York to adjust the New Jersey boundary line; and the same year President Jackson appointed him attorney-general of the United States. In 1837 he became the chief professor of law in the University of the City of New-York. Mr. Butler was a Democrat until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill abolishing the Missouri Compromise, when he joined the Republican party. He died in Paris, France, November 8, 1858. EDITOR.

[2] See, however, the commentary on the revision of 1813 by Samuel Jones, co-author of Jones and Varick's Revision (N. Y. Historical Society's Col., III).

To recur to the revision under the second constitution of the State. In the year 1823, and again in 1824, Governor Yates directed the attention of the legislature to the condition of the statute-book of the State, and recommended a revision on account of the changes made in the law by the constitution of 1821–3, and the very confused and scattered situation of the statutes.[2] Obedient to the governor's suggestion, an act was passed, at the following session of the legislature,[3] for the purposes indicated. This act of 1824, though soon repealed, is important as the precursor of the Revised Statutes. The revisers designated by it were of very different types of thought. Chancellor Kent was selected as the exponent of the traditional school of law; Erastus Root, the lieutenant-governor, as the most radical of the reforming lawyers. Benjamin F. Butler, then a young lawyer associated with Martin Van Buren, was the third reviser under this act. By the act of 1824, the revisers were authorized and directed, among other things, to collect and to reduce into proper form all acts of the legislature then in force, omitting all the acts repealed, and reducing the various acts upon the same subject to acts of one chapter each; they were also to report to the legislature the defects in the existing laws. Two years were allowed for the contemplated revision, which, like its predecessors of 1802 and 1813, was to be little more than an orderly arrangement of the statutes then in force, with a proper index for more convenient use.

Chancellor Kent, for reasons easily perceived from the reports of the constitutional convention of 1823, refused to act with any one else; and the governor designated, in his stead, John Duer. There seems to have been little or no sympathy existing between General Root and his associates, Messrs. Duer and Butler, who, quite independently of their colleague, submitted the plan of the revision which they deemed to be the most suitable.[4] Meanwhile General Root had been proceeding on his own account with the revision of the laws relating to taxation and highways.

During the legislative consideration of Messrs. Duer and Butler's proposed amended bill giving larger scope to the revisers, the name of Henry Wheaton was substituted for that of Erastus Root. The senate non-concurring in this particular amendment, a compromise was attained by directing compensation to be given to General Root for his services in the matter.[1] The amended bill then became a law.[2] In their suggestions to induce the legislature to enlarge the scope of the revision, Messrs. Butler and Duer stated, among other things, that they conceived that not only a reduction of all the laws on the same subject into chapters was necessary, but also an entire new arrangement of the existing statutes. This they thought would reduce the statutes then in force to half their extent; it would render them so concise, simple, and perspicuous as to be intelligible not only to professional men, but to persons of every capacity; it would relieve the statutes from obscurities, lead to an easy reference by proper indexes, and greatly facilitate the acquisition of the law as a science. Lastly, it would supersede the necessity of all future revisions, and prepare the way for a scientific codification of the law. Utopian as the scheme then seemed, it nevertheless led to what may be called the most brilliant achievement ever then performed upon the text of the English common law. It is even highly probable that future revisions might long have been dispensed with, had the revisers' plan been carried out, and had each new act, as passed, been assigned to its appropriate chapter, by some persons or persons whose duty it was to prepare the session laws for publication. That the revision led to codification may well be believed, for even Jeremy Bentham, in a letter to Livingston of Louisiana, approved of the work.

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[1] Chapter 41.
[2] "Assembly Journal," 1824, p. 9.
[3] Chapter 336, Laws of 1824.
[4] See Appendix D, "Journal of Assembly," 1825.

But to follow the inception of this great revision. The act of 1825,[3] thus amending the original act of 1824, reappointed Mr. Butler, added the governor's appointee, Mr. Duer, and substituted Mr. Wheaton, afterward the distinguished publicist, for General Root in the corps of revisers. That the substitution of Mr. Wheaton added much to the philosophic conception and character of the work ought not to be doubted; but greater praise is due to the other revisers, for they, with Mr. Spencer, completed the whole work with a lucidity and a felicity of expression at that time unparaleled in the history of statutes composed in the English tongue.

The act of 1825 empowered and directed the revisers to collect all public acts in force at the end of the forty-eighth session (1825), and to reduce and consolidate into one act all the different acts relating to the same subject, distributing them under such titles, divisions, and sections as they thought proper, but omitting all acts and parts of acts repealed or expired by limitation. In every other respect the revisers were to complete the revision in such a manner as to them seemed most useful and proper to render the revised acts more plain and easy to be understood. From time to time they were to report the revision to the legislature, to be reënacted if that body saw fit. An important feature of the act of 1825 was the advisory power it conferred on the revisers, who were to suggest to the legislature all such changes as they deemed expedient in the statute law of the State. Two years were allowed by the act to complete the revision.

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[1] "Assembly Journal," 1825, p. 1173.

[2] Chapter 324, Laws of 1825.

[3] Chapter 324.

In the year 1826, the revisers, Messrs. Butler, Duer, and Wheaton, mapped out more completely the plan of the revision, and classified the statutes to be revised. They finally determined upon dividing the work into five principal divisions, as follows: The first part to contain those acts which related to the territory, the political division, the civil polity, and the internal administration of the State; the second part, those acts which related to real and personal property, the domestic relations, and to all matters generally connected with private rights; the third part to contain the statutes relating to the judicature branch of government and to the procedure in civil cases; the fourth part to be concerned with the statutes relating to crimes, punishments, and to the mode of procedure in criminal cases, and to prison discipline; and the fifth part with the laws relating to cities, villages, and other corporations.

Jos. Ogden Hoffman[1]

The first and fifth parts of the Revised Statutes, relating to the territory, the political divisions, the civil polity, and the internal administration of the State, are of the least interest in a purely juristic or scientific phase of the revision; but they were of great utility.

There is little doubt that the general and comprehensive plan of the whole revision of 1829 had the valuable coöperation of Mr. Wheaton.[2] The first part of the Revised Statutes was the work of Mr. Wheaton, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Duer; but before this part of the revision was acted on by the legislature, Mr. Wheaton was sent abroad in a diplomatic capacity, and Mr. John C. Spencer took his place. After Mr. Spencer's appointment considerable additional labor was bestowed on the part already prepared; and it may be said, therefore, that the first part of the Revised Statutes was the work of four revisers, and not of three, as originally contemplated.[1]

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[1] Josiah Ogden Hoffman was a distinguished lawyer, and was the father of Murray Hoffman, the jurist and author of several works on chancery and ecclesiastical law; of Ogden Hoffman, the gifted orator and lawyer, who was counsel in almost every prominent criminal case in New-York city for twenty-five years, and who had been a member of Congress, U. S. district attorney, and State attorney-general; and of Charles Fenno Hoffman, the accomplished man of letters. Mr. Hoffman was a warm friend of Washington Irving, who studied law in his office. It was to his daughter Matilda that Irving was engaged. When he died, her Bible, containing a lock of her hair, was found under his pillow. EDITOR.

[2] "Senate Journal," 1827, p. 32.

While the revisers in their general arrangement mainly adopted the system employed in Blackstone's Commentaries, and took the titles of the various chapters of the revision from that celebrated work, yet they made discriminating changes and avoided some errors made by Blackstone himself, notably his division of the *jus privatum* into "rights of persons and rights of things," criticized by Austin,—things being incapable of rights and a mistranslation of the phrase of the civilians, "*jus rerum*." No opponent of Blackstone has ever denied that his arrangement was eminently practical. The revisers could not, therefore, have taken a plan more familiar to lawyers than this, and it added to the success of the work.

If we except the Statute 12, Car. II., ch. 24, converting most of the feudal tenures in England into free and common socage, and sounding the knell of the entire feudal system, Part II of the Revised Statutes of New-York embodied the most important reforms ever made by a single statute in the historic land law of an English-speaking people.[2]

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[1] See Senate Journal, 1827, p. 32; Revisers' Reports to the Legislature with chapters 9 and 19 of the first part.

[2] The better to note some of the more important changes introduced in the land law of New-York by the revisers, in the second part of their revision (the first three chapters of which are devoted to this subject), we may briefly recall the condition of this branch of our jurisprudence prior to this revision. Charles II., with what right previously inquired, granted the territory occupied by the Dutch of New Netherland, and much more adjacent, to the Duke of York by letters patent, dated March 12, 1664, and subsequently by letters confirmatory, dated in 1674. By both these patents the tenure of the province was "as our Manor of East Greenwich in our county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite*, nor by knight's service." At the date of the first patent, the Statute 12, Car. II., ch. 24, had already swept away most of the burdens of feudal tenures in England. The socage tenure in 1664 remained subject only to the feudal incidents of relief, rent, fealty, and escheats. As thus modified, the socage tenure was introduced in New-York. The rent incident to it was a quit-rent of trifling value (sometimes, in New-York, a bushel to the hundred acres, but in 1732 the surveyor-general's report puts it at 2*s.* 6*d.* for the same quantity); the relief payable by the heirs on the ancestor's death was the equivalent of a year's quit-rent, while the oath of fealty was commonly never exacted, and escheats were no more burdensome, in practice, than at the present time. After the English conquest the former Dutch inhabitants generally renewed the titles to their lands by taking out new patents, which recited the Dutch ground-brief and confirmed the possession of their lands, to be held of the ducal proprietor in free and common socage. The new inhabitants took out their patents from the duke's agents in one of the prescribed forms of conveyance. Subsequent to 1664 the modified socage tenure alone existed in New-York. It will be recalled that, on the Duke of York's accession to the throne, his private estate in the province was merged in the crown, and he became seized thereof *jure coronæ*. On the abdication of James II., the province of New-York pursued the line of devolution prescribed by the act of settlement, the crown possessions and the crown being *concomitantia*. The duke's estate before he ascended the throne was in the nature of a feudatory principality; after the merger it became a royal province, transmitted *secundum jus coronæ*, and thus it remained until the war of independence.

Comparatively recently it was made a debatable question whether the statute *quia emptores*, prohibiting subinfeudation, was in force in the province of New-York; and the revisers seem erroneously to have thought not (see 3 R. S., 565, 2d ed., Rev. Notes), and the Court of Appeals, in the case of De Peyster *v.* Michael (6 N. Y., 503), assumed the same thing. But in a later case (People *v.* Van Rensselaer, 9 N. Y., 338) Judge Denio doubted the correctness of the conclusion, and in the still later case of Van Rensselaer *v.* Hayes (19 N. Y., 74) he demonstrated the absurdity of the conclusion that the statute was not generally in force in the province of New-York. The fact is one of considerable importance; for if this statute was not in force, a necessary consequence was that the feudal system flourished here during the entire English dominion, and for ten years subsequent (or until the statute was enacted in Jones and Varick's revision), with a vigor entirely unknown to contemporary England. The obvious error that this statute was not in force seems to have arisen by reason of not distinguishing between the manors and the residue of the

Although the law of real property remained a difficult branch of legal science, yet the revisers of 1829 did much to rid it of many subtleties which had been fused on it by the political and social processes through which the common law had passed. The reform in question was accomplished not so much by the introduction of new rules of law, as by the judicious selection and application of the wisest of the old rules, and by the total repeal of mere scholastic subtleties.

The cardinal reform of the Revised Statutes concerning lands did not consist so much in shortening the period during which the power

lands in the province. The erroneous presumption was that, because manors existed here, the statute was not in force, whereas by the common law, *non obstante* the statute, the king might grant the right to his tenants to alienate lands to be holden of the tenant, and thus create a manor, where the lands were not in tenure prior to 18 Edw. I. The lands in New-York not embraced in the manor grants were within the statute, and could not be aliened to be held of other lord or person than the king. In short, every sub-alienation of those lands in New-York, not situated within the manors, placed the new tenant in the same position toward the king, the lord paramount, as that occupied by the grantor.

During the entire colonial or provincial period, lands in New-York were theoretically subject to the same laws as socage lands in the royal manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in England. In point of fact, such lands were almost entirely exempt from the nominal rents on which they were holden of the crown. It must not be forgotten that formerly no such thing as an absolute ownership of socage lands was known; the tenant had only an estate in them. This estate, without alluding to the more subtle distinctions, was either an estate for years, for life, an estate tail, or in fee simple, the latter being far from absolute in the eyes of the feudalists. The method of transmitting title to socage lands in New-York was, until some time subsequent to the war of independence, in accord with the method in vogue in England, whether by descent (the law of primogeniture being in force here until the year 1782); by purchase, in its generic sense as well as in its limited sense; by deeds of feoffment with livery of seizin, by lease, by exchange at common law, by partition, by releases, by defeasance, by devise, and all conveyances operating by virtue of the statute of uses. In addition to these modes, alienations by matters of record, such as fines and recoveries, until the abolition of estates tail in 1782, and even subsequent (see 2 J. and V., p. 84; c. 250, Laws of 1827), were not unknown in New-York, as is shown by Mr. Wyche's work on the "Theory and Practice of Fines," one of the first law books written and published in New-York. (It was published in 1794.) Of the conveyances by force of the statute of uses, that kind termed lease and re-lease was most commonly employed in New-York prior to the revision of the English statutes by Jones and Varick in 1788, when the mode termed bargain and sale became most prevalent, and so continued until the Revised Statutes in 1830. Alienation of lands by devise, attested under the statute Car. II., was commonly employed in New-York from the very foundation of the English government of the province. Among the earliest English laws of New-York we find distinct recognition of wills. The adoption of the English law of wills introduced the intricate common-law rules relating to executory devises. Yet of all the intricacies relating to the common law, those concerning executory devises were among the most rational, for they arose out of a most candid effort to effectuate the intentions of devisors. Therefore, when the revisers of the statutes, appointed after the second constitution, came to select rules relating to certain future interests in lands, they gave the preference to those rules and principles of the common law which were applied to executory devises, rather than to those relating to future uses and contingent remainders.

The establishment of the State government in 1777 made but formal changes in the tenures of New-York and in the law of real property. Indeed, it may be said that until the Revised Statutes the changes effected in the provincial jurisprudence relating to land were but slight in comparison to those then introduced. Among the more marked changes effected before the Revised Statutes were the following: A resolve of the provincial convention transferred the seigniory and escheats and all lands, together with the quit-rents due to the crown, to the State *eo nomine*. This statute was further confirmed by an act of the legislature recognizing the people, passed in 1779 (14, 1 J. & V., p. 44; 56 N. Y., 503). In 1782 the first of the statutes affecting the antecedent law of real property was passed (ch. 2, Laws of 1782). Estates tail were altered into estates in fee simple, the law of primogeniture was abolished, and the canon of descents was made to conform to the more democratical institutions. In 1786 the statute abolishing entails and changing the course of descents was reënacted, but with this difference: estates tail were converted into estates in fee simple absolute, thus avoiding any question as to whether the statute of 1782 had not intended simply to change estates in fee tail into conditional fees, as they had existed in England prior to the statute *de donis*. It is sometimes supposed that when that portion of the statute law of England which extended to New-York was revised by Jones and Varick, some new principles affecting the law of real property were introduced. This of alienation might be suspended, as in the repeal of purely arbitrary technicalities and in substituting therefor uniform and rational provisions. Under the Revised Statutes almost any limitation, artificial or inartificial, was valid if it did not contravene some well-known principle of public policy, or the new rule against perpetuities; a fee might be mounted on a fee as freely by deed as by executory devise; a freehold estate might be created to commence at a future day; an estate for life might be created in a term of years, and a valid remainder limited thereon; a remainder of freehold might be created expectant on the determination of a term of years, provided only that such limitation in no way transcended the rule against perpe-

supposition, however, is incorrect; no new principles affecting this branch of jurisprudence were enacted, and all that Jones and Varick did was to select the English statutes which they deemed in force in New-York after the adoption of the first constitution. The legislature, then, in order to reduce a doubtful question to certainty, repealed the residue not so selected for reënactment, by declaring their force to be at an end (2 J. & V., 282).

The statute abolishing entails was not a reform of such great importance as it is sometimes esteemed, for entails might be broken and lands rendered alienable by the tenant of the freehold's suffering a fine, or common recovery, thus barring the entail, reversion, or remainder, and converting the estate into one in fee simple. The force of the New-York statutes converting estates tail into estates in fee simple, like all statutes attempting reforms without complete reference to collateral results, was greatly circumscribed by the evident desire of the courts to support the limitations over, in some cases of wills, as an executory devise, so as not to defeat the remainder. In this effort the courts made a distinct departure from the former common law; and in order not to effectuate the statute to its literal extent, they held that certain words, before creating an estate tail, did not now create an estate tail, which would have been converted into a fee in the first taker, and, therefore, that the limitation over on the death of the first taker, without issue, was good as an executory devise. (1 Johns., 440; 3 id., 292; 11 id., 337; 16 id., 382, Medcef Eden's case.)

Prior to the Revised Statutes socage lands might be rendered inalienable for an uncertain period by vesting the title to them on contingencies after the creation of a short precedent estate. By an ingenious invention of the conveyancers, through the medium of trustees, to support contingent remainders, the contingent interests could not thereafter be barred as formerly. Contingent remainders might be created by any mode of conveyance. The methods of rendering lands inalienable were by the technical methods styled secondary, springing, shifting, or future uses and executory devises, and those known to the chancery bar as express trusts in lands. Under the extremely technical rules employed, limitations might be valid in one instrument, and invalid if put in another. The whole learning was occult, and historically denoted the contest in England between the great landowners who desired to perpetuate their estates, and the commons who desired to render real property merchantable and alienable and to avoid perpetuities. In the course of this conflict, whenever Parliament passed a remedial act, the *noblesse de la robe* of England, with the assistance of the Aristotelian logic and the Court of Chancery, invariably defeated the full extent of the remedy. Covered with scholia, and known to only the most intellectual members of the bar, the English law of real property was in practice a very labyrinth delightful only to its guardians, although it had become by 1826 very systematic and greatly improved. In this year the New-York law of real property had theoretically attained to the same advanced stage of development as that of England. It was capable of becoming a horrible burden for the new State, and when the young revisers approached their task, the black-letter lawyers, who had learned a recent lesson in the constitutional convention of 1821, made little or no effectual outcry against the reforms proposed.

Having very briefly and inadequately intimated the condition of the land law of New-York when the revisers approached it, we may now assume that it was substantially the English law relative to the English tenure in free and common socage as modified by a few statutes of the province which had become singularly inaccessible, or had fallen into disuse. Premising that the revisers procured the repeal of all the province statutes (Subdivision 4, Sec. 554, c. 21, Laws of 1828), the Revised Statutes declared that the people of the State, in their right of sovereignty, possessed the original and ultimate property in and to all lands within the jurisdiction of the State. Escheats were made to follow this ultimate proprietorship, though all lands were declared allodial. It has been argued by very learned lawyers that, as long as escheats survived, this change effected no substantial reform, and that the very terminology of the Revised Statutes involved the entire antecedent law relating to the socage tenure. Although this is logically true, the real changes effected mitigated the rigor of the common law of escheat by providing that escheated lands should be subject to the same trusts and encumbrances which they would have been subject to had such lands not escheated. The revisers retained the rights, powers, and duties of socage guardians, but vested them in a different class of persons, wisely changing the common-law rule that the guardianship tuities. Even contingencies double, treble, or manifold, probable or improbable, might, if they did not cause a perpetuity, be the basis of limitations.

Other changes in the antecedent law were made by Article 1 of Title 2, Chapter 1 of Part II.[1]

Enough has been said to indicate the scope of the change effected by the revisers. While the work as a whole purported to be a revision of existing laws, the term "revision" covered a multitude of reforms, and modified large parts of the common law declared to be part of the law of the State by the constitutions of 1777 and 1821.

The modifications which the revisers made in legal estates in lands

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shall belong to the next of kin to whom the inheritance could not by any possibility descend, so as to enable near relations to become guardians of the infant possessors of lands. The wisdom of the common-law rule had been impeached long before by Lord Chancellor Macclesfield. In Article 2 of Part II of the Revised Statutes, the revisers saw fit to perpetuate the rule of the common law, founded entirely on feudal reasons, that only citizens should hold lands within the State, though they modified the rigor of the rule somewhat in favor of persons about to become citizens. The wisdom of retaining any part of the disability in question may be doubted at this day, when land has become merchantable property, and the duties of its owners to the State do not differ from those of the owners of personalty.

The second title of Chapter II introduced the most considerable changes in the law of real property. The revisers, however, retained the established terms defining the quantity of interest persons might have in immovable property, although in some instances they converted particular terms from species to genera: the force of the term remainders was extended so as to include future and contingent uses, as well as contingent remainders. Notwithstanding the abolition of tenures, every estate of inheritance continued to be designated either a fee simple, or a fee simple absolute, thus preserving the former distinction between limited or conditional fees and fees absolute at common law. The statute, first passed in 1782, converting estates tail into fee simple, was reënacted, but the revisers remedied the hardship of the original statute by which a remainder limited upon an estate tail was cut off, even though the first taker or tenant in tail died without issue living at his death.

One of the most considerable changes in the antecedent law effected by the Revised Statutes, related to the period during which the power of alienation might be suspended. The common-law period was reduced from any number of lives in being, and an absolute term of twenty-one years, and a fraction for gestation, to two lives in being; but the Revised Statutes permitted a valid contingent remainder, to take effect in case this second life die before attaining majority, or the estate was determined in any other way before the majority of the second life. This reform, though apparently slight, was really a considerable innovation; lives alone became the standard of suspension, and no absolute term, not even a day or an hour, might intervene. The new period of suspension now amounted to the longest of two lives in being, and, in a single case of actual infancy, the period of minority in addition. At a subsequent judicial interpretation of this new rule in which they took part, the revisers do not seem to have been entirely clear as to what the exact object of the statute really was. In the leading case of Coster *v.* Lorillard, they argued that the new rule ought to be applied to executory limitations of a contingent character only, and not to vested remainders which did not suspend the power of alienation. The court of last resort, as it was then composed, had a good proportion of laymen, and the new rule was ultimately applied to all future estates in lands, vested and contingent alike. It is difficult to perceive how the court could have decided otherwise, in view of the section which provides for the acceleration of remainders, in all cases where the estate is limited on more than two successive estates for life, to persons in being at the creation of the estate. Yet the other construction was stoutly contended for by some persons eminent in the legal profession. (See V.-Ch. McCoun's opinion, 5 Paige, 179 - 198.)

[1] The famous common-law rule now associated only with Shelly's case was abrogated, and, according to the real intention of the donor when the remainder was limited to the heirs of a person to whom a life estate in the same premises was given, the heirs, by the Revised Statutes, took as purchasers. The rule in Shelly's case had original reference in England to the political struggle against perpetuities, and its longer existence was now rendered unnecessary in New-York by reason of the very clear rule on the subject of perpetuities. The accumulation of the profits of lands was controlled so as not to permit a repetition of Thelluson's case (4 Vesey, 221; 11 id., 112); and as the New-York law was not, of course, affected by the British acts 39 and 40 George III., an entirely new provision was introduced: the revisers confined the accumulation of the profits of lands to the single case of an infant owner or beneficiary, and tolerated it in no other case. Many other minor provisions, confirming the general scheme of the statute, were revised and incorporated by the revisers in the revision; but in a general commentary on the subject it is impossible to refer to all of them.

having been noticed, we may point out some of the changes which they instituted relative to uses and trusts, cognizable in the Courts of Equity of New-York from the inception of the English rule. Although prior to the Revised Statutes the exigencies of society here, as fortunes were then more limited, had not made any very great demands on the English law of trusts, yet by reason of the constitutional definition of the fundamental law of New-York, the English law of uses and trusts was assumed to be in full force and vigor in the State. It was in consequence open to like objections, which prior to the Revised Statutes had been very fully discussed in England by an advanced thinker, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Humphreys, who had outlined a scheme of reform of the socage tenure, and made some very practical suggestions. Our revisers certainly had the benefit of his scheme, though they did not always follow it to its logical conclusion, with diverse opinions as to the result. The law of uses and trusts had grown up in England from a species of indirect legislation, sometimes called the English *jus honorarium* from its likeness to the pretorian legislation of Rome. The reforms in the branch of the New-York law contemplated by the revisers were materially assisted by the popular hostility to the extended judicial power of the chancery, already noticed. The Statute of Frauds[1] had put an end to secret trusts, and required all trusts in lands to be in writing; and subsequent to this the learning on this subject had become fairly systematic. The Revised Statutes abolished all charitable and pious uses and all simple or passive trusts, and saved only four classes of active or special trusts, called "the statutory trusts."[2] Most of the former active trusts, however, survived the revision as powers in trust, while some former trust powers were enumerated as express trusts.[3]

The scheme of the reform intended was the abolition of all passive trusts in lands, the restriction of the lawful special trusts to fewer purposes, the abolition of secret resulting trusts in favor of persons paying the consideration, and lastly to cause the legal title to devolve according to the canon of descents in a greater number of instances than formerly. In the application of the revisers' scheme to the actual work of revision, many minor sections contribute to the result. In the abolition of former trusts several things were to be accomplished, such as the consistent devolution of the legal title in cases where formal or other unlawful trusts were attempted to be created or then existed. Every avenue for a continuance of formal trusts was skilfully closed by the revisers, and in cases where the special trust purpose was converted into a statutory power, it was provided that the legal title, as it was not a necessary adjunct, should pursue that line of devolution it would have pursued had there been no "power" affecting it. For abundant caution all executed uses in possession were confirmed so that the revised statutes of uses and trusts should not be retroactive. The adjective law of trusts was not affected by this article of the revision; it naturally belonged to a more extensive work, which should include procedure.

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[1] 29 Car. II. [2] 2 N. Y., 307. [3] 12 N. Y., 403.

The revisers had not only to effect the reforms mentioned, but they had to harmonize the revised laws of uses and trusts with the revised laws concerning legal estates; for the revision preserved those distinct conceptions of property which the antinomy of the English juridical system had introduced here[1]

The revisers had to some extent contemplated the destruction of the former analogy between legal and equitable estates in lands. They provided that the *cestui que trust* should no longer take an estate in lands, and converted his right into an equitable interest enforceable in chancery. This was, however, a verbal rather than a substantial change; but in view of that clause of the Revised Statutes preventing anticipation by the beneficiary interested in a trust for the receipt of the rents and profits of lands, it certainly seemed logical to term such a beneficiary right an "interest," and not an "estate"; for a right that is not assignable bears little similarity to an estate which is *nomen collectivum*, including the right to dispose of it. In some other respects there is no longer a perfect analogy between the natures of legal and equitable estates in lands. Legal life estates must be limited to persons in being, but trusts will inure to the benefit of persons not in being when the trust is created.[2]

Whether on the whole any great reform in the former law of trusts has been produced by the Revised Statutes, is an open question. A new learning of trusts, founded on the revision, has certainly arisen,

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[1] In English jurisprudence the distinct conceptions of legal and equitable interests in property were soon discovered to be artificial, and a tendency to assimilate the two distinct interests began. This reactionary tendency ultimately produced striking analogies between legal and equitable estates. An equitable tenant in tail could even alien his equitable interest by fine, and the courts talked gravely about the seizin and deseizin of equitable estates. Subsequent to the Revised Statutes some attempts to revive the former analogy between legal and equitable estates were made. Why, it was reasonably asked, should the rule concerning the limitation of legal estates now differ from the rules concerning equitable estates or interests in lands? In cases where a remainder in a legal estate was limited on more than two lives in being, such remainder, by the section accelerating remainders, was preserved. Why should this not be the rule where a perpetuity by way of trust was created antecedent to the remainder? But the courts intimated that the Revised Statutes had destroyed any analogy between legal and equitable estates in land. Limitations beyond the legal trust period were now vitiated by statute. 9 N. Y., 403.

[2] As the Revised Statutes restricted anticipation, many difficult questions involving the *jus disponendi* of an equitable estate (*e. g.*, 8 N. Y., 9) ceased, although others, perhaps as difficult, have succeeded them. Attempts to reach what is obviously a property right — the interest of a *cestui que trust* in a permanent trust for the receipt of the rents and profits of lands — have from time to time been attended with many embarrassments, owing to the change in the law (31 N. Y., 9; 35 id., 361; 70 id., 270).

The estate which the trustee took in all cases of valid express trusts — though apparently enlarged by the Revised Statutes, which declare that the trustee shall be vested with the whole estate, in law and in equity, subject only to the execution of the trust — was in reality not extended at all. As before the Revised Statutes, the trustee's legal estate was commensurate with the trust duty to be performed; and when the duty was performed, and the present law of uses and trusts, now as formerly, is to be found in reported cases rather than in a statutory form. In the hands of skilful conveyancers, real property continued susceptible to very subtle modifications and limitations. Whether this is a healthy condition of the laws of real property, it is for the hustings and for our statesmen to determine. Any of us is entitled to the opinion that it were better had the revisers gone farther. It is not an interference with the rights of property to abridge a power of testamentary disposition, and to destroy the power of accumulating overgrown or ill-gotten fortunes by means of trusts. But on the whole the reforms in the land law of New-York conduced to simplicity and were a sound reform. They have created a new learning founded on the statute, but a learning much simpler than the old, yet on the whole still susceptible of great improvement in the future. Such obscurities as those relating to lineal and collateral warranties ceased by their abolition. Landed property was rendered easily subject to the payment of debts. The canon of descents, and many other matters relating to real estate, were modernized and improved. Among the more important reforms embodied in Part II of the Revised Statutes, were those concerning the law of wills, which the revisers reduced to much simplicity. The laws relating to marriage in New-York were in great confusion prior to the Revised Statutes. This evil was also corrected, and the law made plain and certain[1]

Part III of the revision, relating to the courts of justice, was generally declaratory, and, while of great practical utility, introduced fewer novelties than the other parts by reason of the limitations imposed by the constitutions on this subject. Part IV, relating to

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eo instanti, the trustee's estate ceased (3 N. Y., 525; 43 id., 363), and oftentimes, by virtue of the statute, instantly devolved upon the person entitled to the next estate (3 N. Y., 535; 7 id., 571; 10 id., 268; 34 id., 555), though in some cases a trustee might still be compelled to execute conveyances to the next eventual owner, just as the donee of a power in trust might be. (*In arguendo*, 24 N. Y., 15.)

The revisers made a radical change in the devolution of the legal estate on the death of trustees. Prior to the Revised Statutes the trustees might devise the legal estate, or it might descend to their heirs cloaked in the trust. But this inconvenient rule was wisely changed so that on the death of a trustee the legal estate, in all cases, passed to the appropriate court of judicature, possessing chancery jurisdiction. (44 N. Y., 249.) This canon of descents, if it may be so termed, had, however, no application to trusts *ex maleficio*. (14 Wend., 176.) The Revised Statutes made no change in the equity power of the chancellor to remove trustees for cause. The peculiar distinction between equitable and legal interests in property not having been abolished,—even if its abolition were possible,—the courts have been obliged to continue to recognize such distinct interests, notwithstanding the subsequent abolition of the distinction between the remedies correlated to these distinct rights.

[1] There has been some discussion concerning the principal authorship of the first three chapters of Part II, involving the leading changes made in the land law of the State; but the general opinion of those most familiar with the subject — an opinion borne out by the journals and legislative records — is that Messrs. Spencer and Duer, in the order named, were the responsible authors of these great changes. But they did not stop here. We know that Mr. Spencer carefully considered the scope of the entire revision; for with his own hand he wrote a commentary for the "Ontario Messenger," pointing out the principal alterations made by the revisers in the common and statute law of the State. As Mr. Duer was the oldest of the revisers, being forty-three years of age, while Mr. Spencer was thirty-seven and Mr. Butler twenty-nine, the presumption, in the absence of proof positive, is in accord with tradition and the indications of the public documents, which are corroborative.

criminal law, including a whole scheme of punishment and prison discipline, was very comprehensive in its character. While most of the provisions of the criminal code were taken from the former statutes of the State, some suggestions touching the penal law were adopted from Livingston's justly celebrated "System of Penal Law for Louisiana," and some from the newer English reformatory acts introduced by Mr. Peel, but never in force in New-York. That portion of Part IV which relates to prison discipline may be said to have introduced too few of the humane reforms which had even then been recommended by Edward Livingston of Louisiana, who was much impressed with the suggestions of Jeremy Bentham, the great master of the philosophy of legislation. The revisers announced themselves as quite satisfied with the old system, and evidently were not impressed by the advanced speculations of the theoretical writers. In this single respect the Revised Statutes of New-York were notably faulty. Several notes to the text, containing a brief outline of the changes wrought by the Revised Statutes, have been inserted because such revision constitutes an epoch in the law-making of the State. While they purported to be a revision of old laws, they were more. After they were enacted, all the former laws of the old province made part of the fundamental law of the State by the constitutions of 1777 and 1821 were also repealed. Thenceforth the *corpus juris* of New-York consisted only of the statute law of the State (the English statutes having been previously recast and the residue repealed), and the common law of England, as previously received and interpreted under the province and State governments; but even this was declared by the constitution to be subject to such alterations as the legislature should make in it. That the legislative power to alter included the most sovereign power of change was not doubted. What the Revised Statutes best demonstrated was, that the common law of English-speaking States and origin was susceptible of important statutory modifications without the destruction of those essential principles of growth which had been unfolded in the course of the history of the English nation, and that such changes could be made by the ordinary legislative machinery without a catastrophe to the body politic. Thus the revision destroyed the fetish of the common law, while it showed that the law itself was not elusive; and it pointed the way, followed in many other States, to important changes in the private jural relations of America. Through it subsequent changes, not yet foreseen, were involved and made easy, while the dead law of the past was rendered the servant and not the master of the State. Though perhaps too frequently and often unskilfully amended, the Revised Statutes of 1829 may be said to be still the chief source of the statute law of the State.

While the constitution of 1821 declared that the common law in force in the colony on April 19, 1775, should continue to be the law of the State, it did not abrogate the small residuum of the ancient Dutch law left standing by that postulate of the common law which gives effect to the laws of the conquered until abrogated.[1] Yet this portion of the ancient Dutch law was very slender and rather a rule of property: the burden of proof was on the proponent to show the particular institute of the Dutch law in force, as the presumption was that the common law controlled in the absence of such proof.[2] The adjudged cases give evidence of the extent of this slight survival of Dutch law. For example, in 1830, in the canal cases, eminent counsel, including the attorney-general, contended that the Dutch law still determined the right of certain riparian owners.[3] In 1817 even Chancellor Kent, who, in a desire to invoke the entire ready-made system of English law, often ignored the differences observed in the province of New-York,[4] held that by the Dutch law a grant to the inhabitants of Hempstead constituted them a corporation.[5] Still later cases, such as Dunham *v.* Williams,[6] have given effect to a particular rule of the ancient Dutch law. But the great foundation of the unwritten or non-statute law, under the constitution of 1821 as before, continued to be the common law received in the province, as altered by the statutes of the State. What indeed was technically meant by the use of the term "common law"—a term ambiguous enough to denote at times either the *jus non scriptum* or the entire particular jurisprudence of England—has occasioned much consideration by the more subtle-minded among the lawyers. On the whole, the general and vague definition in Morgan *v.* King,[7] to the effect that it meant the *rationale* rather than a particular institute of English jurisprudence, is the most satisfactory. Yet so vague a definition could not be otherwise than an unsatisfactory basis for the common law of a great State.[8]

Samuel J. Tilden

We have already noticed some of the changes effected by the constitution of 1821 in the greater among the ancient courts of New-York. With the exceptions indicated, they continued substantially as before,[1] but the chancellor and judges under the new constitution owed their office to the appointment of the governor with the consent of the senate, instead of, as formerly, to the council of appointment, which this constitution abolished. In order to prevent a repetition of the odium fastened on the judges by their State functions under the first constitution, the new constitution provided that neither the chancellor nor the judges should hold any other office or place of public trust during their term of office. The Revised Statutes did not attempt to define the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery of New-York, which had never been very precisely defined. The act of 1683, which has the credit of its erection,[2] gave it general equity powers. The Revised Statutes declared the powers of the court to be vested in the chancellor. How far the Court of Chancery of New-York was vested with the ancient jurisdiction of the English court was discussed in the year 1810, in the most interesting case of Yates *v.* People,[3] which involved a conflict between the chancellor and the Supreme Court, and where it was held that the New-York Chancery possessed only those common-law powers of the court which in England were exercised in the *officina justitiæ*, or that part from which writs issued *ex debito justitiæ*, and that the chancellor of New-York possessed the powers exercised by the lord chancellor in that branch of the English court called the Court of Equity in Chancery.

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[1] See Chapter XIV, Vol. I, p. 559; Chapter XIV, Vol. II, p. 593. [2] Canal Cases, 5 Wendell, 446.

[3] 5 Wendell, 436; 17 Wendell, 571.

[4] See the late B. F. Butler's "Outline of the Constitutional History of New-York," *passim.*

[5] Denton *v.* Jackson, 2 Johns. Chancery, 320.

[6] 37 N. Y., 251.

[7] 30 Barb., 14; reversed on another point, 35 N. Y., 454.

[8] There is in existence an old English book called "Tomlin's Repertorium Juridicum," which, as it is remembered, contains a list of all English decisions down to the date of the battle of Lexington, when the English cases ceased to be authoritative

Under the constitution of 1821 the powers of the Supreme Court continued substantially as under the crown,[4] and the Revised Statutes declared this to be the fact. The jurisdiction of the minor courts of the justices of the peace was, however, fixed by the Revised Statutes, though the courts themselves were anciently in the province. The county courts for common pleas also were ancient institutions, and were only reorganized by the Revised Statutes. In some of the cities of the State the common-law jurisdiction of the justices and county courts have in this century for convenience been distributed among municipal courts, such as the Courts of Common Pleas in New-York city, or the Marine Court of the city of New-York, which had also jurisdiction of civil actions brought by seamen. The Court of Common Pleas in the city of New-York is one of the most ancient of the tribunals of the State.[5] The Superior Court of the city of New-York was erected in 1828, to have cognizance of local actions.[6] It owed its establishment to the long-protracted conspiracy cases which grew out

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here, and our own courts took up the amplification of the common law.

[1] Chapter XIV, Vol. II.

[2] 1 Hoffman's "New-York Chancery Practice," Chapter 1.

[3] 6 Johns., 337.

[4] Graham's "Courts of New-York," p. 141 (edition of 1839).

[5] See Chapter XIV, Vol. I, p. 551; Chapter XIV, Vol. II, p. 595.

[6] Laws of 1828, p. 141, c. 137; 3 Revised Statutes, 261.

of the heavy bank failure in the city of New-York in 1826, and clogged the calendars of the Court of Common Pleas. Its jurisdiction was statutory, and, unlike that of most of the other courts of New-York, was not defined by a cross-reference to some established jurisdiction of a common-law court of England. Under the second constitution, as under the first, the court for the trial of impeachments and correction of errors, constituted in the upper legislative house, like the old Court of Appeals in the province of New-York, had supreme appellate jurisdiction in both law and equity.

Under the constitution of 1821 the practice in all the courts, both in law and in equity, remained substantially that of England, but with many local variations which had grown up under the crown government of New-York, and which, if separately studied, proved very interesting phenomena. Singularly enough, under the State government there was a tendency among the judges to obliterate these distinctions which had grown up in the province, for to follow ancient precedents is easier than to follow innovation. The Revised Statutes did not reform the practice: they systematized many of the old statutes of New-York relative to jeofail practice and proceedings, and embodied some new provisions relative to the limitations of actions in the courts of justice, but no great reform in practice was effected until after the constitution of 1846. The changes made in the judicial establishment by the constitution of 1821 were not sufficient to accomplish much good. In the course of a few years the complaints concerning the delay and expense in legal proceedings became so general as to serve as influential reasons for the reforms instituted by the succeeding convention, called in 1846. The new circuit judgeships, created by the constitution of 1821, proved in the end unsatisfactory to the people, because of the disposition evinced by suitors to review all their decisions before the Supreme Court *in banc.*

After so great a change in the form of the law as that involved in the Revised Statutes, the statute-books of the State for some years showed a cessation of legislative activity. Some few rigid rules of the common law, relative to the non-assignability of certain rights of action or to commercial paper, were modernized. In 1831, however, the arrest and detention of the debtor's body in civil actions was abolished by the Stilwell Act, although this monstrous remedy had been retained in 1829 by the revisers of the statutes. The material development of the State, the founding of cities, banks, schools, turnpike and industrial companies, occupied the larger share of the attention of the law-makers for some years after the Revised Statutes. This was not unnatural, for between the years 1830 and 1845 the population of the State had increased from 1,918,608 to nearly 2,700,000. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 had altered the relation of the State to the commerce of the great West; and by 1831 the construction of steam railways had added new forces to the civilization and development of the State.

From 1821 to 1846 the constitution of the State underwent few organic changes or amendments. In 1826 the office of justices of the peace had been made elective. In 1833 the franchise for elective officers was conferred on all white male citizens inhabiting the State one year preceding an election. The disability of those of African descent continued as before. In 1835 and 1837 the office of mayor in all the cities of the State was made elective, and ceased to be appointive. With these exceptions, the constitution of 1821 stood unaffected by change until the year 1846.

Between the years 1821 and 1846 immigration had already introduced into this commonwealth a very large number of persons of foreign birth. While such constant migrations of strangers into a cultivated and industrious community was reciprocally highly advantageous from an economic point of view, it no doubt temporarily complicated civil government to some extent. The new-comers, easily transmuted by naturalization into citizens, and having abandoned the restraints of their old homes, were attracted by those political doctrines which were most novel to them, and which savored of the most absolute equality, being opposed to centralization and privilege, or in short to the older institutions perpetuated to some extent by the State constitutions of 1777 and 1821. Thus the foreign element of the population of New-York swelled the ranks of those of our citizens who were opposed to the State constitution as it existed down to the year 1845. By 1845 the balance of political power had about shifted from the rural districts to the growing towns, and the political discontent was promoted by those in the cities who favored a redistribution of representation. Yet the persons so opposed to the ancient order of things were, perhaps independently of those of foreign birth, in the majority. Many causes had contributed to this disaffection; notably the permanent judicial establishment including the Court of Chancery, the nature of the land laws of the State, and the loose condition of the State debt and finances occasioned by the great public works undertaken. The indiscriminate grants of lands already noticed as taking place, both before and after the establishment of the State government, were now producing their legitimate results — agrarian, social, and political disturbances. At different periods in the history of New-York similar disturbances had arisen. It will be recalled that the landlords of the vast grants of lands in the interior of the State had, in accordance with the English land law of the province, made perpetual leases instead of granting estates in fee. Sometimes the leases were on condition of rent, services, or of produce to be rendered in kind. The landlords had generally reserved, also, mines and water-power, and, to preserve the character of their estates, had restrained the tenants from assigning their interests except on payment to the landlords of some portion of the consideration received by the tenants. The leases were full of subtle and ingenious covenants of distraint in favor of the landlord. The great grants had been protected by the State constitutions of 1777 and 1821. As early as 1811 the legislature had appointed Ambrose Spencer, John Woodworth, and William P. Van Ness to examine the laws of New-York on this subject, and to report what reforms in the land law could be instituted without impairing vested rights. A bill was accordingly introduced into the Senate, but failed to become a law. About this same time the tenants on the Clarke estate in various western counties memorialized the legislature to investigate the title of their landlord, and the whole subject was referred to a committee of which General Root was chairman. Subsequently the manor of Livingston underwent legislative investigation. In 1813 the sheriff of Columbia County was murdered by the "anti-renters," as the uprising tenants were called. In 1837 the settlers in many counties, occupying the lands of the Holland Company, and holding certain contracts of sale with forfeiture clauses, destroyed papers in the land office in Chautauqua County, and an armed multitude of them collected in Batavia, but were dispersed by the military. After the death of the patroon in 1839, it became necessary to attempt to collect unpaid rents on the manor of Rensselaerwyck. This process, being resisted, led to the employment of the militia and a proclamation by Governor Seward, when the tenants consented to refer their grievances to the legislature. A policy of delay and official red tape led to the deplorable scenes of 1844–5, when the turbulent tenants, arrayed as Indians, committed various agrarian outrages and disturbances. Anti-rent newspapers and politicians sprang up to play an important part in the presidential canvass of 1844, while in some counties civil government was entirely paralyzed. In the midst of these serious disturbances the legislature took steps for a constitutional convention. Meanwhile the civil authorities acted with great propriety in their efforts to maintain law and order, and acts of assembly were passed enabling the governor to declare martial law in disturbed counties, and making it felony to rescue prisoners, to resist legal process, or to appear disguised. Withal, there was a feeling prevalent in the minds of many disinterested persons that the lands of New-York had been grossly mismanaged from the foundation of the English government in 1664, and that the present successors of the early land speculators were now really paying off the moral debts of their predecessors. The agrarian difficulties and the natural growth of democratical doctrines served to increase the dissatisfaction with the nature of the government under the constitution of 1821, and in 1844 and 1845 steps were taken toward a constitutional convention.

In the year 1845, the mandates of the constitution of 1821 providing for its amendment having been performed,[1] the question of "constitutional convention" or "no convention" was submitted to the electors, and decided in the affirmative by a vote of 213,257 to 33,860.

Wm. M. Evarts

On June 1, 1846, the convention, elected pursuant to law in April preceding, assembled at the capitol. It embraced many distinguished citizens, including some of the leading lawyers of the State, notably Charles O'Conor, Churchill Cambreling, John K. Porter, Levi Chatfield, Samuel Nelson, Samuel J. Tilden, Henry Nicoll, Ambrose L. Jordan, Ezekiel Bacon, Nathan Williams, and others. For the first time in the history of political movements of New-York, the great landholders of the ancient parts of the State seem to have been ignored by the voters. The old régime had obviously lost control, and new counsels were thenceforth to prevail in the State, founded on the enlarged suffrage and on more democratic and enlightened principles, or at least on those freer from purely Anglican traditions and customs inherited or transmitted by the constitution of 1777. It was obvious that a large share of the rural population were no longer to be obligated by such ridiculous restraints and covenants in farm leases as "that they should go to the grantor's mill only," or that they should not entertain strangers over one day, or that they should set out trees to the number of ——, keeping them replaced *winter* or summer.

The new constitution was formulated in fourteen articles, much discussed, and adopted with one exception by large majorities. Space will permit a glance only at their purport. The preamble repeated its emanation from the people of the State, while the first article contained certain general limitations of the powers of government in the shape of a bill of rights and privileges, every sentence of which again bore evidences of the historic struggle for liberty by the English-speaking peoples in the old and new worlds. Most of these limitations had been contained in the earlier constitutions. Trial by jury, religious liberty, the writ of *habeas corpus*, bail for accused persons, the exercise of eminent domain, freedom of speech, were each protected by appropriate clauses. Some old statutes reënacted in the Revised Statutes of 1829, regarding tenures of real estate, were incorporated in the first article of the constitution, against the general protest of the lawyers, who thought them supererogatory. All feudal tenures were again declared abolished, saving, however, all rents and services. So all lands were again declared allodial, but subject to escheat. All fines, quarter sales, or other restraints upon alienation were again made void. Leases of agricultural lands for longer than twelve years were made void for the future. All these provisions, in so far as they affected vested rights, were known to be quite inoperative, and the only really new provision of importance was directed against long farm leases in the future. The old farm leases which were valid in their inception had to be dealt with by very different modes from a constitutional referendum. For this reason some of the lawyers thought that these clauses of the constitution betokened insincerity. The provisions as to the land law, however, had the effect of making the policy of the State, in the future, very clear, and of prohibiting thenceforth long leases of farm lands. Even these clauses of the constitution might not, however, have proved effectual had not the new methods of transportation acted as auxiliaries and made better and cheaper lands more accessible to the agriculturist; so that the tenure of large districts of farm lands of New-York had to be revised by the consent of the proprietors themselves, through commutations and compromises, which naturally followed the new economic rather than the new constitutional conditions. Article II carefully regulated the right of suffrage, conferring the ballot on all white male citizens, in conformity to the amendment of 1826, already noticed. Negroes, unless freeholders, were still excluded from the suffrage, and so remained until the adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution, the electors of the State having refused in the years 1846, 1860, and 1869 to relieve them of this disability. In 1874, by constitutional amendment, the electors, however, removed the ban. Slavery after the year 1827 had been abolished by a statute of 1817, while all persons were by statute born free in this State after July 4, 1799. By Article III of the constitution the legislative power, vested, as theretofore, in the assembly, was regulated. The senate was reduced to thirty-two members and the legislature to one hundred and twenty-eight.

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[1] New-York Laws, 1845, c. 252.

As space forbids following minutely the extensive alterations of the fundamental law by the convention of 1846, attention must be directed to the important features only of the new organic law. By Article IV it was provided that a candidate for governor might be a naturalized citizen, and he was no longer required to be even a freeholder. This provision well indicated the very serious change which public sentiment had undergone in the preceding twenty years. The time when property was regarded as the easiest test of a man's capacity or respectability had passed away; so naturalized foreigners were no longer, as a body, to be deprived for that reason of the supreme honors of the State. Such changes were no doubt reasonable, as the electors at large might be depended on, without artificial restrictions, to choose the great State officers wisely. In other articles of the constitution the general power of appointment to public office, vested by the constitution of 1821 in the governor or in the senate and assembly, was given directly to the people. Even judicial offices were made elective without any formidable protest in the convention. This feature was not so novel as it might seem, for a majority of the members of the old Court of Errors (the senators) had been elective since the foundation of the State government, and the Court of Errors had, on the whole, in the past proved more satisfactory to the people at large than the other courts of record where the judges were appointed. It was well understood by the convention of 1846 that the people desired an elective judiciary, and were dissatisfied with the ancient appointive system. Many plans were suggested in the convention, but nearly all favored a judiciary partly or wholly elective. The judiciary article of the constitution of 1846 made great changes in the judicial organization of the State, and was carried by a small majority. A new appellate court of last resort in cases civil and criminal was created, to be called the Court of Appeals, and with its erection the old Court of Errors was to disappear. Four of the justices of the new Court of Appeals were to be elected for a term of four years, and another four were to be selected from the justices of the Supreme Court. Instead of the old Supreme Court and Court of Chancery a new Supreme Court was established, having general original jurisdiction in law and equity. In order to prevent centralization of judicial authority at the capitol, this new court was divided into eight districts, of which the city of New-York was one. The judges were to be elected in the districts. Thus the great court of original jurisdiction was in this way constituted on the basis of county rather than of State lines; the evident object being to diffuse and not to centralize judicial influence and responsibility. With an elective judiciary the district plan for courts of original jurisdiction was inevitable.

One of the objects of the convention being to reform the laws relative to the debt, finances, and property of the State, most minute directions were contained in the new constitution, and very considerable limitations were imposed, in this respect, on the powers of the legislature. No compromises with certain debtors of the State were to be tolerated; sinking funds were to be created; the State salt-mines and canals were not to be sold; the State credit was not to be loaned. Time has justified the wisdom of all these limitations. The subject of franchises to corporations also received attention, and it was provided that private corporations could not be formed in the future except under general laws, subject to alteration at the legislative will. In conformity with the popular demand, the stockholders in such corporations were made personally liable for debts in proper cases. Certain banking principles looking to the security of note-holders were fixed in the constitution itself. Many other minute provisions, some of which may be noticed hereafter, were contained in the constitution. Thus the policy of the State, touching certain spheres of legislative action, was so fixed by the people as to be beyond the control of the ordinary legislative body. This course was then more novel than it has since become in this country. On November 3, 1846, the new constitution was adopted by a vote of 221,528 to 92,436. In conformity to the terms of the instrument which made future amendments more easy than did that of 1821, the constitution of 1846 has been since amended in several particulars, but its general features remain undisturbed. The policy of these amendments has been to reserve more of the legislative power to the people, and further to limit the powers of the legislature. In 1874 the term of office of the governor was extended from two to three years; his powers as chief magistrate under the constitution of 1846, as amended, remained substantially as under the former constitution, being, however, somewhat more prescribed with each organic change. In the year 1858, a proposition for a new constitutional convention was defeated by the people; but in 1866, steps were taken, as directed by the constitution, toward a convention, and on April 23, 1867, delegates were chosen who convened at Albany, June 4, 1867. Among them were many persons of distinction and attainment. Notwithstanding that the population of the State had increased from 1,372,111 in 1820 to nearly 3,000,000 in 1846, the people evinced greater satisfaction with the constitution of 1846 than many had expected. The constitution framed by the convention of 1867 was, with the exception of the judiciary article, defeated by a vote of 290,456 against, to 223,935 for, its adoption. By the particular amendment then adopted, some of the city courts were made constitutional courts, and thus freed from legislative interference. The other changes were not extensive. The general policy of the constitution of 1846 in making the great courts of general original jurisdiction decentralized or local courts, was, in 1867, and again in 1880, confirmed by provisions compelling the Supreme Court justices to reside within their districts, although any Supreme Court justice might, if designated, sit in any county of the State. In the year 1873 the people rejected an amendment looking to the future appointment to office of the justices of the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. In 1874, and again in 1884, the powers of counties, cities, towns, and villages to incur indebtedness were restricted by an amendment to this end. In 1882 the canals of the State were made free by constitutional amendment. In 1874 two new articles were added to the constitution of 1846: one of these was directed against bribery of public officials, and the other provided that all amendments to the constitution should be in force from the first day of January succeeding the election at which the same were adopted.

Roscoe Conkling

Of all the changes instituted by the constitution of 1846, those creating a new judicial establishment, elective and directly responsible to the people, were the most profound. Next in importance were those provisions concerning the codification of the law and the further direction to the legislature to appoint commissioners to revise, simplify, and abridge the practice, forms, and proceedings in all the courts of justice of the State. Up to this time the courts in the State and their practice and proceedings had been survivals, and antedated in whole or in part the war of independence. It was very obvious, from the articles of the new constitution, that the people desired a revolution in these ancient institutions—an inference further emphasized by its permission to the legislature to erect new courts of conciliation. Such new tribunals were the first English courts contemplated in New-York which were not patterned after the law-courts in England. The scope of the political revolution intended by the people was further shown by the innovation which permitted a naturalized citizen to become governor, and which took away from the executive the appointing power. A policy of governmental decentralization was disclosed also by those provisions which permitted the legislature to vest a share of the legislative power in boards of supervisors of counties. This constitution provided that senators were to be chosen for two years instead of for four years, and by smaller districts, thus enlarging their direct responsibility to the people. Members of the lower house were to be chosen by single districts, and no longer by the counties as a whole. This single-district system was an innovation, and had a tendency to do away with the old county as a political unit. The argument for it was that in large communities, such as cities, the district system provided for a more direct and responsible representation. It was provided also that these districts were to be reapportioned from time to time so as to provide for more equal representation, as populations were shifted or augmented. While the argument in favor of this single-district system was no doubt sincere, it has met with great opposition and censure from many who, while ardently attached to representative institutions, have believed the ancient county a more dignified and proper political unit than a district. In the city of New-York the single-district plan at first met with no favor, and it may be doubted whether the opinion of the more thoughtful has had reason to change the earlier opinion.

In addition to the organic changes tending to do away with a centralized State government, and to reserve greater power, judicial, legislative, and executive, to the people, should be noted that article of the new constitution which provided for its future amendment. Under the constitution of 1821, a majority of the first and two thirds of a second legislature must favor the change before a proposed amendment could be submitted to the people. By the constitution of 1846, a bare majority vote of approval sufficed to cause such submission. The constitution of 1846 directed that in the year 1866, and in each twentieth year thereafter, and at such other times as the legislature provided, the question of holding a constitutional convention must be submitted to a direct vote of the people. To many these last provisions furnish the greatest evidence of change in the nature of the State government as first established. The system constructed by the earlier constitutions may be said to have been one by which the government was delegated to certain officers, executive, legislative, and judicial, who were invested with general and more or less permanent powers. These officers were the law-makers and administrators of the system. But by the new constitution such delegation was not only more limited in scope, but greater power was reserved to the people themselves to act more frequently by constitutional enactment on a large class of questions. The student of institutions has detected in this constant reference of important laws to the people themselves, an advance in the nature of popular institutions—the *referendum* being the greatest height to which popular government can obtain among large masses of people. Such legislation by the people themselves was not contemplated by the founders of the State government, either when they created their permanent judicial establishment or invested their executive with the magisterial and legislative powers of the former crown governors. Nor did the founders of the State government dream that the investment of the legislature with the entire legislative power—an achievement which then reflected the success of the Revolution—would some day have to be guarded by reservations from the legislature itself.

The constitution of the State government formulated by the convention of 1846 was adopted by a vote of 221,528 in its favor to 92,436 against it. This new organic law went into effect on January 1, 1847, and with few modifications it still remains in force. The nature of the judicial establishment created by this constitution was in substance as follows: A court of final appellate jurisdiction, known as the Court of Appeals, and already described, was substituted for the old Court of Errors constituted in the upper legislative house, attended by the great common-law judges and the chancellor. It should be said that in the whole history of the commonwealth of New-York from the time when final appeals lay to great tribunals in Europe down to the present, no other appellate court connected with New-York has given greater general satisfaction to the people than the Court of Appeals erected under the constitution of 1846 and continued and reëstablished by constitutional amendment. The courts of original jurisdiction created under the frame of government established in 1846 have generally preserved the historical continuity. The new Supreme Court, for example, which is the great court of original jurisdiction, preserved the jurisdiction of the former Supreme Court of Judicature of the State and province, but added to it that of the Court of Chancery. In other words, the two former courts have been merged into one great court, whose judges possess *sub modo* the jurisdictions of the old chancellor and of the supreme justiciars of the State, who in turn had the power of the chancellor and of the justices of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Court of Exchequer in England.[1] The proceedings of the new supreme court of general jurisdiction were soon much simplified by the adoption of a uniform system of pleading, evidence, and trial in all actions in the new court, whether such actions were formerly denominated legal or equitable. Without such auxiliary provisions the fusion of the former courts of law and equity in one court would have been more difficult. As the nature of this fusion possesses great historical importance, it will be again noticed below. In addition to the new Supreme Court, the courts of record provided for under the constitution of 1846, or created by the legislature pursuant to such constitution, are, as formerly, of several orders. There are minor civil courts for the different counties, which are known, as formerly, as county courts, and there are likewise civil courts for cities, generally styled city courts, or superior courts. In addition to these are the several criminal courts for counties and municipalities, such as courts of sessions and recorders' courts. The jurisdictions of all these courts are prescribed by law, and sometimes have cross or remote references to the jurisdictions of the courts of the province of New-York which preceded them. Where the jurisdiction of any of the present courts is fixed by the constitution itself, it is beyond legislative interference; but when such court is one created by the legislature, its jurisdiction is subject to alteration by the legislature. In addition to the county and municipal courts are certain civil courts, not of record, intended for the trial of small or speedy causes. In the counties these courts are generally styled the courts of the justices of the peace; but in the cities, district courts. In addition to these small courts not of record there have been created under the constitution of 1846 certain criminal courts of lesser jurisdiction, with power to try minor offenses, or to bind offenders over to keep the peace. These courts are known generally as police or justices' courts. The jurisdictions of all the lower courts in the State may be styled statutory. The Supreme Court, under the constitution, alone possesses a common-law jurisdiction, or one defined most largely by reference to judicatories having their rise and origin in the common law of England, as it stood before the British occupation of this commonwealth. In this respect the Supreme Court possesses a certain historic significance not possessed by even the appellate court. It also affords the gateway to the profession of the law, as it licenses for all courts of the State all attorneys and counsel, who by the new constitution may be any male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, of good moral character, and proper attainment. In addition to the courts denoted, the constitution of 1846 provided expressly for courts having jurisdiction of wills, testaments, cases of intestacy, and probate matters generally, in counties possessing a population of over forty thousand inhabitants. In smaller counties the county judges, who had a probate jurisdiction conferred by the constitution itself, were to act exclusively as surrogates. Surrogates' courts have now been generally created for all the counties of the State. Occasional courts of impeachment were also

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[1] Section 217, Code of Civil Procedure.

THOMAS J. OAKLEY.[1]

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[1] Thomas J. Oakley was born in 1783; practised law in Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; served in Congress, as a Federalist, from 1813 to 1815, and was attorney-general of New-York State in 1819. In 1827 he went to Congress as a Clinton Democrat, resigning in 1828 to become a judge in the Superior Court of New-York city. Upon the court's reorganization in 1846 he was elected chief justice, filling the office until his death, May 12, 1857. He possessed remarkable mental powers, was cool and imperturbable even in the heat of debate, reasoning clearly and logically; and his caution and judgment made him an admirable party leader. He was highly esteemed as a judge of unsullied character. EDITOR.

created and limited by the constitution of 1846, as by all preceding constitutions of the State. Such is the outline of the present judicial establishment of the State under the existing constitution. The State courts possess complete and entire jurisdiction throughout the State, and, except as modified by the federal constitution and acts of Congress conferring exclusive jurisdiction of certain prescribed cases on the federal establishment, the range of the jurisdiction of the State courts covers the entire field of judicial inquiry. The jurisdiction of the lesser courts is confined to certain cities and counties, and their process cannot run beyond the limits prescribed.

The constitution of 1846 is also notable for its effort to confer upon the people a system of laws which should not afford such persistent evidence of the former colonial subordination. Although the constitution elsewhere declared that such parts of the common law as did form the law of the colony on April 19, 1775, and not since abrogated, should remain in force (together with such acts of the colonial legislature, of the congress of the colony, and of the former legislatures of the State), but subject to future legislative alteration, yet it directed the first legislature of the State thereafter to appoint three commissioners, whose duty it should be to reduce into a written and systematic code the whole body of the law of the State, or so much thereof as to the commissioners seemed practicable and expedient. To many persons this was a welcome announcement that the State had entered a more complete phase of independence, and that it was preparing to make its laws of purely domestic origin, and to avoid the necessity of constant reference to the laws of England. From the context of the constitution it was exceedingly plain that the people of the State demanded the codification of their laws. The judiciary article of the constitution of 1846 contained also some provisions obligatory upon the proceedings in the new courts, such as that "the testimony in equity cases shall be taken in like manner as in cases at law"; but there was considerable ambiguity about the provisions concerning the Supreme Court, which induced some of the older school of lawyers to hope that the practice in the new Supreme Court might still continue to reflect the former antinomy between law and equity in some such manner as now prevails in the federal courts of this country. In January, 1847, David Dudley Field of New-York published a tentative treatise entitled "What shall be done with the practice of the courts? Shall it be wholly reformed? Questions addressed to lawyers." A memorial followed, largely signed by lawyers of the State, urging the legislature to abolish the old forms of action, and to provide for a uniform course of proceedings in all cases, whether of legal or equitable cognizance. On the 8th of April, 1847, the legislature passed an act appointing Arphaxed Loomis, David

Graham, and Nicholas Hill commissioners on practice and pleadings. Mr. Hill resigned in September following, and Mr. David Dudley Field was appointed in Mr. Hill's place by a resolution of the two houses of legislature on September 29, 1847. On February 29, 1848, the first instalment of a code of civil procedure was enacted, to take effect July 1 following. The completed code of civil procedure was reported December 31, 1849, but its adoption was delayed. On the same day the code of criminal procedure was reported, but it was not adopted at that time. That instalment of the code of civil procedure which was enacted abolished all distinction between actions at law and suits in equity, and substituted one form of action for the protection of private rights, or the redress of private wrongs. At this time this single reform was the greatest ever accomplished in the remedial law of an English-speaking people. Its design and accomplishment were largely if not exclusively due to the efforts of Mr. Field, one of the most lucid of all legislative draftsmen, as well as one of the most powerful and original thinkers ever seen in the ranks of English-speaking lawyers. Unfortunately, the symmetry and excellence of Mr. Field's legislative work have been much marred either by the action of the legislature, or by its failure to adopt the entire scheme of reform as reported by the codifiers. Not until April 6, 1857, were efforts to continue the reform contemplated by the constitution of 1846 successful. In that year an act was passed revising a former code commission. The earlier commission had failed to codify the whole body of the law of the State, or to perform any part of the task assigned to them by the legislature.[1] The act of 1857[2] appointed David Dudley Field, William Curtis Noyes, and Alexander Bradford commissioners to codify so much of the law as was not included in the reports of the commissioners on pleading and practice reported to the legislature in 1850. On April 10, 1860, a political code was accordingly reported to the legislature. On March 30, 1861, a book of forms adapted to the necessities of the practice code was reported, but not adopted. The penal code was reported in December, 1864, and the civil code on February 13, 1865.

The civil, criminal, penal, and political codes, together with the book of forms, would have completed the entire scheme of reform contemplated by the constitution of 1846. But of these great works only the penal and criminal codes have passed into laws.[3] The civil and political codes have up to this time failed of enactment. For whatever reason these completed codes have failed to become laws, it cannot be doubted that their enactment would have relieved the jurisprudence of the State from many anomalies and archaisms peculiar to that part of the law of England which we have seen to be the law of the former province of New-York. The whole body of the law of the State would then have been reduced to a written form, with the effect, as many believed, of permitting the energies of the bar to be directed to a higher and more philosophical exposition of principles than is permissible when the text of the law is unwritten and deduced only from cases and precedents.

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[1] Chapter 49, Laws of 1847; Chapter 289, id.; Chapter 312, Laws of 1849. [2] Chapter 266.
[3] Chapters 442 and 676, Laws of 1881.

Dd Dudley Field

As the law stands,— several of the codes not having been enacted,—the private jural relations of all the citizens of the State are now determined either by certain inhibitions contained in the written constitutions of government related to private law, or by the acts of the legislature of New-York, including the Revised Statutes (frequently amended by later legislatures of the State), or lastly by the common law of the province of New-York, as it stood on the date of the battle of Lexington, in the year 1775, and as since altered by legislation. The constitution of 1846, adopting the phraseology of the constitution of 1821, provided also that the acts of the old assembly of the province, and the resolutions of the congress and of the convention of the State in force April 20, 1777, and not since repealed or altered, should also form part of the fundamental law; but as a matter of fact the acts of the provincial assemblies were all repealed in the year 1828, while those acts of the convention and the resolutions of the congress of any permanent effect had by the year 1846 been revised by statutes of the State, so that the common law and the legislative acts of the State government may be roughly said to constitute the entire body of the substantive law of the State in force since 1846. The common law so in force has of late years received so much judicial interpretation that almost all its leading institutes appear in the printed reports of the adjudications of the State courts. That such a form for the great body of law of the State is now at all what was contemplated by the constitution of 1846, cannot be pretended. Yet, that the contents and substance of the law as it actually exists are adequate at present to all the exigencies of a highly civilized State, experience affirms. To indicate more fully the nature of the institutes of this great body of private law would require greater technical precision than the limits of this outline permit. By force of the constitutional definition of the law of the State, the remnant of the old

Dutch law which had become a part of the common law of the province, still remains, in very limited instances, a rule of particular property held under Dutch ground-briefs, or by Dutch subjects under the articles of capitulation of 1664. Otherwise the law of New Netherland has been repealed, abrogated, or wholly displaced. In many instances the common law of the province of New-York, referred to by the constitution of 1846 as continuing in effect under that constitution, has until a comparatively late period regulated wholly many of the domestic relations in this State, such as husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, and master and servant. But of late years the common law has been modified by such statutes as the married women's property acts, and other acts in conformity with the trend of modern thought and opinion. On March 2, 1870,[1] efforts were again made to accomplish the work directed by the constitution of 1846, and remaining unperformed. The new commissioners, of whom Mr. Field was not one, were directed to incorporate into and make part of their revision the proposed codes reported to the legislature by the earlier commissions. The last commission proceeded to revise the early code of procedure: the other portions of their task have remained unfulfilled. Thus, up to the present time, the complete codification contemplated by the constitution of 1846 has not been accomplished.

Having now outlined the form of the public and private law of the State as it exists at the present day, a word of application may be made to the status of a citizen of the city of New-York. The common law of the State is the same in all parts of the territory under the jurisdiction of the State, there being no portion subject to a different common law from the rest. Of the statutes of the State some are general in application, while others, by limitation, apply to specific communities, such as the city of New-York. Thus, those inhabiting the city of New-York are, as a rule, subject to a common law of universal application throughout the State, and to a statute law which may or may not be general in operation. Of the statutes of the State not everywhere operative, the municipal charters of the city of New-York afford good examples; for these charters contain not only franchises to the city as a corporation, but also occasional rules for the government of the citizens within the jurisdiction of such municipal corporation. In the preceding volumes[2] the Dongan and Montgomerie charters were noticed. At the adoption of the first constitution of the State, the Montgomerie Charter of 1730 was in full force, and both the State constitutions of the present century have provided that nothing therein contained should annul any charters to bodies politic and corporate made prior to the 14th of October, 1775. Until the year 1830 the Montgomerie Charter, as somewhat modified by statute, remained the fundamental charter of the city. In that year an amended charter was adopted. In June, 1829, the common council had recommended the citizens to choose delegates to a convention for the purpose of amending and revising the ancient charter. Steps were accordingly taken under the advice of Ex-Chancellor Kent, and on the 7th day of April, 1830, at the request of a majority of the citizens, the legislature passed an act "to amend the Charter of the City of New-York."[1] In this act the old charter is recognized as subsisting, in so far as it is not inconsistent with the new act's own provisions. On April 2, 1849, July 11, 1851, April 10, 1852, April 11, 1853, and at other times, further amendments were made to the charter. But on April 4, 1857, most of the more recent amendments were repealed, and chapter 446 of the laws of 1857 was substituted for them. It was, however, still provided that the provisions of the royal charters should continue in force where not abrogated or inconsistent with chapter 446 of the laws of 1857.

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[1] Chapter 33.

[2] Chapter XIV, Vols. I and II.

In the year 1873[2] an act was passed "to reorganize the local government of the City of New-York," which made extensive changes in the administrative part of the city charter, repealing various amendments enacted in the present century, but still continuing in force those provisions of the ancient royal charters then operative and not inconsistent with its provisions. In 1874 the city's boundaries were much enlarged,[3] and the power of the separate county government was transferred to the city authorities.[4] In the years 1879 and 1880, the legislature authorized a revision of the special and local laws affecting New-York city, and made such revision presumptive evidence in the New-York courts of justice of all special or local laws in force in the city of New-York.[5] In 1881,[6] most of the local acts affecting New-York city passed subsequent to 1784 being contained in the revision mentioned, were otherwise repealed. In 1882 all the laws affecting public interests in the city of New-York, having been revised, were consolidated in one act known as the "consolidation act,"[7] and it was thought that all future laws affecting the city of New-York should refer to this act. But such has not been the case, and various acts affecting the city have been since passed without any special reference to the consolidation act of 1882. Curiously enough, the ancient royal charter known as the Montgomerie Charter of 1730, in so far as it has not been swept away by inconsistent legislative enactment, remains in force, having never been expressly repealed. Thus, though the nature of the city government in most of its administrative features has completely changed, that feature of the Dongan Charter which, in the year 1686, vested the powers of local government in a mayor, alderman, and commonalty, exists at the present time. Notwithstanding the many changes introduced by the legislature in the present century, the skeleton of the city government possesses a very considerable antiquity. To give in detail the nature of the changes actually instituted would exceed the limits prescribed for a mere outline, and has not been attempted.

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[1] Chapter 122, Laws of 1830.

[2] Chapter 335, Laws of New-York.

[3] Chapter 411.

[4] Chapter 304.

[5] Chapters 594 and 595, Laws of 1880.

[6] Chapter 537.

[7] Chapter 410, Laws of 1882.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that in the State of New-York popular sovereignty, which attained its highest phase under the State constitution of 1846, has been developed somewhat differently from that in the other original States, where it was often observable, even before the war of independence, in town and city governments. But in the city of New-York, down to the war of independence, the crown government exercised unusual influence and authority. After the American Revolution the State government succeeded to this power over the city government. Not until 1834 were the mayors of this city elected by the inhabitants of the city. At the present time the old legislative powers of the municipal authorities have almost dwindled into insignificance, having been largely assumed by the legislature of the State, so that the measure of freedom now enjoyed by the inhabitants of this city is determined, not by the history and the laws of the city itself, but by those of the State, although the history of the city long antedates that of the State. By a change instituted in the State constitution of 1846, restoring to the clergy eligibility for public office, and by the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution, forbidding any State to abridge the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the political equality of all citizens of the State is absolute. Notwithstanding the annual introduction into the State and city of a large number of persons of foreign birth, wise naturalization laws have incorporated most of them into the very heart of the body politic, so that they too are amenable to the same laws and possess the same rights as the descendants of the original settlers, thus avoiding many complications peculiar to those mixed States where extensive consular jurisdictions are recognized. By the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution the children of foreigners, if born in the United States, are citizens of the State where they reside. Thus most of the inhabitants of the city of New-York are citizens, and all citizens possess precisely the same rights and are subject to the same law. Under such conditions there is happily no excuse for political discontent. The object of the founders of the State has been in this respect fully consummated. Yet to assert that the condition of the law and the constitution is perfect would be an exaggeration; but the assertion that there has been and is, on the whole, a steady and healthy growth of law and liberty here, would be one which few will deny.

TABLE OF DATES IN NEW-YORK HISTORY

1784 – February 7, James Duane appointed Mayor. First American city government organized. Chamber of Commerce (founded in 1768) incorporated. Custom-house established. Congress removed from Philadelphia to New-York.

1785 General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen established. Philanthropic and other societies organized, including the Society for the Manumission of Slaves. Petition to legislature to regulate trade.

1786 Rebuilding of the city pushed rapidly.

1787 Mutual Fire Assurance Company organized. October 27, first number of the "Federalist" papers published.

1788 – April 13, Doctors' riot. Procession in honor of adoption of Constitution by ten States. August 21, corner-stone laid of new Trinity Church building.

1789 – February 2, Corporation authorized to raise ten thousand pounds by taxation, for the poor, the street improvements, the bridewell, watchmen, and street lamps. March 4, First Congress assembled in New-York. April 30, Washington's inauguration as first President of the United States, at Federal Hall. New Federal Constitution ratified. May 13, first meeting of the Tammany Society.

1790 – July 5, grand celebration of Independence Day.

1791 – March 21, Bank of New-York incorporated.

1792 – October 12, celebration of the third centenary of the discovery of America. Contest between Clinton and Jay for governorship. Tontine Coffee House built.

1793 – December 9, first issue of the "Commercial Advertiser," then called "The Minerva."

1795 Visitation of yellow fever. The Park Theater erected. Society Library opens its first building.

1798 State capital removed to Albany. Second visitation of yellow fever. The Park Theater opened.

1799 Slaves set free. Manhattan Company chartered to supply water to the city.

1801 – November 16, New-York "Evening Post" first issued.

1803 Corner-stone laid of the present City Hall.

1804 Hackney-coaches first licensed. July 11, Hamilton-Burr duel. November 20, New-York Historical Society founded.

1806 – March 15, New-York Orphan Asylum Society organized. May 19, first Free School opened.

1807 College of Physicians and Surgeons organized. August 11, Fulton's steamboat Clermont makes first trip to Albany in thirty-two hours, returning in thirty hours. City surveyed and laid out by Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, and others. December, the Embargo Act passed.

1808 American Academy of Fine Arts incorporated.

1809 New-York Historical Society celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Manhattan Island by Henry Hudson. First woolen-mills established in New-York.

1811 – May 19, nearly one hundred buildings destroyed by fire.

1812 War with England declared. Present City Hall completed. First steam ferry to Jersey City. New-York blockaded by a British fleet, 1812–14.

1814 Suspension of specie payments, continuing until July, 1817.

1815 – February 14, news of the signing of the treaty of peace at Ghent (December 24, 1814) reaches New-York.

1816 American Bible Society formed.

1817 – February, intense cold; Hudson River frozen over, and people crossed to New Jersey on the ice.

1818 Another severe winter; Long Island Sound entirely closed by ice. July 8, General Montgomery's remains reach New-York, and are deposited in St. Paul's Church.

1820 – May 25, burning of the old Park Theater. Apprentices' Library founded.

1821 Mercantile Library founded.

1822 – August, visitation of yellow fever. Castle Garden ceded to the city by the United States.

1824 – August, General Lafayette revisits the city.

1825 Gas first introduced. November 4, celebration of completion of the Erie Canal.

1830 First stage line begins, from Bowling Green to Bleecker street. Manhattan Gas-light Company organized.

1831 University of City of New-York founded. The Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum established.

1832 First horse-railroad in the world (the New-York and Harlem Railroad Company's) opened to travel. University of New-York organized. First appearance of Asiatic cholera.

1833 New-York "Sun" established by Benjamin H. Day. June 12, President Jackson visits the city, and is publicly received.

1834 – April 10, Election riot. July, Abolition riot. Mayoralty made an elective office.

1835 – June, Five Points riot. August, Stone-cutters' riot. "New-York Herald" established by James Gordon Bennett. December, great fire, lasting nearly three days.

1836 Union Club formed. Union Theological Seminary founded.

1837 – February 10, Bread and Flour riot. Great financial panic throughout the country. May 10, suspension of all the New-York city banks. October 24, Fourth Avenue Tunnel opened.

1838 – May 10, city banks resume specie payments. The Bank of Commerce established.

1840 The "New-York Tribune" founded by Horace Greeley.

1842 All property qualifications for city voters abolished. October 14, celebration of the completion of the Croton Aqueduct. Common-school system of the State extended to New-York city by legislative act.

1844 Municipal Police Act passed by legislature. Anti-rent riot.

1845 – July 19, disastrous fire; 300 buildings destroyed.

1848 The Astor Library founded by John Jacob Astor.

1849 – May 10, the Astor Place riot.

1851 The "New-York Times" founded by Henry J. Raymond. The Hungarian patriot, Kossuth, visits New-York. The Erie Railway opened from this city to Dunkirk. The Nicaragua route opened between New-York and San Francisco.

1853 World's Fair held in the Crystal Palace (site of Bryant Park), Sixth Avenue and Forty-Second street. Children's Aid Society founded. Yellow fever in the city.

1856 Site of Central Park purchased for about five and a half millions of dollars.

1857 Metropolitan Police Act passed. October 14–15, financial crisis; banks suspend. December 12–14, banks resume specie payments.

1858 Atlantic cable laid. Corner-stone of St. Patrick's Cathedral laid.

1860 Japanese Embassy arrives. New-York "World" founded by Manton Marble. June 28, steamship Great Eastern reaches the city. Prince of Wales visits New-York. South Carolina secedes from the Union.

1861 – April 12–13, bombardment of Fort Sumter. April 19, departure of Seventh Regiment for Washington. The banks of the city suspend specie payments.

1863 – July 13–15, anti-draft riots in the city; violent attacks on the negroes; many rioters killed. October, corner-stone laid of New-York Academy of Design.

1864 New-York Sanitary Commission's Fair held, realizing over a million dollars. July 16, gold reaches highest premium, viz., 284 per cent.

1865 – April 9, surrender of General Lee. April 14, assassination of President Lincoln at Washington.

1866 Atlantic cable successfully completed. Queen Emma of the Sandwich Islands visits the city.

1869 – September 24 ("Black Friday"), disastrous financial panic.

1870 – September 30, funeral of Admiral Farragut.

1871 – July 12, the Orange riot. Visit of Grand Duke Alexis.

1872 Tweed Ring broken up and the leaders imprisoned.

1876 – July 4, celebration of the Centennial of American Independence. September 24, Hallett's Point obstructions at Hell Gate blown up. Visit of Emperor of Brazil.

1877 – May 16, unveiling in Central Park of a bronze statue of Fitz-Greene Halleck, the first erected in the New World to a poet. July 23 – 27, labor riots and railroad strikes.

1878 The Chinese Embassy visits the city. December 17, gold sold at par, the first time since 1862.

1883 – May 24, the East River Bridge opened for travel.

1884 Panic in Wall street. Suspension of Marine Bank. Greely relief steamers Bear and Thetis leave New-York.

1885 Special-delivery system inaugurated in the post-office. Flood Rock blown up. August 8, funeral of General Grant.

1886 Senate passes bill appropriating $250,000 toward erecting the Grant monument at Riverside. Bartholdi statue unveiled in New-York Harbor.

1889 – April 30, celebration in New-York city of the one-hundredth anniversary of Washington's presidential inauguration.

1890 – February 4, one-hundredth anniversary of the United States Supreme Court celebrated in the city.

1891 – January 29, sudden death of William Windom, United States Secretary of the Treasury, at a banquet at Delmonico's. February 19, Funeral of General Sherman.

1892 – October 10, 11, and 12, grand Columbian celebration in New-York city, in honor of four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. December 27, corner-stone laid of the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, with impressive ceremonial.

A carefully prepared index to the complete work will appear in the fourth volume.

END OF VOLUME III.

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

OF

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,

From the earliest settlements on Manhattan Island to the year 1892, inclusive, the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, edited by Gen. James Grant Wilson, assisted on the coöperative plan by a corps of able writers who prepare chapters on periods or departments in the history and life of the city to which they have given special study. To be illustrated by portraits and autographs of prominent personages, also by fac-similes of important and rare documents, and by maps, views of historic scenes and houses, tombs, statues and monuments, executed in the handsomest manner, and numbering more than one thousand, including several hundred vignettes by Jacques Reich, the accomplished artist who contributed above a thousand portraits to General Wilson's "Cyclopædia of American Biography" and other valuable works.

No time seems more appropriate than the present for placing before the American public a work like this, which shall utilize the abundant original material bearing on the history of the metropolis that has come to light since the last important history of the city was published in 1878, and which combines the united researches of several writers in their chosen and lifelong fields of inquiry. It is for this reason that the publishers do not hesitate to commend the present work to the scholar and to the general reader as a trustworthy source for the latest and most accurate historical information.

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